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QUAESTIONES CONCERNING CHRIST
FROM THE FIRST HALF OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY:

II. QUAESTIONES FROM DOUAI MS. 434:
THE NEED OF THE INCARNATION;
THE DEFECTS ASSUMED BY CHRIST*

Walter H. Principe, C.S.B.

THE well-known manuscript 434 of the Bibliothèque de la Ville at Douai contains so many *quaestiones* concerning Christ that several articles will be required in our series to edit and comment upon them.¹ This article presents *quaestiones* discussing the need of the Incarnation for the salvation of the human race and the defects assumed in the human nature by the Son of God. Although these two topics differ, they are at times closely related and so they

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¹ For the first article in this series see 'Quaestiones concerning Christ from the First Half of the Thirteenth Century: I. Quaestiones from the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris', *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 1-59; here it will be cited as *Quaestiones-I*, followed by arabic numerals to indicate individual questions and paragraphs within questions, e.g., 7.3 for question 7, par. 3.

My study, *The Theology of the Hypostatic Union in the Early Thirteenth Century*, 4 vols. (Studies and Texts 7, 12, 19, 32; Toronto, 1963-75), will be cited as follows:

Hyp. Union 1 – William of Auxerre's *Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (1963)

Hyp. Union 2 – Alexander of Hales' *Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (1967)

Hyp. Union 3 – Hugh of Saint-Cher's *Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (1970)

Hyp. Union 4 – Philip the Chancellor's *Theology of the Hypostatic Union* (1975).

Other studies related to the background or content of these questions include J. Rivière, *Le dogme de la Rédemption au début du moyen âge* (Bibliothèque thomiste 19; Paris, 1934); idem, 'Le dogme de la Rédemption au XII^e siècle d'après les dernières publications', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 2 (1946) 101-12, 219-30; E. De Clerck, 'Questions de sotériologie médiévale', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 13 (1946) 150-84; idem, 'Droits du démon et nécessité de la rédemption', *ibid.* 14 (1947) 32-64; idem, 'Le dogme de la rédemption: de Robert de Melun à Guillaume d'Auxerre', *ibid.*, 252-86; A. Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte der Früh-scholastik*, part 2 in 2 vols. (Regensburg, 1953-54); Bruno Korosak, 'Le principali teorie soteriologiche dell'incipiente e della grande scolastica', *Antoniano* 37 (1962) 327-36, 423-66; J. Patout Burns, 'The Concept of Satisfaction in Medieval Redemption Theory', *Theological Studies* 36 (1975) 285-304.

are grouped together here. In an appendix we shall add a short text from a quodlibetal question touching on the Incarnation in relation to angels.

MS. 434 of the Douai library has been frequently studied as a whole and in a number of its individual contents, most of which are theological questions.² Its first two volumes, containing nearly 600 individual questions, contain not simply a haphazard collection but rather a compilation written in several hands under the direction of some person interested in gathering theological materials.³ Although the compilation itself was done between 1228 and 1236 and although most of the materials come from this period, there are some theological works from the period before these dates.⁴

I. THE *QUAESTIONES* EDITED AND ANALYZED HERE

Question 1-A (no. 140) (Anonymous) and 1-B (no. 425) (Magister Guido)

Volume 1 and volume 2 of the Douai manuscript each contain a question on the need of the Incarnation for the redemption of the human race. Comparison of these two questions makes it clear that they are in fact two closely related discussions of the same topic and likely two redactions of the same theological question. The first of these, numbered 140 in Glorieux's list, is found in volume 1, fol. 81ra-va; it is written in hand *m*⁴ of Glorieux's classification of the hands, and is anonymous.⁵ Because of its proximity in the manuscript to questions 143

² See among others Odon Lottin, 'Quelques "Quaestiones" de maîtres parisiens aux environs de 1225-1235', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 5 (1933) 79-85; P. Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions du manuscrit de Douai 434', *ibid.* 10 (1938) 123-52, 225-67 (detailed description of the manuscript and list of questions); *idem*, 'La *Summa Duacensis*', *ibid.* 12 (1940) 104-35; Victorin Doucet, 'À travers le manuscrit 434 de Douai', *Antonianum* 27 (1952) 531-80; P. Glorieux, *La 'Summa Duacensis' (Douai 434): Texte critique avec une introduction et des tables* (Textes philosophiques du Moyen Âge 2; Paris, 1955), pp. 7-14; *Hyp. Union* 4.19-21, 152-54; Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Théorie de la prophétie et philosophie de la connaissance aux environs de 1230: la contribution d'Hugues de Saint-Cher (Ms. Douai 434, Question 481)* (*Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense: Études et documents* 40; Leuven, 1977); *idem*, 'La "Summa Duacensis" et Philippe le Chancelier: Contribution à l'histoire du traité de la prophétie', *Revue thomiste* 75 (1975) 67-94. Studies of individual questions are too numerous to mention here.

³ See Doucet, *ibid.*, 531-33.

⁴ Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions', 259-60, dates the compilation 1231-36. The editors of Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum*, date it between 1228 and 1236 (prolegomena to vol. 4 [Quaracchi, 1957], p. 35*). Glorieux's study, 'Les 572 questions', so valuable for any user of the manuscript, should nevertheless be checked for misprints or errors in transcription. His question 38 (fol. 41vb-va) should be assigned to Philip the Chancellor or to the compiler of the manuscript using or adapting Philip, because the attribution on the top of fol. 41vb reads 'secundum C' rather than Glorieux's 'secundum G' (p. 132). Between his question 240 and 241 is found (fol. 140va) a distinct question not noted by him (p. 145), entitled: 'An Deus [*sic*] secundum homo [*sic*] fecit miracula. *Idem.*'

⁵ 'Les 572 questions', 139 and 133 n. 22.

and 145, both dealing with the Incarnation and explicitly attributed to Philip the Chancellor, Glorieux thought it could also be attributed to Philip.⁶ Comparison of its style and contents with Philip's questions on the Incarnation had already made this attribution suspect to us.⁷ It seems even more suspect, although not absolutely excluded, by our discovery that question 425, explicitly attributed by a thirteenth-century hand to 'Magister Guido', is a parallel version to parts of question 140. Question 425 is found in volume 2, fol. 75rb-vb, and is written in hand *m*.⁸

Magister Guido is not identified further. In an earlier study Glorieux had attributed this question to Guido or Guy of Orchelles, and in his most important study of the manuscript he speaks of this 'Guido, dans lequel il faut nécessairement voir Gui d'Orchelles....'⁹ The editors of Guy of Orchelles' *Tractatus de sacramentis* conclude that the question does not belong to this author: their conclusion is based on stylistic differences, but given the nature of much of the material in the compilation and the existence of a second version that might be Guido's, their arguments are unconvincing.¹⁰ Not all the masters in the theology of this period are known, of course, but to the present no other Guido has appeared as a possible claimant so that, barring further discoveries, the question should be at least tentatively assigned to Guy of Orchelles.¹¹

Of the two versions or redactions, question 140 is more complete than

⁶ *ibid.*, 256; cf. 264.

⁷ Philip's questions (nos. 143 and 145) are edited in *Hyp. Union* 4.169-88. Glorieux's suggestion that question 142 belongs to Philip proved correct: see *ibid.*, 153-54. This question is edited, together with a second redaction (Glorieux's no. 450), in *Hyp. Union* 4.158-68.

⁸ See Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions', 234 and 231 n. 38.

⁹ See his *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1938), no. 121 (1.285), and 'Les 572 questions', 260.

¹⁰ See Damianus and Odulphus Van den Eynde, eds., *Guidonis de Orchellis Tractatus de sacramentis ex eius Summa de sacramentis et officiis Ecclesiae* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.-Louvain, 1953), pp. xiv-xv. It is surely difficult to draw firm conclusions about a master's style or even his formulae when one reads his text as transcribed by a reporter. Where there are two or more redactors, agreement in style and formulae might be convincing but one often observes considerable variation in such cases.

In our two versions the variations are indeed considerable: where Redaction B (Guido) has 'Quaesitum est', Redaction A has 'Quaeritur'; B uses 'contra' and 'sed contra', whereas A uses 'contra', 'praeterea', and 'si dicas' with varying formulae of reply; B uses 'solutio' and, three times, 'dicebat' (a clear indication of a *reportatio*), whereas A uses 'solutio', 'dicimus', 'concedimus', 'respondeo', 'ad solutionem ... nota', 'ad illud'; B uses only 'item' whereas A has both 'item' and 'praeterea'.

As we shall indicate, the two versions are not necessarily two redactions of the same debate since other hypotheses are possible, but if they are, one could hardly draw conclusions about Guido's style and formulae from such divergent reports or even from one report.

¹¹ See nos. 316, 360, 373, and 422 (2.99-101, 251, 270, 339-43) of Glorieux's *Répertoire* for other authors named Guido or Guy: all belong to later periods.

question 425: it examines all three topics announced by question 425 but not treated by it because the latter question breaks off rather abruptly without finishing even the first topic. Where the two questions have parallel discussions, now one and now the other is lengthier or clearer than its partner, and at times the order of discussions varies. There are five possibilities to explain the relation between the two questions, which we will call Redaction A (question 140) and Redaction B (question 425 assigned to Magister Guido by the scribe): (1) two reporters attended the same debate by Magister Guido and gave differing redactions of the same materials; (2) one person, perhaps the compiler of the collection, did both redactions, perhaps using one as a preliminary sketch and the other as a more finished version; (3) Magister Guido borrowed from the materials in Redaction A; (4) the author of Redaction A borrowed from the materials in Magister Guido's question; (5) two different authors reworked a previously written account of the debate and produced two parallel but differing versions.¹²

Question 2 (no. 322) (Magister Willermus)

Question 322 in Glorieux's list deals with the defects assumed in Christ's human nature in the Incarnation. Of the six topics discussed within this question, the second is closely related to part of the material in our question 1. The question is found in volume 2, fol. 4ra-va, and is written in hand *m*⁷.¹³ This first hand had made quite a number of errors which were subsequently corrected by a second hand, which we designate as 'MS.2'.

The question is said by a third contemporary hand to be 'sec. m. W.'; this terminology does not necessarily mean that Magister W. is the actual author of the question, for the *secundum* may indicate that the author has composed it by adapting or following only in a general way the master who is named.¹⁴ Glorieux identifies Magister W. with the Magister Willermus named in questions 17, 18, and 150.¹⁵ This Magister Willermus does not seem to be William of Auxerre because question 30 is assigned to this famous author under the rubric 'secundum magistrum Guillelmum Altissiodorensem' and question 321, written in the same hand *m*⁷ that writes our question 322, is said

¹² In the third and fourth possibilities the materials in question could either have been already written or have been copied from the other person during his public disputation. The fifth hypothesis is unlikely because Redaction B (Guido) uses *dicebat*, which someone reworking a written text would likely change.

¹³ See Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions', 226 and 225 n. 34.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, 263.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, 130, 140, 226; question 423 is a second redaction of question 150 (see *ibid.*, 258). See also Glorieux's discussion of 'mag. W.' *ibid.*, 261.

by this scribe to be 'sec. Alt.'¹⁶ Nor does Magister Willermus appear to be Master William of Durham, who is indicated by hand *m*⁷ as 'D.' and who is identified by other hands as 'M. G. de D.', 'Guill. de Dur.', 'Guill. de Duraume', and 'Guill. de Durames' but never as 'W.' or 'Will.' or 'Willermus' of Durham in any of its forms.¹⁷ Of the many Guillaumes listed in Glorieux' *Répertoire*, Guillaume d'Auvergne, Guillaume d'Étampes and Guillaume de Cramant are the only ones who could have been masters at this period.¹⁸

Question 3 (no. 457, section 7) (Anonymous)

Question 456 in Glorieux's list is a quodlibetal question whose seventh section deals briefly with the defect of *dolor* in Christ, a topic also treated in parts of our question 2. This quodlibetal question is found in volume 2, fols. 97rb-98ra, and is written in hand *m*⁸; the seventh section edited here is found on fol. 97vb. The question is anonymous.¹⁹

Appendix (no. 335, section 1) (Anonymous)

Appended to our edition of these three questions is a short text from a quodlibetal question that itself has only two brief discussions. The question is found in volume 2, fol. 12ra-b, and is written in hand *m*⁷. The text we append begins towards the end of 12ra and finishes on 12rb.²⁰

No. 539: The predestination of Christ

Question 539 of Glorieux's list treats many aspects of predestination; two of its sections deal briefly with the predestination of Christ, a topic that is akin to

¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 131 and 226, and cf. 261, which adds a doctrinal reason for eliminating William of Auxerre. Question 30's attribution to William of Auxerre is somewhat uncertain because the top of the folio was cut in such a way as to leave only the lower parts of the letters, but it is clear that the first letter of the name is not a 'W' and could be a 'G' and that the reading 'Altissiodorensem' is the only one possible. Question 59, written in the important hand *m* in volume 1, fol. 58vb, is said to be 'secundum magistrum G. an'; Glorieux (*ibid.*, 256, 259) suggests that this could refer to William of Auxerre, William of Durham (*secundum magistrum Guilelmum Anglicum* would be the transcription), or to the mysterious *G* so often met in the manuscript.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*, 226 for no. 327 and the identification by *m*⁷, and 133, 139, 140, 226, 237, 239, and 240 for the other attributions (to questions 52, 137, 147, 148, 327, 459, 483, and 485 respectively).

¹⁸ In the *Répertoire* see no. 141 (1.315-20) for Guillaume d'Auvergne, no. 9 (1.81) for Guillaume d'Étampes, and no. 150 (1.332-33) for Guillaume de Cramant.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 237 and also P. Glorieux, *La littérature quodlibétique de 1260 à 1320* 2 (Bibliothèque thomiste 21; Paris, 1935), p. 288.

²⁰ See Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions', 227 and 226 n.

those treated in the questions edited here. The entire question, written in hand *m*, is found in volume 2, fols. 180vb-181rb (pp. 362b-363b according to Glo-rioux's numbering at this point). Since it is another redaction or a summary of question 10, nos. 1-35, of Alexander of Hales' disputed questions, it was included in the edition of Alexander's questions and so is omitted here.²¹

II. ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF THE CONTENTS OF THE QUESTIONS

Question 1-A and 1-B: Why did God become man? (Guido [de Orchellis?])

Both versions of this question agree on the opening topic, that is, whether it was necessary for Christ to *become incarnate* for the redemption of the human race, but Redaction A also asks explicitly about the need for the *passion* (1;44). Redaction B has the passion in mind, however, as is clear from most of its subsequent argumentation. Redaction B adds two other topics to be discussed: did the devil hold man captive justly, and why did not the Son remove disordered concupiscence (*fomes*) through his death? (44) In the manuscript, however, Redaction B omits these last two topics, but they do enter briefly into Redaction A's discussion. It may be that in the actual debate the second and third topics were announced but were not treated fully or separately, so that Redaction A may give a faithful summary of the actual debate. For the sake of clarity we shall separate the three topics, following the order of Redaction A for the first topic and completing it from Redaction B, this being the only topic treated in Redaction B.

(a) *Was it necessary that Christ be incarnate and suffer for the common redemption of the human race?*

The whole discussion turns around Anselm's theory of the necessity of the Incarnation and passion for man's redemption, and his position comes under frequent attack.²² One must not say that the Incarnation and passion were

²¹ See *ibid.*, 244; for the edition see *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Quaestiones disputatae 'antequam esset frater'*, Appendix I, q. 2, eds. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 3 (Quaracchi, 1960), pp. 1369-75: the sections concerning Christ are nos. 7 (p. 1370) and 25-27 (pp. 1373-74). Alexander's q. 10, nos. 1-35, is edited *ibid.* 1.104-16. On Alexander's doctrine on the predestination of Christ see *Hyp. Union* 2.115-16, 158, 192, 210-11.

²² The Anselmian background can be easily seen from the numerous quotations from or references to his *Cur Deus homo* identified in our edition. The twelfth-century background of this question can be seen in the articles or books listed above, n. 1; Landgraf's chapter, 'Das Axiom *Non alium modum possibile Deo defuisse ... oportuisse*', in his *Dogmengeschichte* 2/ 2.170-253, carries the discussion into the thirteenth century: his texts from William of Auxerre and Hugh of St. Cher are especially relevant to our question.

necessary, says the opening argument, because such a statement would be opposed to God's omnipotence, which could surely free man from slavery to the devil in some other way (2;48). The master's reply, drawn from Gregory, was that God chose this more difficult way rather than an easier one because he wanted to show the greatness of the illness and the seriousness of sin and to draw us to love himself (3;50). But this does not satisfy the objector: a wise doctor (Redaction A) or a wise artificer (Redaction B) chooses the easier means of producing his effect; he is unwise and acts against his art if he chooses a more difficult means (3;49). Redaction A adds that the greatness of the medicine and cure would be shown even if it took place in another way (3); Redaction B says that the greatness of the illness is not shown by a greater effort in curing if a lesser effort can achieve it: so with the passion – it would be unnecessary if it were used simply to show the seriousness of the illness (51).

If one applies a Johannine text to say that God became incarnate and suffered in order to show the greatest possible love, one is met with the argument that without suffering for the angels God showed so great a love that he confirmed them in glory, something he could also do for man, and so the passion was unnecessary for man's salvation (4;52).

What of Augustine's opinion that God wished to conquer the devil through justice rather than through power? (5;54) No injustice would be done, the objector says, if man were to be freed from the devil by God's power (and not, it is implied, by the passion) because the devil was unjust in holding man captive; indeed a servant (such as the devil) should be punished for having alienated a fellow servant (such as man) from his master (God) so that thereby the master would have his servant back (5;55-56). Each redaction gives a similar but not identical example to bolster this argument. Redaction A says that someone who strikes an innocent person is justly punished but that it would not be right for one who is not the judge of the two parties to strike the guilty person because correction does not belong to this third person. But just as a judge could justly punish the offender, so God could justly punish the devil unjustly binding man, God's servant, and thereby free man (5). Redaction B's example is that of a king's servant undertaking to punish someone who is guilty without having the king's command to do so: the guilty person is justly punished but the servant acts unjustly. The same applies to man and the devil: the redactor, however, fails to complete the example regarding God as freeing man, likely because it had already been done in the previous paragraph (56;55).

Another argument holds that it would be a greater injustice on God's part to expose his innocent Son on behalf of those who harm him than to free man in some other way; Redaction B points out an added injustice involved here, that of leaving the guilty unpunished (6;57). Nor is it enough for the master to appeal to God's will as if his willing an act made it just: if something is simply

or absolutely just, God cannot will its contrary, as he would do if he willed to expose an innocent person for the sake of those who were harming that person (7;58-59).²³ Redaction B adds that not only must God not will this, but he must also not allow it to happen since it was so unjust (60).

Redaction A gives a further argument against the necessity of the Incarnation and passion. A text of Wisdom, it says, teaches that a man is punished by that through which he sins, and since it was a mere man who sinned, it was not necessary that a God-man should suffer (8).

Both redactions now present counterarguments in favour of the necessity of God's becoming incarnate and suffering for man's redemption. A text said to be of Ambrose is used to argue that since man's pride in wishing to become God had to be matched by the equal humility of God's wishing to become man, it was necessary that God become incarnate (9). Redaction B at this point develops the argument more completely, explaining that the authoritative text is speaking not about a quantity of intensity in virtue but about a quantity of distance; it is this quantity of distance, it maintains, that is so great because of man's pride that the Redeemer's humility must equal it by God's becoming man (61). The same explanation is given more briefly later on in Redaction A after its main solution of the question (26).

Another text attributed to Ambrose is quoted to the effect that if Christ were not incarnate, man would not be redeemed and so would perish (10;62). Redaction A adds that because what is best should do what is best, God does what is most fitting, and since the *Gloss* says that Christ's death was the most fitting way to heal us, it was necessary that we be redeemed through his death (10). The next argument, found in Redaction A alone, continues this approach by citing a text of Anselm holding that any slightest unfitness becomes an impossibility for God. From this the redactor argues that what is most fitting becomes for God a necessity, and since Anselm says that no other mode (than the Incarnation and death) is more fitting, the mode of liberation through death is necessary (11).

Another brief argument found only in Redaction A maintains that the liberator has to be a mean or medium (*medius*) between God and man. But since there is no such mean or medium between the soul and God, God must become man so as to close this gap (12).

Redaction A now meets a statement of Augustine already quoted earlier in the text of Redaction B (53); it says that there could have been another mode of *liberation*. Both redactions note that those maintaining the necessity of Christ's

²³ Redaction B states the principle slightly differently from Redaction A, saying that 'God cannot will what is evil in itself or, if he did will it, he would not be just' (59).

passion and death often interpret this text, inimical to their position, by distinguishing between liberation and redemption, the latter involving the paying of a price and the former not.²⁴ A difficulty is raised about such a position: to whom was the price paid? It could not be paid to the devil because the devil held man captive unjustly and did not possess him in such a way as to be able to sell him for a price. Nor could it be paid to the Father: a price is paid so that the property of one person passes into the power or possession of another, and who could this other person be? Not the Son, because all that belongs to the Son belongs to the Father. To whom then was such a supposed price paid? (13;63)

At this point the master seems to have suggested Anselm's solution: the change in possession was from man's being subject to the Father out of necessity to his being subject to the Father voluntarily, this change being effected by paying a price to the Father in redemption (14;64). Redaction B explains this point in greater detail. God has a commanding will, a punishing will, and a permitting will. If one avoids his commanding will, one still falls under his punishing will by way of his permitting will; thus one is always subject to God's will. So in the redemption, it is argued, one likewise passes from one will of God to the other, that is, from his punishing will to his commanding will (64). But this position meets a new argument: even before the passion of Christ Abraham and other holy people were subject to God by a voluntary subjection, so that Christ's passion was not necessary to achieve such voluntary subjection (14;65).²⁵

At this point a new series of counterarguments enters to try to show that God must become incarnate and that no one other than God would suffice. Each of these arguments is based on Anselm's *Cur Deus homo*. The first, found only in Redaction A, says that if a man or angel redeemed man, man would become the servant of his created redeemer and would not be restored to his primitive dignity as servant of God and equal to the angels; hence man must be redeemed by God (16). Both redactions give the next Anselmian argument: not only must

²⁴ For this opinion see *Quaestiones-I*, 2.10 and 22 (pp. 32, 35); De Clerck, 'Dogme de la rédemption', 272 and n. 32; Landgraf, *Dogmengeschichte* 2/2.276-79, 282-84; *infra*, n. to line 121 of question 1-A.

²⁵ The master, Redaction A indicates, replied to this argument by saying that Abraham was justified through the passion in that he believed in the passion, without which no one could be saved. But the opponent counters that the passion served Abraham not by way of redemption but by way of manifestly verifying that in which he had believed; he argues that 'this' could have taken place without the passion so that the passion was superfluous (15). The word 'this' could hardly refer to the manifestation or verification of the truth believed: if Abraham believed it, the only way it could be verified is if it happened. The opponent likely refers to Abraham's being justified by faith in something other than the passion.

there be restoration of what was taken away, but the insult to God must be repaid. No creature can repay this insult and yet the repayment should come from man. Therefore the redeemer should be both God and man in one person, a person who could act on behalf of the whole human race in order to offer a condign repayment (17,20;66).

Redaction A now summarizes a discussion given at the beginning of Redaction B; here we shall follow the longer account of Redaction B. Starting from a text of the *Gloss* attributed to Augustine and saying that a man or angel would easily sin, the master holds that therefore the one who frees man from sin by overcoming the devil must be God, and so God must become incarnate (45;18). But when Guido is asked why a union through grace would not suffice, he replies that a person in whom God is present only by grace could not redeem the human race and besides he might easily sin. God's presence in the devil's conqueror had, therefore, to be through union (*inesse per unionem*) (45;18). The reply means that an ordinary person could not act on behalf of the *entire* human race but that only a God-man could do so.

But why would a man or angel easily sin, asks an opponent? Could not God confirm their free choice as he has already done with the angels? In that case a man or an angel could redeem the human race (46). Master Guido replies that the authoritative text refers to 'every mode of being-in' and so includes not only presence by essence and grace but also presence by union. To justify this interpretation of the text he makes a curious use of the *Gloss*' commentary on Colossians 2 – curious in that the text refers to the actual Incarnation and not to the hypothesis suggested by the objector (47).²⁶ Thus for Guido only a presence of God in man through the union of the Incarnation could assure man's victory over the devil and his freedom from sin.

Redaction A now rejoins the order of Redaction B to give further arguments from Anselm.²⁷ Seeking to establish necessity in the case at hand, both redactions combine two maxims from Anselm: the first says that no un-fittingness, not even the least, is accepted in God, while the second holds that even a slight reasoning is not to be rejected so long as it is not opposed by a stronger one. Hence a slight reasoning concerning God leads to a necessary conclusion so long as it is not opposed by a stronger reasoning (19;67). These maxims are now applied. Redaction A simply lists a number of statements from Anselm without drawing out the argument coherently, whereas Redaction B,

²⁶ In a shorter reply Redaction A also insists that the presence (*inesse*) must be by union as well as by grace or by essence, and that the authoritative text is the reason why this is so (18); it does not, however, refer to the *Gloss* on Colossians.

²⁷ Redaction B, it will be recalled, never left the Anselmian arguments.

while using Anselm, presents a more ordered statement;²⁸ the latter says that nothing is more justly maintained by God than the honour of his dignity, which requires either that man be subject to God by obedience or that man's sin be punished. Otherwise there would be some disorder in his kingdom, and his dignity as Lord would not be recognized (68;21-22).

At this point Redaction B breaks off, having given Anselm's basic solution but not having completed this section of the question and leaving out the other two topics announced at the beginning. Redaction A continues the arguments from Anselm, concluding that a pure creature could not make satisfaction and that the Redeemer or Liberator should be a God-man. No stronger reasoning contradicts this one and so this conclusion is necessary (23). The necessity is spelled out: Christ must be incarnate to fulfil divine justice, which is well ordered in itself and which ordains that there be penalty and satisfaction sufficient to repay sin and guilt; thus nothing is left disordered and man is restored to his first state (24).

What of Augustine's statement that another mode of liberation was possible? After quoting Peter of Corbeil's solution, our master says in his own name that man could have been drawn out of limbo and so out of the power of the devil in some other way than the Incarnation and passion, but that no other way would have restored man to his first dignity (25). Was God, then, forced to make this restoration at all? No, he replies, and this can be seen by making a distinction in necessity. One kind of necessity forces the will to do something or prevents it from doing what it wishes (*necessitas cogens et premens ipsam voluntatem*); the other is non-coercive, consequent upon the will, and subject to free choice (*necessitas non cogens et sequens voluntatem et subiiciens libero arbitrio*). The second necessity is present in God and is identical with his unchanging will and integrity; it effects grace and is not opposed to grace. Thus God necessarily willed Christ's suffering by his unchangeable, well-ordered and free will, a will that could not be forced or constrained by another. This necessity really has reference to the man to be freed and not to God as freeing or the Father willing his liberation. Christ's obedience unto death was also a gracious conformity of his will and not an imposed obedience. The author qualifies this necessity as 'subsequent' (25).

At the very end of the question, the author returns to the topic of necessity, mentioning five different kinds. In the present context, he says, necessity refers to that without which some good cannot be acquired or some evil cannot be avoided; it also refers to a violent cause from which free choice is exempt (43). The latter necessity would seem to correspond to the *necessitas cogens et*

²⁸ There is some confusion and disorder in Redaction A at this point: its no. 20 repeats material already given in no. 17.

premens that was denied as present in the Incarnation and passion; the former necessity seems to be the positive necessity the author spoke of, the necessity that Christ should become incarnate and suffer for man's redemption (*necessitas non cogens, sequens voluntati et subiaccens libero arbitrio*).

A new argument holds that it would be enough for God to wish to become man-and-God without his needing to do so because Christ's afflictions and sufferings were imposed on him only on condition that he wished to free us. His work of suffering was a work of supererogation because he accepted it freely (and not, it is implied, as a work of necessity) (27). Redaction A replies that in fact the Father had ordained that man should be released only by Christ's death: in the author's view, as already seen, this would make his death necessary as a consequence of God's will. The author adds an interesting point: the whole man would not have been liberated if Christ only willed to suffer without actually suffering, for it was necessary that Christ should pay as a price his own death, which was worth the death of every man, in order that he free men from death (28). This freeing may refer to man's resurrection after death. There are elements of Pauline theology of Christ's saving work here, and this seems evident from the quotation of the preface of the Mass: 'By dying he destroyed our death'; the resurrection aspect, however, is less clear than in a question we have seen in our first series.²⁹

After a digression to which we shall return, Redaction A replies to an argument seen earlier that since a mere man sinned, a mere man could be punished sufficiently for man's redemption. The master challenges the principle used: a thief is hanged when only his hand has committed the theft! Further, he says, the text quoted as an authority refers to eternal punishment and not to temporal punishment (36).

One problem in Anselm's position that was soon seen was that Christ could have merited redemption by any act even before his passion since he had equal grace in each act and grace is the cause of merit.³⁰ When this argument is urged by an objector (37), the master replies that by these acts prior to the passion Christ merited for himself and that this merit was related to eternal life but not to the removal of the penalty for sin. In relation to sin and its penalty, a lesser charity (or grace) together with a greater penalty or suffering can sometimes merit a greater removal of penalty (than, presumably, greater charity but less suffering). Again, he says, the argument does not apply to meriting an increase

²⁹ See *Quaestiones-I*, 2.22 and 35 (pp. 35-36, 38) and *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

³⁰ Cf. *Quaestiones-I*, 2.26 and 38 (pp. 36, 39); the texts (especially from William of Auxerre and Hugh of St. Cher) in Landgraf, 'Das Verdienst Christi', in his *Dogmengeschichte* 2/2.170-253. See also Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in quatuor libros Sententiarum* 3.18.4 and 29 (eds. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae [Quaracchi, 1954], 3.191 and 201).

of grace or meriting the acquisition of grace for another person: these are cases of fitting merit (*meritum congrui*) and not strict merit (*meritum condigni*). He concludes that although the entire power of merit lies in grace, the entire efficacy of merit does not; hence the Lord merited more for us through his passion than through his other works (38). The author teaches, therefore, that although every action of Christ merited eternal life for us, his passion was more efficacious than these other acts for removing sin and its penalty.

A final argument on this topic appeals to Christ's assumption of certain passions: these passions were in accord with nature and were never coercive of Christ because he had them in a mode that was above nature. But, the argument says, a mere man could have such passions and in such a mode above nature, and therefore redemption could take place through a mere man (39). The argument seems to imply that a perfect ordering of the passions in suffering, that is, a perfect harmony of the passions with a will that is not forced but is subject to God, would suffice for redemption. The objector may have in mind the text already seen that asserted that a mere man or an angel could easily sin (18;45), and he may be trying to show that this need not be the case. In any event, the reply cuts through all this by saying with Anselm that something more is needed – such a man would not have the double requisite of power to free together with the debt of sin to be freed (40). This seems to mean that even if a mere man did have the power to suffer on behalf of others, he would not be of the race of those who sinned and so would not share their debt.³¹

This first part of the question shows our author both defending Anselm's basic position and refining or adding to it in those areas where theologians had found some difficulty. One has the impression that many issues still remained unresolved in this area.

(b) *Did the devil hold man captive unjustly?*

This question, announced by Redaction B but not examined by it, is treated in passing by Redaction A but without a separate articulation. The first discussion begins from Augustine's statement that God extorted nothing by a dominion that was violent; was it not just, then, that the devil dominate man? (29) The author's reply is similar to what has already been seen: it was just that man be punished and that he be punished by another, but it was not just that he

³¹ *Purus homo* may also mean a man without sin. A brief exchange now follows: if power is attributed to the Father, then the Father could have become incarnate rather than the Son (41); the force of this argument seems to be to show that it was not necessary that the Son become incarnate and suffer. The master replies simply that there are many reasons why the Son and not the Father was incarnate (42). A number of the reasons given at this time have been seen in *Quaestiones-I*, 1 (pp. 27-31).

be punished by the devil. Thus the punishment was just for man but unjust on the devil's part. Since it was just that man be punished by someone, he was dominated by the devil not precisely as the devil – evil and unjust – but simply as by another person (29). This rather weak reply seems to hold that God used some other person and used the devil without regard to his being evil and unjust.

But did not man voluntarily subject himself to the dominion of the devil, it is asked? (30) This, the master replies, is simply a way of speaking. By voluntarily sinning, man lost grace and weakened his nature; once he did this, he could not resist the devil and so – as a consequence – was dominated by the devil as a servant is by a lord (31).

(c) *Why did the Son not remove disordered concupiscence ('fomes') through his death?*

An argument on this topic maintains that a good doctor removes not only an illness but also its cause, and therefore Christ, called the 'great doctor' by Augustine, should have eliminated the cause of man's illness of sin by freeing man from disordered concupiscence (*fomes*) (32). Our author replies that sometimes a doctor leaves something to be purged in an illness either to be sure that he will be paid for his services or to lead the sick person to take better care of himself. It is this second reason that he sees motivating Christ: the Lord left disordered concupiscence in man to caution him, to further his humility, to exercise him in virtue, and to help him realize his lowliness. The author gives the example of the Jebusites being left in the midst of the Israelites and then adds two scriptural texts as further support (33).

Gregory Nazianzen is also quoted for support. He says that the presence of *fomes* allows human cooperation and effort to contribute to the reward of virtue; the reward is not only an answer to hope but also to such effort (34). And, finally, were *fomes* to be eliminated, people would seek Baptism for bodily rather than for spiritual health. Because it remains, people are led to come to Christ as a spiritual doctor and healer (35).

Question 2: The defects assumed in Christ's human nature (Magister Willermus)

Magister Willermus' question on the defects assumed in Christ's human nature has seven subsections. The first two treat matters already seen in our question 1, but they show no dependence on this question or influence upon it.

(a) *Did Christ assume disordered concupiscence and ignorance?*

Using John Damascene's principle that what cannot be assumed cannot be cured or healed, an opening argument maintains that Christ should have

assumed disordered concupiscence (*fomes*) because it could be cured or healed and so should be assumed. The same is true, it is argued, of ignorance and original sin (1).

Master Willermus first disposes of the question about concupiscence, saying it involves two elements, penalty and proneness to sin, the second of which Christ could not assume. Penalty itself involves two elements: difficulty in acting well, which Christ did not and could not assume, and the ability to suffer together with penalty, which Christ did assume. A text of Anselm has said that Christ assumed only what is useful to us, and, Willermus concludes, although ability to suffer was useful to us, difficulty in acting well was not (2). For Willermus, then, Christ did not assume disordered concupiscence both because of an intrinsic reason (he could have no proneness to sin) and because of an extrinsic reason (he did not have to assume difficulty in acting well in order to save man).

As for ignorance, an argument holds it is not a sin. It also quotes Lombard and Damascene as implying or stating clearly that Christ assumed ignorance (3-4). In reply to Lombard's statement that Christ assumed everything in man except sin, Willermus himself quotes Damascene to the effect that ignorance is not part of nature: it is found in us not as coming from the Creator but from the devil's sowing it in us. Hence no ignorance was found in Christ; indeed, as Scripture indicates, Christ had all knowledge because he was given the Spirit without measure (5). Willermus also interprets the phrase 'except sin' by including within 'sin' the 'cause of sin', which is disordered concupiscence and ignorance (7). As for Damascene's statement that Christ assumed an ignorant and rational nature, Willermus remarks that 'nature' in this text should be understood of the species, that is, of human nature in general and not of the individual human nature; thus there was no ignorance in this nature or person of Christ (6).

(b) *Could Christ redeem the human race through some other defect?*

Here, as in our first question, the problems of possibility and necessity enter the picture, but in slightly different terms. Could Christ have redeemed the human race through some defect other than the one he assumed? What Christ did assume was passibility or ability to suffer together with penalty, so that the question is about some defect other than this. Anticipating a reply that Christ could assume another defect but that it would be less fitting to do so, the argument says that in that case he could assume something unfitting and unbecoming (8) – a position its author clearly would not accept.

Willermus, using Anselm, distinguishes a twofold *posse*, that of power and that of fittingness. As to power – mere power, we might say – Christ could have redeemed man in another way, but as to fittingness – power used in

relation to an end, we might say – Christ could not have used another way because this would not achieve the end so well: justice and mercy would not have come together. It was just, he concludes, that penalty should be redeemed through penalty, as a text of Hebrews indicates (9).

The text of Hebrews raises further questions about the necessity and fittingness of Christ's suffering and about the role of the Father and Son in the work of redemption (10-11).³² Willermus explains the role of the persons in the Trinity by distinguishing three prepositions: everything is done by (*a*) the Father through (*per*) the Son in (*in*) the Holy Spirit. Applying this principle, he says that the Father effected the passion through (*per*) the Son, the Father's role being the eternal predestination of Christ to fulfil the plan which included the passion. The Father's and Son's roles are brought out as well by texts from Colossians and Ephesians (12).

(c) *Which defects did Christ assume?*

This discussion involves an examination of the various powers of the soul with their corresponding perfections or defects. Spiritual defects are eliminated at once, since the only ones possible are ignorance in the speculative part of the soul and sin in the active part; both of these have already been eliminated (13). Backed by an authoritative text, Willermus grants that the lower part of reason or of the soul is the seat of such defects as pain, weariness, sadness and fear in the sensible part and at least hunger and thirst in the vegetable part (14). Some defects, such as hunger and thirst, are shared by both the sensitive and vegetable parts of the soul since in them the soul suffers through the body. But a defect like fear is found only in the sensible part.³³ In either case, Willermus remarks, the term 'all defects' applies to all such passions and therefore the interior and exterior passion or suffering is included under the name 'weakness' or 'infirmity' (15).

Granting this use of 'weakness' or 'infirmity', Willermus asks about their extent in Christ: did he assume every weakness or only useful weakness? He quotes with seeming approval Lombard's teaching that Christ assumed defects not of guilt but only of penalty, and among these only defects that befitted

³² The text of Hebrews uses the expression *propter quem omnia et per quem omnia*, and the discussion turns on this expression. The question as stated is unclear, but it seems to involve the role of the Father and Son in the work of redemption. The objector asks whether the expressions *per* and *propter*, which he seems to understand as applied to Christ in the text of Hebrews, express the reason why Christ had to suffer and undergo the passion (10). A second argument continues the same thought by asking what fittingness there was in Christ's suffering when he is impassible (11). This argument seems to look to Christ only in his divine personhood or even only in his divine nature.

³³ Willermus fails to mention whether pain, weariness, and sadness are common or isolated defects.

Christ, were expedient to man, and were not opposed to Christ's dignity (16). But why this last qualification, it is asked? If weakness or infirmity is found in its true, full notion in Christ, it will be found to be useful since, as Scripture says, 'virtue is made perfect in infirmity' (17). To this Willermus says simply that the word 'useful' comprehends 'what is useful to us'. The opponent had used a scriptural text implying the usefulness of any infirmity or weakness in Christ for Christ himself. Willermus says rather that Christ's weakness is useful not for himself but for others (18). He implies that usefulness for mankind will be the criterion to judge which defect is found in Christ and that therefore not every defect is found in him.

(d) *Was Christ's sorrow the greatest of all sorrows?*

This discussion grows out of the scriptural text, often applied to Christ, which says 'there is no sorrow like my sorrow' (19). This text is reenforced by the physiological principle that a higher degree of life means greater ability to suffer: a dictum from Aristotle says that sensitive skin means aptitude of mind (20). Arguments oppose those holding Christ's sorrow to be the greatest. Would his charity not be diminished by such sorrow since Scripture teaches that passions weigh down the soul? (20) Again, even if someone in hell could enjoy the vision of God, his sufferings would diminish his enjoyment; so Christ's enjoyment of the vision of God would be lessened by so great a sorrow (21).

Willermus replies that if the passion is involuntary or violent, charity is lessened or eliminated altogether; if it is voluntarily accepted, as is done by martyrs for Christ, charity is increased. This was the case with Christ, whose charity led him to suffer the utmost, giving up his life; in heaven there will be no passion but only action, the movement of free will cooperating with the virtue of charity (22). As for Christ's suffering while enjoying the vision of God, the sufferings were found in the lower part of the soul and so did not impede the enjoyment of the vision of God found in the higher part of the soul. William, following Jerome, interprets the scriptural saying that Jesus *began* to be afraid and distressed as indicating that the passions begin in the lower part of the soul; he calls this first movement of passion a 'protopassion' or 'first passion' (23).

(e) *Could Christ sin?*

Concerning this question, the argument is made that Christ had the power to kill and since killing is against God's commandment, Christ could sin (24).³⁴

³⁴ This discussion of Christ's power to sin and to lie, and the reply given, are influenced in part by Anselm, *Cur Deus homo* 2.10 (ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi ... opera omnia* 2 [Rome, 1940], pp. 106-107; PL 158.408B-409A). Anselm discusses the power to lie but not the power to kill.

Willermus replies to this by first distinguishing between power had by way of nature and power had by way of will and then by giving Anselm's distinction between a power following upon will and a power preceding will: merit is found in the following but not in the preceding power. Applying these distinctions, he argues that if one considers the power preceding the will by way of nature, Christ could kill, but he could not kill by the power following or consequent upon his will (25). The implications of his statement are quite clear: Christ had the physical power to do what in itself would be a sin and he had this power prior to the exercise of will, but once Christ's will enters the picture, he could not commit such a sinful act because of his holiness and merit.

A similar type of distinction explains his opponent's further argument that Christ could lie (and so sin). Willermus distinguishes between a vocal and a mental word or the meaning of the word. Christ could utter a word signifying something false but he could not mean something false by what he said – if he said it, it would be true (26). Again there is a distinction between the radical power to do something and the power consequent on the will, which was always well ordered in Christ. Hence what he signified or meant by his spoken words was always true and never a sinful lie.

(f) *Where ('in quo') and how ('quomodo') is 'virtue perfected in weakness'?*

How can Paul's text about virtue being made perfect in weakness be true, that is, where and how is there perfection since weakness burdens virtue and its activity? This question seems to continue the earlier discussion about the passions, for the argument says that if the body burdens the soul, so also does bodily suffering (27). Further, on this principle Christ's weakness will be the greatest since his virtue is the greatest (28).

Willermus explains the Pauline text by saying that weakness in most cases leads to greater attention or recollection as well as to equanimous patience, and in the latter is found greater virtue, for Scripture tells us that there is no greater love than to lay down one's life for one's friend (29). The role of patience as perfecting virtue also answers the argument about weakness being correlated with virtue: it is the patience that is evinced that leads to greater virtue, not the weakness. In Christ patience was at its peak (30); thus, Willermus implies, Christ's virtue was made perfect in weakness by reason of Christ's supreme patience, not by the extent of his weakness.

(g) *Why is the divinity that assumed flesh not able to suffer?*

A final question asks why the divinity in the union is not like the soul united to the body: the soul becomes passible or able to suffer in its union with the body; why does not the divinity become passible? (31) The difference lies, our author says, in the relation of soul to body and of the divinity to the body. The

soul, as the perfection of the body, seeks by nature to be joined to the body and is created for the purpose of being infused into the body; hence it is able to suffer in its lower part but not in the superior part by which it contemplates God. The divinity, however, lacks such a natural relation to the flesh even in the union, and so cannot suffer (32).

Question 3: Was there duplicity in Christ? Did he have interior sorrow?

Within an anonymous quodlibetal question containing ten sub-questions, the seventh sub-question first asks whether Christ was not guilty of duplicity when on Easter evening, journeying to Emmaus with the two disciples, he pretended or made as if (*finxit*) he was going further (2). Using a text of Augustine, the author interprets the word *finxit* not as if Christ were falsely pretending that he was going further on his journey, but that, as Augustine's discussion of the text indicates, he would one day leave his disciples by going to heaven (7).

The second discussion within this sub-question is whether Jesus had sorrow interiorly: this seems to be indicated by his weeping over Jerusalem, in which the exterior action indicates interior sorrow (3). Two glosses on Isaias are quoted to argue that Christ did not have such sorrow (4), but the author refers these texts to the higher part of Christ's reason, which always rejoiced in God (5); thus he indicates that he would affirm interior sorrow in Christ. He prefers another solution to the question than the one he has just given: Christ indeed had interior sorrow, but it was unlike the passion of sorrow in us, which disturbs our reason and inclines our will to evil; it was the 'propassion' of sorrow, and this had neither of these effects in Christ (6). This solution applies Jerome's distinction, well known to the Middle Ages through Lombard's *Sentences* and the *Glossa ordinaria*.³⁵

Appendix: Was the Incarnation beneficial to the angels?

A paragraph in a short quodlibetal question asks whether the angels benefited from the Incarnation. The anonymous author maintains that their chief or principal joy was not increased except that they increased in particular joy because, as Colossians says, all things in heaven and on earth were reconciled: this the author interprets as bringing reconciliation and peace between men and angels, and as establishing a 'society' between men and angels. Two other texts of scripture are also quoted to indicate that the angels longed to see Christ and rejoice at the conversion of sinners through Christ's coming (1).

³⁵ See Lombard, 3 *Sent.* 15.2 (Quaracchi, 2.616), and *infra*, q. 2, n. to lines 109-111.

Thus the author sees Christ's coming into the world as benefiting not only the human but the angelic order, and so as having a broad cosmic significance.

III. EDITION OF THE TEXTS

In our edition emendations have been kept to the minimum required to correct obvious errors or to clarify the text; these have been indicated in the text itself or in the notes.

Since these texts are of interest mainly to those interested in theology and philosophy and since they offer little of special paleographical interest, the medieval spelling has been normalized according to classical usage, e.g., *ae* for *e*, *tio* for *cio*, *v* for *u*. Unusual spellings, however, have been noted.

'MS.' refers to the hand of the original scribe, 'MS.2' and 'MS.3' to other hands found in the manuscript of the questions edited here.

In the references the following abbreviations will be used:

Anselmus, *Cur Deus homo* = *Cur Deus homo*, ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi opera omnia* 2 (Rome, 1940), pp. 37-133.

apud Lyranum = *Biblia sacra cum glossa ordinaria et glossa interlineari ... et postilla Nicolai Lyrani*, 7 vols. (1, 3, 6: Paris, 1590; 2: Venice, 1603; 4, 5: Lyons, 1545; 7: Lyons, 1590).

Damascenus, *De fide orth.* = Joannes Damascenus, *De fide orthodoxa*, in PG 94.781-1228; versio latina ed. Eligius M. Buytaert, *De fide orthodoxa: Versions of Burgundio and Cerbanus* (Franciscan Institute Publications: Text Series 8; St. Bonaventure, N.Y.-Louvain-Paderborn, 1955).

Glossa Lombardi = Petrus Lombardus, *Collectanea in omnes d. Pauli Apostoli epistolas*, in PL 191.1297A-1696C and 192.9A-520A. (Lombard's *Gloss* on the Psalms is not quoted in our questions.)

Glossa ord. = *Glossa ordinaria*, in PL 113.67B-1315C and 114.9A-752B, et apud Lyranum (q.v.).

Hyp. Union = Walter H. Principe, *The Theology of the Hypostatic Union in the Early Thirteenth Century*, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1963-75): see above, n. 1.

Lombardus, 1 *Sent.* = Petrus Lombardus, *Sententiae in IV libris distinctis* 1: *Prolegomena, Liber I et II*, edd. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Claras Aquas, ed. 3^a (Grottaferrata [Rome], 1971), liber 1.

Lombardus, 3 *Sent.* = Petrus Lombardus, *Libri IV Sententiarum*, edd. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae, ed. 2^a, 2 (Quaracchi, 1916), liber 3.

<Quaestio 1-A>

<Utrum necesse fuerit Christum incarnari et pati
ad redemptionem generis humani>

1 Quaeritur utrum necesse fuerit Christum incarnari et pati ad redemptionem generis humani [= 44].

5 2 Et primo ponamus rationes dicentium quod non fuit necesse, qui sic arguunt: Deus est omnipotens; ergo sua potentia potuit liberare hominem a servitute diaboli sine omni passione et incarnatione: alioquin impotens esset si aliter non posset [= 48].

3 Si dicas quod potuit cum minori difficultate sed ideo sic fecit, ut dicit
10 Gregorius, quod tantam apposuit medicinam ut per magnitudinem medicinae morbi magnitudo et peccati gravitas appareret et nos amplius ad suum amorem alliceret, videtur insipiens medicus qui gravissimam et sumptuosam medicinam apponit cum leviori sanare posset, et falsitas videtur esse in dictis: ostenderetur enim eodem modo magna esse medicina et sanatio si aliter fieret [= 49-51].

15 4 Si dicas, 'Ideo fecit ut maiorem ostenderet caritatem, passus est quia maiorem caritatem nemo habet etc., Joan 13', haec ratio nulla cum sine omni passione circa angelos tantam habuit et ostendit caritatem ut eos confirmaret [= 52].

5 Si dicas cum Augustino quod ideo sic fecit quia maluit vincere per
20 iustitiam quam per potentiam, non valet quia diabolus hominem tenebat <iniuste> licet homo iuste teneretur, unde nulla fiebat ei iniuria si ab eius potestate liberaretur homo, sicut patet per simile: Aliquis percutit innocentem; tertius qui non est iudex illorum percutit percussorem innocentis; ille iuste percutitur quia meruit, tamen ille iniuste percutit cum ad eum correctio non
25 pertineat. Sed iudex per iustitiam posset <percutere>, et Deus iudex per iustitiam potuit diabolum percutere, et iuste potest dominus liberare servum a conservo iniuste detentum [= 54-56]. <81rb>

12 alliceret: Non est detectum. Cf. autem Gregorium, *Moralium* 20.36.68-70 (PL 76.179A-180C), 24.2.2-3 (PL 76.287B-288C), et *Hom. in Evang.* 2.32.1 (PL 76.1232C-1233A).

16 habet: Cf. Jo 15 : 13.

20 potentiam: Vide Augustinum, *De Trin.* 13.13.17-13.14.18 (PL 42.1026-28; CCL 50A.404-407), praesertim 13.13.17: 'Non autem diabolus potentia Dei sed iustitia superandus fuit' (PL 42.1026; CCL 50A.404), et: '... placuit Deo ut ... non potentia diabolus sed iustitia vinceretur' (PL 42.1027; CCL ibid.). Cf. *Glossa Lombardi* in Heb 2 : 14 (PL 192.421D).

20-25 diabolus ... pertineat: Argumentum et exemplum analogum inveniuntur apud Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 1.7 (Schmitt, 57; PL 158.367C-368B).

6 Item, dicitur Gen 18: *Numquid punies innocentem cum nocentibus?*
 Iniustitia est punire innocentem et ita maior iniustitia fuit exponere Filium
 30 innocentem pro nocentibus quam aliter liberare [= 57].

7 Si dicas, 'Iustum fuit quia sic voluit', hoc nihil videtur quia si aliquid
 iustum est simpliciter, non potest Deus velle contrarium, et hoc tale est
 innocentem exponere pro nocentibus [= 58-60].

8 Item, Sap 11, *Per quae peccat quis, per haec et punitur*, et purus homo
 35 peccavit, et ita non fuit necesse Christum pati qui erat Deus et homo.

9 Contra: Dicit Ambrosius: 'Tantam oportuit esse humilitatem in
 Redemptore quanta fuit superbia in perditore.' Sed tanta fuit superbia in
 perditore quod homo voluit Deus esse. Ergo tanta debuit esse humilitas ut Deus
 vellet esse homo, et ita necesse fuit Deum incarnari [= 61].

40 10 Item, super Heb 2, *Auctorem salutis*, dicit Glossa: 'Si Christus non
 incarnaretur, homo non redimeretur et non redemptus periret': et in eadem
 glossa: 'Quae mors nostrae miseriae sanandae convenientissima fuit.' Sed
 quidquid Deus facit, convenientissime facit, et optimi est optima facere. Igitur
 per mortem necesse fuit nos redimi [= 62].

45 11 Item, dicit Anselmus: 'Quantumlibet parvum inconueniens est Deo
 impossibilitas' cum tractat quare Filius est incarnatus, non Pater, non Spiritus
 Sanctus. Ergo quod convenientissimum est, est Deo necessitas, scilicet quia ita

36 Tantam oportuit bis *exh. MS.*
 Augustinus *MS.*

40 post Item *add. dicit MS.*

45 Anselmus:

28 nocentibus: Cf. Gen 18 : 23.

34 punitur: Cf. Sap 11 : 17.

37 perditore: Fons citationis videtur esse Lombardus, 3 *Sent.* 18.5 (Quaracchi, 633):
 'Decreverat Deus in mysterio ut ait Ambrosius, propter primum peccatum non intromitti in
 paradysum ... nisi in uno hominum tanta existeret humilitas ... sicut in primo homine tanta fuit
 superbia....' Prima pars textus invenitur in Ambrosiastro, *In Rom* 5 : 14 (PL 17.101B; CSEL 81/
 1.178); pro secunda parte cf. Ambrosiastrum, *In Phil* 2 : 9 (PL 17.432D; CSEL 81/3.142), citatus
 a Lombardo, *Sent.* 3.18.1 (Quaracchi, 629). Cf. etiam Richardum de sancto Victore, *De Verbo*
Incar nato 8 (PL 196.1003B): 'Ad plenitudinem autem satisfactionis oportuit ut tanta esset
 humiliatio in expiatione quanta fuerit praesumptio in praevaricatione.'

40 salutis: Heb 2 : 10.

41 periret: Cf. *Glossa Lombardi* in Heb 2 : 10 (PL 192.419D) et *Glossa ord.* in Heb 2 : 10 (PL
 114.647C); cf. *ibid.* apud Lyranum 5.815B.

42 fuit: *Glossa Lombardi* in Heb 2 : 10 (PL 192.419C); cf. Augustinum, *De Trin.* 13.10.13
 (PL 42.1024; CCL 50A.399-400).

46 impossibilitas: Cf. Anselmum, *Epistola de Incarnatione Verbi* 10 (ed. F. S. Schmitt, *S.*
Anselmi ... opera omnia 2 [Rome, 1940], p. 26; PL 158.276C): 'Quoniam ergo quamlibet parvum
 inconueniens in Deo est impossibile....'

conueniens est quod nullo maiori vincitur; et idem Anselmus dicit: 'Nullus modus alius conuenientior', et ita modus liberationis per mortem necessarius.

50 12 Item, inter animam et Deum nihil medium, et medius debuit esse liberator. Oportebat ergo ut esset Deus et homo.

13 Si dicas, ut dicitur communiter, quod necesse fuit per mortem redimi sed non fuit necesse liberari quia dicit Augustinus quod potuit esse alius modus nostrae liberationis et in redemptione fit pretii solutio, quaeritur cui fuit pretium
55 solutum? Non diabolo, quia iniuste tenebat hominem et dolose eum deceperat, et custos erat carceris, non dominus. Sed Deo Patri? Sed ideo soluitur pretium ut quod est unius transeat in potestatem alterius. Ergo homo redemptus de potestate Patris transiuit in potestatem alterius: non Filii, qui dicit: *Omnia mea tua sunt*. Cuius ergo? [= 53, 63]

60 14 Si dicas cum Anselmo ut de subiunctione necessaria qua subiectus est homo Deo Patri transiret in subiunctionem voluntariam ideo Patri datum est illud pretium, obicitur quod Abraham et sancti iusti subiecti fuerunt ante incarnationem non solum subiunctione necessitatis sed voluntaria. Ergo sine passione Filii potuit fieri et ita superfluum fuit [= 64-65].

65 15 Si dicas quod Abraham iustificatus est per passionem, id est, per fidem passionis sine qua numquam fuit salus, tunc videtur quod passio valuit Abrahae non per modum redemptionis sed per modum verificationis, ut scilicet fieret verum manifeste quod ab ipso fuerat creditum, et hoc sine passione potuit fieri et ita redit quod superflua fuit passio [cf. 65].

70 16 Item, quod necesse fuerit Deum incarnari ad hominis redemptionem et alium non sufficere dicit Anselmus, lib. 1, cap. 6: 'Quaecumque alia persona hominem a morte redimeret, eius servus idem homo recte iudicaretur; quod si esset, nullatenus restauratus esset in illam dignitatem quam habiturus erat si non peccaret, cum ipse, non nisi Dei servus et aequalis angelis Dei per omnia
75 futurus erat, servus esset eius qui Deus non esset et cuius angeli servi non essent', et ita necesse fuit ut per Deum redimeretur.

48 Anselmus: Augustinus *MS*.

49 conuenientior: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 2.8 (Schmitt, 104; PL 158.406B): 'Ut igitur hunc quoque modum probet suae subiacere potestati..., nil conuenientius, quam ut...', et *ibid.* 2.16 (Schmitt, 119; PL 158.418C): 'Si enim conuenientius et rationabilius est hoc, quam aliquando nullum fuisse...' Verba videntur potius esse Augustini, *De Trin.* 13.10.13 (PL 42.1024; CCL 50A.399-400): '... sanandae nostrae miseriae conuenientioremodum alium non fuisse...'.

54 liberationis: Augustinus, *ibid.*: '... verum etiam ut ostendamus non alium modum possibilem Deo defuisse...' solutio: Vide *supra*, pp. 8-9 et n. 24; vide etiam *infra*, n. ad lin. 121.

59 sunt: Jo 17 : 10.

62 pretium: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 1.14 (Schmitt, 72; PL 158.379B-C): ad sensum.

76 essent: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.5 (Schmitt, 52; PL 158.365C-D): ad litteram (peccaret *MS*., peccasset *Ans.*).

17 Praeterea, redemptio hominis non fuit nisi satisfacere pro peccato illius, restituendo scilicet ablatum et emendando contumeliam illatam Deo Patri. Sed tanta erat contumelia quod non erat recompensabilis per quamcumque
 80 creaturam: 'non enim pro conservando tota creatura debuit facere contra Deum'. Ergo oportuit quod 'aliquis solveret Deo aliquid quod maius esset quolibet quod est praeter Deum', quod 'non potuit facere nisi Deus nec debebat nisi homo'. Ergo oportuit quod Redemptor esset in una persona Deus et homo, nam si alius homo, alius Deus, impossibile esset ut ambo facerent quod fieri
 85 necesse est, nam Deus non faceret quia non deberet, homo non faceret quia non posset, et ita ut prius [= 66].

18 Item, Augustinus: 'Ad hoc ut homo vincat, necesse est ut Deus in eo sit qui eum a peccato liberaret: si enim homo esset vel angelus, facile peccaret', et loquitur de victoria diaboli, et intellige de inesse per unionem, non solum per
 90 gratiam vel per essentiam, quod patet per hoc quod dicit: 'si enim homo esset vel angelus' etc. Ergo oportuit quod esset Deus-homo [= 45, 47].

19 Ad solutionem praedictorum nota regulas vel maximas sic: 'Nullum vel minimum inconueniens in Deo accipiatur'. Item, 'nulla vel minima ratio, si maiori non repugnat, reiciatur': 'sicut enim in Deo quodlibet parvum
 95 inconueniens sequitur impossibilitas, ita quamlibet parvam rationem, si maiori non vincatur, comitatur necessitas' [= 67].

20 Item, 'non est aliud peccare quam non reddere Deo debitum', scilicet

88 liberaret: liberet *MS.*

92 Nullum: Unum *MS.*

93 minima: ninima *MS.*

77-78 redemptio ... Patri: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.11 (Schmitt, 68; PL 158.376C): 'Nec sufficit solummodo reddere quod ablatum est, sed pro contumelia illius plus debet reddere quam abstulit.'

80 creaturam: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.20-23 (Schmitt, 86-91; PL 158.392A-396B), et *ibid.* 1.5 (Schmitt, 52; PL 158.365C-D).

81 Deum: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.21 (Schmitt, 89; PL 158.394B): 'Fateri me necesse est quia pro conservanda tota creatura nihil deberem facere contra voluntatem Dei.'

82 Deum: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 2.6 (Schmitt, 101; PL 158.403D-404A): 'Hoc autem fieri nequit, nisi sit qui solvat Deo pro peccato hominis aliquid maius quam omne quae praeter Deum est.'

83 homo¹: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* (Schmitt, 101; PL 158.404A): 'Non ergo potest hanc satisfactionem facere nisi Deus.... Sed nec facere illam debet nisi homo.'

86 posset: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* (Schmitt, 101; PL 158.404A-B): ad sensum.

88 peccaret: *Glossa Lombardi* in Heb 2: 14 (PL 192.421D); cf. *Glossa ord.*, *ibid.* (apud Lyrarum 6.816E).

93 accipiatur: Anselmus, *Cur Deus homo* 1.10 (Schmitt, 67; PL 158.375C).

94 reiciatur: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.*: '... Nulla vel minima ratio, si maior non repugnat, reiciatur.'

96 necessitas: Anselmus, *ibid.* (Schmitt, 67; PL 158.375C-D): ad litteram (Quodlibet *MS.*, quamlibet *Ans.*; vincatur *MS.*, vincitur *Ans.*).

97 debitum: Anselmus, *ibid.* 1.11 (Schmitt, 68; PL 158.376B).

subici suae voluntati. 'Hic est solus et totus honor quem debemus Deo et a nobis
exigit Deus.' Item, 'non sufficit reddere quod ablatum est, sed pro contumelia
100 illata plus debet' [= 66].

21 Item, 'non decet Deo inordinate aliquid in regno suo dimittere' nec
'peccatum impunitum' quia, ut dicit Augustinus, 'non relinquitur dedecus
culpa sine decore iustitiae', et ita necesse est puniri peccatum [= 68].

22 Item, 'nihil servat Deus iustius quam suae dignitatis honorem', nec
105 'integre servare videtur si sic auferri permittat ut nec solvatur nec puniat
auferentem' 'et sic se Dominum eius ostendat'. Ostendit autem se Dominum
dupliciter, vel quando homo se ostendit servum eius oboediendo vel Deus se
esse Dominum ostendit puniendo [= 68].

23 His supra dictis dicimus quod revera homo peccaverat et volebat ei
110 satisfacere sed, ut praeostensum est [17], per puram creaturam hoc fieri non
poterat quia in pura creatura non concurrebant duo necessaria, scilicet potentia
et debitum, sed solum in eo qui esset Deus et homo. Unde oportuit
Redemptorem vel Liberatorem esse Deum-hominem. Haec est ratio cui non
contradicit maior. Ergo eam sequitur necessitas [cf. 19].

115 24 Unde concedimus quod necesse fuit Christum incarnari de iustitia
divina ordinata et ordinante poenam et satisfactionem sufficientem ad peccatum
et culpam ut nihil inordinatum relinquatur, et ad hoc ut homo in statum
pristinum restitueretur [cf. 16, 17, 21, 22].

25 Ad illud quod obicitur, 'Alius modus fuit possibilis' [13], respondet
120 Petrus de Corbolio: 'Id est, alius modus non impossibilis, id est, non impotentia
esset si alio modo liberaret.' Nos dicimus quod alius modus fuit possibilis ut

99 Deus: Anselmus, *ibid.* (Schmitt, 68; PL 158.376C).

100 debet: Anselmus, *ibid.*: ad litteram (non *MS.*, nec *Ans.*).

101 dimittere: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.12 (Schmitt, 69; PL 158.377B): 'Non ergo decet Deum
peccatum sic impunitum dimittere.'

102 impunitum: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.*: 'Est et aliud quod sequitur, si peccatum sic impunitum
dimittitur ... quod Deo non convenit.'

103 iustitiae: Non est detectum.

104 honorem: Anselmus, *Cur Deus homo* 1.13 (Schmitt, 71; PL 158.379A).

106 auferentem: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.*: 'Videtur tibi quod eum integre servet, si sic auferri sibi
permittit, ut nec solvatur nec ipse auferentem puniat? ostendat: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.14
(Schmitt, 72; PL 158.379C): '... et sic se Dominum eius esse ostendit.'

106-108 Ostendit ... puniendo: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* (Schmitt, 72; PL 158.379B-C): ad
sensum.

121 liberaret: Opera Petri non exstant: vide L. Hödl, 'Petrus de Corbolio', *Lexikon für
Theologie und Kirche*, ed. 2^a, 8 (1963) 358. Opinionem eius refert Hugo de sancto Caro sic:
'Corboliensis dicebat quod alio modo non potuit redimi genus humanum, tamen aliter potuit
liberari. Et verum est quod dicebat' (Bruges, Bibl. Ville MS. 178, fol. 80vb; Brussels, Bibl. Roy.
MS. 11422-23 [1424], fol. 58ra; Vatican City, MS. Vat. lat. 1098, fol. 99ra).

liberaret a potestate diaboli extrahendo a limbo, sed quod restitueret hominem suae dignitati non videtur alius possibilis. Non tamen tenebatur hoc facere sed voluntarie fecit, Is 53: *Oblatus est quia voluit*. Et distinguitur duplex necessitas:

125 una cogens et premens ipsam voluntatem, ut quando res exterior potest cogere ut fiat res vel cohibere ut non fiat: haec non cadit in Deo; alia est non cogens et sequens voluntatem et subiaccens libero arbitrio: haec est in Deo et est idem quod immutabilitas voluntatis vel honestatis: haec necessitas est effectivus gratiae nec est opposita gratiae, et talis fuit in Christo vel in Patre. Unde sensus

130 est: Deus necessario voluit Christum pati, id est, voluntate incommutabili, ordinata, libera, quae ab alio non potest cogi vel cohiberi, et sic notatur respectu hominis liberandi, non respectu Dei liberantis vel Patris volentis liberationem. Unde *Filius oboedivit Patri usque ad mortem* et illa oboedientia fuit gratuita conformatio voluntatis, non debitum obsequendi. Eadem necessitate verum est

135 Abraham credidisse Christum incarnandum, passurum, scilicet necessitate subsequente.

26 Ad id quod obicitur, 'Tantum oportuit' etc. [9], dic 'tantum et quantum' spatio et differentia, non valore vel intensione, cum quaelibet virtus maior sit quantumlibet gravi peccato. Sed intelligitur quod sicut homo voluit esse Deus,

140 ita oportuit quod Deus vellet esse homo.

27 Sed tunc obicitur quod non oportuit ut Deus fieret homo, sed solum ut vellet fieri homo, et dicitur quod non erat Christo impositum ut affligeretur vel pateretur nisi conditionaliter – si vellet nos liberare. Unde faciendo supererogavit; unde in patiando supererogatio fuit quia in libero arbitrio eius erat ut

145 pateretur.

28 Sed in ordinatione Patris erat ut non redimeretur homo nisi per mortem eius, nec totus homo esset liberatus ex sola voluntate patiendi: ut enim liberaretur a morte corporis, oportuit ut solveret mortem valentem mortem omnis hominis. – Item, 'Mortem nostram moriendo destruxit.'

150 29 Item, numquid iustum erat quod diabolus homini dominaretur cum dicat Augustinus: 'Nihil extorquens violento dominatu'? Et dicendum quod in

131 cohiberi *corr. ex prohiberi MS.*

141 *post Deus add. ut Deus MS.*

142 dicitur: *Deus MS.*

124 voluit: Is 53 : 7.

125 premens: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 2.17 (Schmitt, 123; PL 158.422C). Argumentum sequens dependet ex illo Anselmi, ibid. (Schmitt, 123-25; PL 158.422C-424C).

133 mortem: Cf. Phil 2 : 8.

149 destruxit: *Missale Romanum*, Praefatio paschale.

151 dominatu: Augustinus, *De libero arbitrio* 3.10.31 (PL 27.1286).

veritate homo iuste puniebatur et iustum erat quod ab aliquo puniretur, non tamen iustum quod ab illo. Unde respectu hominis iustum erat, respectu diaboli iniustum. Unde cum iniustum esset ut ille non puniretur ab aliquo, dominatus
155 fuit diabolus ei non in quantum diabolus, sed in quantum quis, et hoc consideravit Augustinus cum dixit 'Nihil extorquens violento dominatu' etc., et hoc modo intelligendum quod diabolus tenebat hominem, non iure iniquo.

30 Sed obicitur quod homo subiecit se voluntarie dominio diaboli.

31 Respondeo quod modus est loquendi, quia scilicet homo voluntarie
160 peccando amisit gratiam et debilitavit naturam, quo facto non poterat resistere diabolo, et sic diabolus dominabatur ei et ita erat dominus hominis, sicut accipitur: 'Dicitur dominus a laude.' <81va>

32 Item, obicitur: Si boni medici est non solum sanare morbum sed et causam morbi omnino expellere, et Augustinus dicit de Christo: 'Venit magnus
165 medicus quia magnus iacebat aegrotus', debuit causam morbi expellere et a fomite hominem liberare.

33 Solutio: Aliquando medicus relinquit aliquid purgandum vel ut ei reddatur salarium vel ut infirmus cautius se custodiat. Sic Dominus reliquit fomitem ad cautelam, humilitatem et exercitium et suae vilitatis cogitationem et
170 experimentum, sicut Jebusaeum noluit expellere a terra promissionis, Judic 3, et Mich 6: *Humiliatio tua in medio tui*, et 2 Tim: *Non coronabitur nisi qui legitime certaverit*.

34 Item, Gregorius Nazianzenus: 'Ut virtutis praemia non tantum ex dono speret sed etiam ex labore.'

35 Item, ut homo spiritualem medicum reveatur et cognoscat et spiritualem sanitatem expectet et non faciat sicut illi qui filios baptizabant propter sanitatem corporalem, non spiritualem.

173 Nazianzenus: Nazanzenus *MS*.

175 reveatur: revenatur *MS*.

162 laude: Cf. Augustinum, *De doctrina christiana* 1.6.6 (PL 34.21; CCL 32.10): 'Et tamen Deus, cum de illo nihil digne dici possit, admisit humanae vocis obsequium, et verbis nostris in laude sua gaudere nos voluit. Nam inde est et quod dicitur Deus.'

165 aegrotus: Cf. Augustinum, *Sermo* 175.1.1 (PL 38.945): 'Si venit de caelo magnus medicus, magnus per totum orbem terrae jacebat aegrotus. Ipse aegrotus genus humanum est.' Cf. *Sermo Morin Guelferbytanus* 32.5 (PLS 2.641).

170 Judic 3: vv. 5-6.

171 tui: Mich 6 : 14.

172 certaverit: Cf. 2 Tim 2 : 5.

174 labore: Cf. Gregorium Nazianzenum, *Oratio* 40.12 (PG 36.373C): '... ἵνα μὴ τὸ χάρισμα μόνον ἔχῃς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀντίδοσιν', et ibid. 40.21 (PG 36.385C-D): '... ἔν' αὐτῷ τούτῳ πλέον ἔχῃς τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ, καὶ χρέος, ἀλλὰ μὴ χάριν λαβεῖν τὴν ἀντίδοσιν.'

36 Ad illud, 'Per quae peccat' etc. [8], respondeo: Non est generaliter
verum – fur peccat manu et gula suspenditur – sed intelligitur de poena aeterna,
180 non temporali. Similiter solvitur illud Gen 18 [6].

37 Item, gratia est sufficiens causa meriti. Sed Christus in omni opere
aequalem habuit gratiam. Ergo in omni opere nostram meruit redemptionem.
Ergo non oportuit pati.

38 Solutio: Hoc intelligitur de merito vitae aeternae, sed non est verum de
185 merito dimissionis poenae ubi ex minori caritate cum maiori poena vel opere
aliquando meretur maior dimissio poenae. Similiter non tenet in merito
augmenti gratiae nec in merito acquirendi alii gratiam quia in his est meritum
congrui, non condigni. Hoc modo dicendum hic quod plus meruit Dominus
nobis per suam passionem, sed sibi aequaliter meruit in omni opere suo, sicut
190 tota vis merendi est penes gratiam sed non tota efficacia.

39 Item, obicitur: 'Omnes passionες naturales indetractabiles assumpsit'
quae secundum naturam sunt et supra naturam: nihil enim coactum est in
Christo – tantum secundum carnem patitur. Unde illae passionες secundum
naturam dicuntur quantum ad receptionem supra naturam, non quantum ad
195 hoc quod ab imperio divino. Sed utrumque horum potuit fieri in puro homine.
Ergo per purum hominem potuit fieri redemptio.

40 Sed hoc solutum est supra [16] quia dicit Anselmus: 'Si alius Deus, alius
homo, impossibile esset ut ambo facerent quod fieri necesse est.' Unde nec
homo purus posset, sed oportuit in eodem concurrere et posse et debitum.

200 41 Item, si posse attribuitur Patri, videtur quod potius debuit Pater
incarnari.

42 Respondeo: Multae sunt rationes quare Filius, non Pater, est incarnatus.

43 Item, necessarium quinque modis dicitur: primo, sine quo non est res;
secundo, sine quo non potest acquiri bonum – sic virtutes necessariae dicuntur;
205 tertio, sine quo non potest vitari malum; quarto, causa violenta secundum quod
ab huiusmodi necessitate dicitur liberum esse liberum arbitrium; quinto, quod
nec potest nec poterit nec potuit aliter esse. Quomodo sumitur necessarium?
Respondeo: Secundo modo, et tertio et quarto.

204 necessariae: necesse MS.

191 assumpsit: Damascenus, *De fide orth.* 3.20 (PG 94.1081A-B; Buytaert, 259).

198 est: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 2.7 (Schmitt, 102; PL 158.404D): 'Si ... alius sit
homo, alius Deus, et non idem sit Deus qui et homo: impossibile est, ut ambo faciant quod fieri
necesse est.'

<Quaestio 1-B>

Magister Guido

<Cur Deus homo>

44 <Q>uaesitum est cur Deus homo secundum quod dicit Anselmus, et
quaerit idem: primo an necesse fuit Christum incarnari ad communem
5 redemptionem generis humani; secundo, utrum diabolus iuste detinebat
hominem; tertio, quare Filius per mortem suam non amovit fomitem [= 1].

45 Primo sic: Dicit Augustinus: 'Ad hoc ut homo vincat necesse est ut Deus
sit in eo qui a peccato liberaret: si enim homo esset vel angelus, facile peccaret.'
Ex hoc videtur quod necesse fuerit Christum incarnari quia cum dicit 'Necesse
10 est ut Deus sit in eo', aut loquitur de inesse per gratiam aut per unionem: non
per gratiam, ut videtur, quia loquitur de victoria qua redemit genus humanum,
quod non posset facere iustus in quo esset Deus per gratiam. Praeterea, hoc
esset contra hoc quod dicit quod facile peccaret. Relinquitur ergo quod dicit de
inesse per unionem et ita, ut videtur per Augustinum, necesse fuit Deum
15 incarnari ad hoc ut homo vinceret [= 18].

46 Item, quare dixit 'Si homo vel angelus, facile peccaret', quia posset Deus
dare illis confirmatum liberum arbitrium et ita non facile peccarent, sicut
angelus modo habet confirmatum et ita, ut videtur, per ipsum posset redimere.

47 Solutio: Cum dicit: 'Ad hoc ut homo vincat, necesse est ut Deus sit in
20 eo', intelligit 'omni modo inessendi', unde ad Col 2, *In quo habitat omnis
plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter*, *Glossa*: 'Id est, omni modo inhabitandi',
scilicet per essentiam, per gratiam, per unionem [= 18].

48 Item, oportuitne de necessitate ad hoc ut homo vinceret quod Deus
incarnaretur? Videtur quod non quia Deus est omnipotens et ita sua
25 omnipotentia poterat eum redimere sine incarnatione Filii, vel si non,
omnipotentiae eius derogas [= 2].

49 Item, sapiens artifex facilius medium quod potest et expeditius eligit,
unde si sit cum minori difficultate et facit cum maiori, contra artem suam facit.

1 Magister Guido *in marg.* MS. 2 Cur Deus homo: Cur est homo *in marg.* manu
moderna 8 eo: eum MS. liberaret: liberet MS. 20 Col: colocenses MS.

8 peccaret: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 88.

21 corporaliter: Cf. Col 2 : 9. inhabitandi: *Glossa Lombardi* in Col 2 : 9 (PL 192.272C).

22 essentiam ... unionem: Cf. Lombardum, *Sent.* 1.37.1.2 (Grottaferrata, 263-64), et *Hyp.*
Union 2.157-58 (Alexander de Hales).

Ergo si Deus facilius et sine tanta difficultate potuit liberare quia per hominem
 30 iustum vel angelum vel solo verbo, quod cum tanta difficultate redemit videtur
 derogasse sapientiae ipsius [= 3].

50 Respondebat quia hoc fecit, sicut dicit beatus Gregorius, ut nos magis
 colligaret suae caritati et ut ostenderet gravitatem morbi pro quo tanta oportebat
 pati. Unde aliter potuit curari, sed sic fecit ad ostensionem gravitatis morbi
 35 [= 3].

51 Contra: Si tertiana aliqua minori labore posset curari et hoc esset
 certum, si maiori curaretur, non ostenderetur per hoc maioritas morbi cum
 minori posset curari. Ergo neque similiter ex alia parte, cum passio non esset
 necessaria ad hoc nisi solum ad ostensionem etc. [= 3].

40 52 Item, si ut maiorem caritatem ostenderet, quae fuit in eo summa quia
maio rem caritatem nemo habet, etc., sed contra: Angeli et homo creati fuerunt
 ut haberent beatitudinem aeternam. Si tamen glorificavit angelos sine sui
 passione nec passus fuit pro eis ut ostenderet affectionem <75va> suae cari-
 tatis erga eos, ergo sic potuit glorificare hominem nec oportuit ipsum pati ad
 45 ostensionem caritatis si alio modo non potuit curari morbus noster [= 4].

53 Contra: Augustinus: 'Fuit alius modus nostrae liberationis Deo
 possibilis' [= 13].

54 Item, dicit Augustinus: 'Maluit vincere diabolum per iustitiam quam per
 potentiam' [= 5].

50 55 Sed contra: Quam causam debuit agere de servo in servum nisi ut servum
 puniret qui servum suum ab eo alienaverat et servum suum reciperet? Ergo ex
 iustitia, ut videtur, poterat diabolum punire et hominem recipere [= 5].

56 Item, eadem percussio potest esse iusta et iniusta, iusta respectu
 patientis, iniusta respectu inferentis, ut si aliquis meruit flagellari, si famulus
 55 regis non ex praecepto flagellet, iniusta est quantum ad inferentem, iusta
 quantum ad patientem. Ergo similiter diabolum non detinebat iuste hominem
 quantum erat respectu sui, licet iusta esset ratio detinendi respectu hominis.
 Ergo non iuste detinebat hominem nec iuste erat dominus ipsius licet homo
 iuste, id est secundum merita sua, detineretur [= 5].

60 57 Item, quae iustitia est innocentem tradere morti pro nocentibus vel pro
 nocente? Videtur quod nulla; immo, ut videtur, duplex iniustitia, scilicet

39 ad hoc corr. ex ahoc MS.

42 Si: Sed MS.

34 pati: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 12.

41 habet: Cf. Jo 15 : 13.

47 possibilis: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 54.

49 potentiam: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 20.

exponere innocentem et nocentem relinquere impunitum: apud homines enim hoc esset maxima iniustitia. Quomodo ergo non similiter apud Deum? [= 6]

58 Dicebat quod non fuit iniustitia quia Deus ita voluit [= 7].

65 59 Contra: Malum in se non potest Deus velle vel, si vellet, non esset aequus. Ergo innocentissimum puniri, cum esset malum in se, Deus non potuit illud velle et maxime pro nocentibus [= 7].

60 Item, Pater non debebat hoc velle quia erat iniustum nec similiter debebat permittere cum tam iniustum esset [= 7].

70 61 Item, videtur quod necesse fuerit quod pateretur Deus quia dicit Ambrosius: 'Tantam oportuit esse humilitatem in Redemptore quanta fuit superbia in perditore.' Sed non loquitur de quantitate intensionis virtutis cum quaelibet virtus in infinitum maior sit quantolibet vitio – unde maior fuit secundum hunc modum humilitas beatissimae Virginis quam superbia
75 illius – et ita de quantitate distantiae intelligit. Sed primus homo voluit esse Deus; ergo oportuit ut Deus esset homo – aliter enim non esset ibi tanta distantia, cum tanta fuerit superbia in homine quod voluerit esse Deus, oportuit ut tanta esset humilitas in Redemptore quod Deus fieret homo [= 9].

62 Item, Ambrosius: 'Si Christus non incarnaretur, homo non redimeretur,
80 et non redemptus periret.' Ergo oportuit ad hoc ut non periret quod incarnaretur [= 10].

63 Propter hoc dicunt quidam quod alio modo potuit liberari sed non redimi. Sed quid est aliud liberari quam redimi? Si dicat quod redimere est pretio rem suam rehabere et ita Christus proprie redemit quia dedit pretium et
85 rem suam rehabuit, quod nullus alius poterat facere, sed tunc quaeritur: 'Cui dedit illum pretium'? Constat quod non dedit diabolo quia diabolus non possidebat. Si Deo Patri, contra: In redemptione sic est quod unus dat pretium et alius accipit et reddit in possessionem suam quod ante sua non fuerat sed alterius. Sed omnia quaecumque erant Patris erant et Filii et a converso. Ergo
90 non fiebat de non-suo suum et ita non erat ibi redemptio [= 13].

64 Dicebat quod prius erant Patris necessaria subiectione, post facta sunt

71 Tantam *corr. ex creatam MS.*
ex re dicta MS.

72 intensionis: intentionis *MS.*

83 redimi¹ *corr.*

72 perditore: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 37.

80 periret¹: Cf. *Glossa ord.* in Heb 2: 10 (PL 114.647C-D): '... Nisi Christus moreretur, homo non redimeretur, et non redemptus periret...' Assignatur textus iste Augustino in *Quaestiones*-I.2.4 (p. 31).

82-83 liberari ... redimi²: Vide q. 1-A, n. ad lin. 54.

91 subiectione: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 1.14 (Schmitt, 72; PL 158.379B-C).

ipsius voluntaria subiectione. Unde sicut dicit Anselmus quod sicut omnes creaturae sunt sub firmamento unde non potest aliqua fugere firmamentum – si enim fugiat ex hac parte, appropinquabit illi ex alia – sic dicit quod est in Deo
 95 voluntas iubens, voluntas puniens, voluntas permittens, unde si fugiat iubentem, vadit in punientem per voluntatem permittentem et sic semper est sub voluntate Domini. Unde similiter in redemptione de voluntate punientis transit in voluntatem iubentis [= 14].

65 Sed contra: Hoc non aliud <75vb> est quam iustificare. Sed hoc
 100 poterat facere sine passione quia ante passionem multi iustificati sunt [= 14; cf. 15].

66 Item, peccatum est non reddere honorem debitum. Sed hic est totus honor creaturae ut serviat solum suo Creatori. Sed cum peccat mortaliter, aufert sibi hunc honorem quia suus honor erat conformare voluntatem suam voluntati
 105 divinae. Sed in emenda non sufficit restituere ablatum nisi fiat emenda de contumelia. Sed homo purus hoc non poterat quia quidquid faceret deberet, etiam mortem, quia hoc debet a primis parentibus: unde solvendo quod deberet, non supererogaret. Ergo non sufficeret etiam moriendo quia non esset poena condigna et ordinata ad peccatum totius generis humani [= 17, 20].

110 67 Item, dicit Anselmus: 'Nullum vel minimum inconveniens in Deo accipitur.' Haec est quaedam maxima. – Item, sumit aliam: 'Nulla vel minima ratio, si maiori non repugnat, reiciatur.' Unde ipse dicit: 'Sicut enim in Deo quodlibet parvum inconveniens sequitur impossibile, ita quamlibet rationem sequitur necessitas' [= 19].

115 68 Item, sicut ipse dicit: 'Nihil iustius servat Deus quam suae dignitatis honorem.' Sed hic est honor ipsius et etiam creaturae, ut dictum est, quod rationalis creatura reddat ei subiectionem quam debet et ostendat se servum

99-100 hoc poterat *corr. ex* poterat hoc *MS.*
MS.

102-103 totus honor *corr. ex.* honor totus

92-97 Unde ... Domini: Vide Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.15 (Schmitt, 73; PL 158.380B-381A).

102-106 peccatum ... contumelia: Vide Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.11 (Schmitt, 68; PL 158.376C).

106-109 Sed homo ... humani: Vide Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.20 (Schmitt, 87; PL 158.392B-393A).

111 accipitur: Anselmus, *ibid.* 1.10 (Schmitt, 67; PL 158.375C).

112 reiciatur: Anselmus, *ibid.*: ad litteram (maiori *MS.*, major *Ans.*).

114 necessitas: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* (PL 158.375C-D): 'Sicut enim in Deo quamlibet parvum inconveniens sequitur impossibilitas, ita quamlibet parvam rationem, si maiori non vincitur, comitatur necessitas.'

116 honorem: Anselmus, *ibid.* 1.13 (Schmitt, 71; PL 158.379A).

oboediendo, vel quod Deus ostendat se Dominum puniendo unde homo negare non potest: aliter enim non servaret dignitatem suam. Sic igitur necesse est quod
 120 omne peccatum puniatur: nihil enim inordinatum relinquit Deus in regno suo, et ordinata est poena ad culpam secundum illud Augustini: 'Dedecus peccati non dimittit Dominus nec uno instanti sine decore <iustitiae>' [= 21-22].

118-119 Deus ... suam: Vide Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.14 (Schmitt, 72; PL 158.379B-C).

119-120 Sic ... suo: Cf. Anselmum, *ibid.* 1.12 (Schmitt, 69; PL 158.377B): 'Deum vero non decet aliquid inordinatum in suo regno dimittere.... Non ergo decet Deum peccatum sic impunitum dimittere.'

122 decore: Non est detectum.

<Quaestio 2>

Secundum magistrum W.

<De defectibus assumptis in Christo>

(a) <Utrum Christus assumpserit fomitem et ignorantiam>

1 Quaeritur de defectibus assumptis in Christo. Joannes Damascenus:
 5 'Quod inassumptibile est, incurabile est.' Ergo, a destructione consequentis, si est curabile, est assumptibile. Sed fomes est curabile; ergo assumptibile, et omne curabile potuit Christus assumere; ergo fomitem; eadem ratione ignorantiam et originale peccatum.

2 Solutio: Primo de fomite dico quod in fomite duo sunt, poenalitas et
 10 pronitas ad peccandum. Pronitatem ad peccandum non assumpsit nec potuit assumere. In poenalitate duo: unum est passibilitas et poena: hanc assumpsit Christus; aliud est difficultas bene agendi: hanc non assumpsit nec assumere potuit. Unde Anselmus in libro *Cur Deus homo*: 'Non assumpsit nisi utile nobis.' Passibilitas nobis utilis fuit; difficultas bene agendi non fuit utilis.

15 3 De ignorantia, videtur quod assumpsit eam per id quod dicitur in *Sententiis* quod 'in se assumpsit omnes infirmitates praeter peccatum'; ergo ignorantiam quandam quia ignorantia peccatum non est.

1 Secundum ... W.: MS.3 2 De ... Christo: De fratribus [sic] assumptis in Christo in *marg. manu moderna*. 4 de s.s. MS.2 9 dico s.s. MS.2 17 ignorantiam quandam *corr. ex ignorantia quaedam MS.2* quia s.s. MS.2

5 est²: Damascenus, *De fide orth.* 3.6 (PG 94.1005B; Buytaert, 188).

14 nobis¹: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 2.13 (Schmitt, 112; PL 158.413A): '... Non assumet in homine quod nullo modo utile....'

16 peccatum: Lombardus, 3 *Sent.* 15.1 (Quaracchi, 611): '... Christus in se nostros defectus suscepit, praeter peccatum.' Cf. Leonem I, *Tractatus* 67.5 (CCL 138A.411; PL 54.371B): '... infirmitatum tamenstrarum suscepit veritatem, et excepta communione peccati, nihil a se humanae infirmitatis excluserat, ut et sua nobis insereret, et in se nostra curaret.' Cf. etiam *Summa sententiarum* 1.15 (PL 176.75A), ubi textus Lombardi assignatur Leoni.

4 Item, Damascenus: 'Oportet cognoscere quoniam ignorantem et rationalem assumpsit naturam.'

20 5 Idem: 'Omnia quae sunt in homine assumpsit praeter peccatum. Hoc autem non est naturale neque a Conditor in nobis disseminatum sed ex disseminatione diaboli propagatum.' Supponamus ergo quod nulla ignorantia in eo fuit quia omnem scientiam habuit cum ei datus sit Spiritus *non ad mensuram*, Joan 3.

25 6 Unde ad illud Damasceni, 'Ignorantem assumpsit naturam' [4], intelligas hoc secundum speciem, non personaliter, scilicet non quod ignorantia sit in hac natura Christi sive persona, sed in natura humana generaliter intellecta secundum speciem.

7 Ad aliud, 'Omnia quae sunt hominis assumpsit praeter peccatum' [3],
30 expone: id est, causam peccati. Causa autem peccati est fomes et ignorantia.

(b) <An Christus potuit redimere genus humanum per alium defectum>

8 Secundo quaeritur <4rb> an potuit redimere genus <humanum> per alium defectum quam per illum quem assumpsit. Si dicatur quod potuit sed non ita convenienter, ergo aliquod inconueniens et indecens assumere potuit.

35 9 Respondeo per illud Anselmi, scilicet in libro *Cur Deus homo*. Dico quod duplex est posse: de potestate, de convenientia. Primo modo potuit aliter redemisse; secundo modo non potuit. Et dic quod non potuit convenienter secundum assumptionem ad finem quia in hoc iustitia et misericordia non conveniret. Iustum fuit ut poena per poenam redimeretur, Heb 2: *Decebat enim*
40 *eum propter quem omnia et per quem omnia, qui multos filios in gloriam adduxerat, auctorem salutis eorum per passionem consummare.*

10 Quaeritur de hac auctoritate: numquid illud 'propter quem omnia et per quem omnia' causa fuit passionis in Christo et causa propter quod oportuit eum pati?

20 *fort. Contra ante Idem add. est* Hoc: Haec MS. 21 disseminatum: disseminatum MS. 22 disseminatione: dissiminatione MS. 22-23 in eo s.s. MS.2
23 habuit s.s. MS.2 30 Causa *corr. ex Caus* s.s. MS.2 33 alium: alium MS. *post*
quem *del. non* MS. 35 Dico s.s. MS.2 37 redemisse: redimisse MS. 39 per
poenam *corr. ex proprie nam* MS.2 40 multos *corr. ex multo* s.s. MS.2

19 naturam: Cf. Damascenum, *De fide orth.* 3.21 (PG 94.108B; Buytaert, 261): 'Oportet cognoscere quoniam ignorantem quidem et servilem [δούλην Gr.] assumpsit naturam' (versio Burgundi).

22 propagatum: Cf. Damascenum, *ibid.* 3.20 (PG 94.1081B; Buytaert, 259): 'Totum enim hominem et omnia quae hominis assumpsit, praeter peccatum. Hoc enim non naturale est, neque a conditore in nobis disseminatum, sed ex diaboli superseminatione...' (versio Burgundi).

24 mensuram: Jo 3 : 34.

37 potuit: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 1.10 (Schmitt, 66-67; PL 158.375A-D).

41 consummare: Heb 2 : 10.

45 11 Item, quae fuit illa decentia ut Christus pateretur? Immo magis indecentia videtur quod pateretur qui est impassibilis.

12 Solutio: Nota quod 'a' Patri convenit, 'per' Filio, 'in' Spiritui Sancto, ut dicantur omnia fieri a Patre per Filium in Spiritu Sancto. Unde quia per Filium omnia operatus est Pater, et passionem per eum operatus est, et sic, quia per
50 ipsum omnia et per ipsum passio, fuit decentia executionis ad praeordinationem aeternam, Col 1: *Quia in ipso placuit omnem plenitudinem habitare et per eum reconciliare omnia in ipsum, pacificans per sanguinem crucis eius sive quae in terris sive quae in caelis sunt*; Eph 1: *Ut notum faceret in nobis sacramentum voluntatis suae secundum bonum placitum eius quod proposuit in eo in*
55 *dispensatione plenitudinis temporum, instaurare omnia quae in caelis et in terris sunt in ipso.*

(c) <Quos defectus assumpsit>

13 Item, quaeritur quos defectus assumpsit, scilicet an omnem defectum assumpsit. Numquid spiritualem assumpsit? Probatur quod non quia duae sunt
60 perfectiones in anima: scientia et virtus, scientia in speculativo, virtus in activo. In his duobus tantum est perfectio animae, circa quas sunt duo defectus, ignorantia et peccatum, et dictum est quod ignorantiam et peccatum non potuit assumere, et in his duobus tantum defectus spirituales. Ergo nullum defectum spiritualem potuit assumere.

14 Hoc dato, sic proceditur. Quod secundum divinitatem non fuit defectus in anima Christi, neque in ea fuit defectus in intellectu secundum superiorem rationem, numquid secundum inferiorem? Videtur, quia duae sunt potentiae, sensibilis et vegetabilis. In Christo fuit dolor, taedium, tristitia, timor. [Inde primus.] Ergo fuit defectus in sensibili. Numquid et assumpsit defectum in
70 vegetabili? Augustinus: 'Per corpus, ut famem et sitim patiebatur et huiusmodi; sine corpore, ut timorem, tristitiam, taedium.' Ergo in ipso fuit defectus in sensibili et vegetabili.

47 Patri s.s. MS.2 Filio corr. ex Filium MS.2 50 executionis corr. ex executionis
MS. vel MS.2 53 quae s.s. MS. vel MS.2 55 caelis: caelos MS. terris: terras
MS. 60 perfectiones s.s. MS. vel MS.2 virtus²: scientia MS. 71 defectus: defcus
MS.

53 sunt: Cf. Col 1 : 19-20.

56 ipso: Cf. Eph 1 : 9-10.

71 taedium: Rectius Lombardus; cf. 3 Sent. 15.1 (Quaracchi, 611): '... Per corpus quaedam sentit mala, quae sine corpore non sentiret, ut famem et sitim et huiusmodi; unde non immerito defectus corporis dicuntur. Quaedam autem non per corpus, immo etiam sine corpore sentit, ut est timor et huiusmodi.' Cf. Augustinum, *Enarr. in Ps 87* : 3 (PL 37.1110; CCL 39.1209); *Glossa Lombardi in Ps 87* : 3 (PL 191.811D-812A); *Summa Sententiarum* 1.17 (PL 176.75A-B).

15 Sed quaeritur: Fuitne coniunctim vel per se vel utroque modo? Constat quod in quibusdam est communis passio, ut in fame et siti: ibi patitur anima per
75 corpus. Sed in timore patiebatur in sensibili sine vegetabili. Si igitur aliqua communis est ibi passio, aliqua separata, ergo generale nomen omnium defectuum refertur ad illa, et sic nomen infirmitatis comprehendit interiorem passionem et exteriorem.

16 Quod concedo, et sic habemus unam rationem infirmitatis secundum
80 suam materiam quia comprehendit tam interiorem quam exteriorem. Numquid tantum eam aut omnem vel non omnem vel tantum utilem? Dicitur in *Sententiis* quod 'assumpsit defectus non culpa, sed poenae, nec tamen omnes defectus poenae sed quos decuit eum assumere et quos homini eum assumere expediebat et suae dignitati non derogabat'.

85 17 Sed quid importat illa adiectio 'et suae dignitati non derogabat', quia si plena est ratio cum dico 'infirmitas' in Christo, est defectus passibilitatis utilis *nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur*. Si ibi tota ratio praedicatur, pro nihilo fit additio supradicta.

18 Respondeo: Ibi 'utilis' verbum comprehendit 'quod est nobis utile'.

90 (d) <Utrum maximus dolor fuerit in Christo>

19 Item, quaeritur de illo, *Non est dolor sicut dolor meus*. Ergo maximus dolor fuit in Christo.

20 Ad idem facit, quia quanto magis accedit ad vitam summam aliquid, tanto magis est passibilis, <4va> unde dicitur 'molles carne, apti mente'. Sed
95 si ita, videtur caritas minui in Christo quia passio *aggravat animam* ut non ita caritate ferbeat, et maior passio magis gravat.

21 Item, posito per impossibile quod damnatus in inferno frueretur visione Dei, numquid eo quod poenam sentiet minus frueretur? Sic videtur minui in Christo per maximum dolorem.

100 22 Solutio: Est passio voluntaria; est et violenta sive involuntaria. Si est involuntaria, minuitur caritas vel deficit; si voluntaria, augetur caritas, ut in

75 sine: sive MS. 76 ibi s.s. MS. vel MS.2 77 defectuum: defectuum MS.
88 additio corr. ex additio MS. vel MS.2 95 si s.s. MS. vel MS.2 100 involuntaria
corr. s.s. ex involuntar... MS.2 Si: Sed MS. 101 minuitur corr. ex minuetur MS. vel MS.2

84 derogabat: Cf. Lombardum, 3 *Sent.* 15.1 (Quaracchi, 611): 'Assumpsit enim defectus poenae, sed non culpa; nec tamen omnes defectus poenae, sed eos omnes, quos homini eum assumere expediebat, et suae dignitati non derogabat.'

87 perficitur: 2 Cor 12 : 9.

91 meus: Cf. Lam 1: 12.

94 mente: Cf. Aristotelem, *De anima* 2.9 (421a26): '... οἱ δὲ μαλακόσαρκοι εὐφραίνονται.'

95 animam: Cf. Sap 9 : 15: *Corpus enim quod corrumpitur aggravat animam.*

martyribus pro Christo voluntarie patientibus. Sic in Christo, et cum caritas fit virtus, ab ea est agere vel pati. In via maximum est pati, unde *maio- rem caritatem nemo habet quam ut animam*, etc.; in patria maximum est agere et
105 motus liberi arbitrii cooperatur virtuti.

23 Ad illud quod obicitur de damnato fruente [21] respondeo quod ex parte superiori non impeditur fruitio, ex parte inferiori non, quia secundum illam non est [fruitio] vera natura passionis quia primo in sensu sistit passio, et de Christo dicitur: *Coepit Jesus pavere et taedere*. Bene dicitur 'coepit' quia ibi fuit
115 primus motus passionis, non secundus, et primus ille motus dicitur 'protopassio', scilicet prima passio.

(e) <Utrum Christus potuerit peccare>

24 Item quaeritur: Numquid potuit Christus occidere et per consequens peccare quia occidendo faceret contra illud, *Non occides*?

115 25 Respondeo: Duplex est posse: per modum naturae; item, per modum voluntatis. Secundum Anselmum quaedam potestas sequitur voluntatem: haec habet meritum vel demeritum; quaedam praecedit: in ea non est meritum vel demeritum. Potuit ergo occidere potestate voluntatem prae-eunte per modum naturae sed non potestate sequente voluntatem.

120 26 Si quaeratur: Numquid potuit mentiri?, distinguitur: Potuit proferre vocem significantem falsum; non potuit tamen significare falsum quia si significaret, verum esset: dicitur enim verbum vocale et verbum mentale vel ipsa significatio.

(f) <In quo et quomodo est perfectio in infirmitate?>

125 27 Item, quaeritur de illo, *Nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur*, in quo et

102 Sic: Si MS. 103 est¹ om. MS., add. MS.2 108 fruitio MS.: fort. passio leg.
est 109 pavere: panem MS. taedere: cedere MS. 114 faceret: facere MS.

104 animam: Cf. Jo 15 : 13.

109 taedere: Cf. Mc 14 : 33.

109-111 Bene ... passio: Cf. Hieronymum, *In Mt* 26 : 37 (PL 26.205A; CCL 77.253): 'Illud quod supra diximus de passione et propassione (ibid. 5 : 28 [PL 26.396C-D; CCL 77.30-31]), etiam in praesenti capitulo ostenditur, quod Dominus, ut veritatem assumpti probaret hominis, vere quidem contristatus sit, sed ne passio in animo illius dominaretur, per propassionem coeperit contristari. Aliud est enim contristari, et aliud incipere contristari.' Cf. *Gloss. ord.* in Mt 26 : 37 (PL 114.169D-170A; apud Lyranum 5.80ra).

114 occides: Ex 20 : 13; Dt 5 : 17; Mt 5 : 21.

116 voluntatem: Cf. Anselmum, *Cur Deus homo* 2.10 (Schmitt, 107; PL 158.408D), ubi tamen dicitur: 'Omnis potestas sequitur voluntatem.'

120 mentiri: Cf. Anselmum, ibid. (Schmitt, 106-107; PL 158.408B-409A).

125 perficitur: 2 Cor 12 : 9.

quomodo est perfectio, cum infirmitas virtutem aggravet et motum virtutis, et si *corpus quod corrumpitur aggravat animam*, similiter et corporalis passio.

28 Item, si virtus in infirmitate perficitur, ergo ubi maior infirmitas, maior virtus, et ubi maior virtus, maior infirmitas. Sed in Christo maxima virtus; ergo
130 maxima infirmitas.

29 Solutio: Infirmitas in plerisque facit recognoscere, et in patientia aequanimi infirmitatis maior virtus, nam *maiolem caritatem* etc.

30 Ad secundum [28] respondeo quod non valet argumentum: etsi enim infirmitas virtutem perficiat per patientiam, non tamen 'ubi maior virtus, maior
135 infirmitas' sed maior patientia virtus, et summa patientia in Christo fuit.

(g) *Utrum divinitas carnem assumens 'passibilis' dicatur*

31 Item, anima, quia unita corpori, passibilis; quare non divinitas carnem assumens 'passibilis' dicitur?

32 Solutio: Anima, cum sit perfectio corporis, naturaliter appetit coniungi
140 corpori et ad hoc creatur ut corpori infundatur, et secundum viam inferiorem passibilis est; secundum superiorem qua Deum contemplatur non ita patitur. Sed divinitas pati non potest, quae huiusmodi respectum non habet.

128 in infirmitate *corr. ex nonfirmitate MS.1*
137 corpori *corr. ex corporis MS. vel MS.2*

135 patientia¹: *fort. patientiae leg. est*
140 viam: *fort. virtutem leg. est*

127 animam: Cf. Sap 9 : 15: vide *supra*, n. ad lin. 95.

132 caritatem: Cf. Jo 15 : 13.

<Quaestio 3>

<*Utrum Christus duplex fuerit, et utrum habuerit dolorem interiore*>

1 Item, sicut dicit Apostolus: *In Christo non fuit est et non est*, in quo significatur quod duplex non fuit.

2 Contra, Luc ult.: *Finxit se longius ire* et non ivit. Ergo duplex fuit.

5 3 Item, Luc 19: *Flevit super civitatem*. Sed fletus exterior praetendit dolorem interiore. Ergo Christus interius dolebat.

2 est²: Cf. 2 Cor 1 : 19.

4 ire: Lc 24 : 28.

5 civitatem: Cf. Lc 19 : 41.

4 Contra, Is 42: *Non fuit tristis*, glossa Hieronymi: 'Semper hilaris, semper iocundus', unde ibidem *Glossa*: 'Aequalitatem vultus observavit.'

5 Sed ad hoc respondebat quod intelligit de vultu interiori quantum ad 10 superiorem partem rationis quae semper Deo fruebatur.

6 Sed aliter potest dici et melius quod Christus dolorem habuit interiorem, sed duplex est dolor: dolor passio et dolor propassio; dolor passio quae perturbat rationem in nobis vel inclinat voluntatem in malum, sed dolor propassio ubi neutrum praedictorum accidit, id est, neque turbatio rationis 15 neque inclinatio voluntatis in malum.

7 Ad aliud [2] dicendum quod non fuit duplex quia non finxit se longius ire. Sensus: *Finxit*, id est, significavit se abire *longius*, id est, se abiturum. Unde Augustinus in libro *De mendacio*: 'Significabat se abiturum in caelum.'

12 dolor³: dolo *MS*. 14 id est: sed *MS*. 16 quia: quod *MS*. 17 abiturum: habiturum *MS*. 18 abiturum: habiturum *MS*.

7 tristis: Cf. Is 42 : 4.

8 iocundus: Non invenitur hic in Hieronymo; cf. autem Haymonem Halberstatensem, *In Is* 42 : 5 (PL 116.924A): "'Non erit tristis, neque turbulentus.'" Omni tempore hilaris, semperque jucundus exstitit.' Cf. etiam Hervaeum Burgidolensem, *In Is* 42 : 4 (PL 181.401C): '... Semper hilariter et mansuete suas actiones operatus est.' observavit: Cf. *Glossa ord.* in Is 42 : 5 (PL 113.1284; apud Lyranum 4.74ra): '*Non erit tristis*.... Est autem sensus, aequalitatem vultus omni tempore conservabit.' Ex Hieronymo, *In Is* 42 : 4 (PL 24.437C).

12 propassio: Cf. *supra*, q. 2, n. ad lineas 109-111.

18 caelum: Rectius Augustinus, *Contra mendacium ad Consentium* 13.28 (PL 40.538; CSEL 41.509): 'Quisquam autem vult intelligere illud fingendo quid praefiguraverit (praefiguravit PL), attendat quid agendo perfecit. Longius namque postea profectus est super omnes caelos, non tamen deseruit discipulos suos.'

<Appendix>

<Utrum incarnatio profuerit angelis>

Item, quaeritur utrum incarnatio profuerit angelis. Videtur quod sic ad augmen<12rb>tum gloriae propter reconciliationem et pacem factam inter hominem et angelum, ad Col 1: *Et per eum reconciliare omnia in ipsum pacificans per sanguinem* 5 *crucis eius sive quae in terra sive quae in caelis sunt*; et 1 Pet 1: *In quem desiderant*

3 factam: facam *MS*. 5 desiderant *bis exh. MS*.

5 sunt: Col 1 : 20.

angeli conspicere; et Luc 18: Maius gaudium in caelo super uno peccatore. Et sic crevit gaudium eorum particulare propter societatem et reconciliationem, sed non crevit principale gaudium nisi quod ei<s> accrevit gaudium de quo dictum est.

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

6 *post super add. u MS.* peccatore: pccore *MS.*

6 *conspicere: 1 Pet 1 : 12.* peccatore: Cf. Lc 15 : 7, 10.

ROBERT FLAND'S *OBLIGATIONES*: AN EDITION

Paul Vincent Spade

THE text edited below is the *Obligationes* of Robert Fland. It is the third and last of Fland's extant works. With its edition, we now possess the complete extant corpus of Fland's writings in modern editions.¹

Fland's works are contained in a unique manuscript in the Bibliothèque publique de la ville de Bruges, MS. 497, fols. 41ra1-46ra46. The *Obligationes* may be found on fols. 44vb1-46ra46.² On the basis of Fland's *Insolubilia*, the second of his tracts, I have dated all three works between 1335 and 1370.³

Fland is almost completely unknown to modern scholarship. Furthermore, although he seems to have had some influence on Ralph Strode in the late fourteenth century, I know of no reference to him by name in any mediaeval author. Nevertheless, his writings are not without interest. For instance, although Fland has left us no separate tract on supposition-theory, his *Consequentiae* contains some scattered remarks that show that his view of supposition was not altogether standard. The same tract contains some unusual and interesting rules of inference. His *Insolubilia*, although hardly original, is elegant and concise, and bears witness to the continuing interest in the views of Bradwardine, Heytesbury and Swyneshed on the so-called *insolubilia*.⁴ Of all Fland's writings, it is the *Insolubilia* alone that appears to have had some influence. I have argued in an earlier paper that the important late fourteenth-century logician Ralph Strode knew and used Fland's tract in writing his own *Insolubilia*, the sixth and last tract of his *Logica*.⁵

¹ The first two texts appeared in my 'Robert Fland's *Consequentiae*: An Edition', *Mediaeval Studies* 38 (1976) 54-84 and my 'Robert Fland's *Insolubilia*: An Edition, with Comments on the Dating of Fland's Works', *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 56-80.

² For a complete description of the contents of this MS., see the first of the two articles cited in n. 1.

³ See the arguments in the second article cited in n. 1.

⁴ For these authors, see my *The Mediaeval Liar: A Catalogue of the Insolubilia-Literature* (Toronto, 1975).

⁵ See the arguments in the second article cited in n. 1.

The *Obligationes*, like the *Insolubilia*, is not the work of an original writer. Nevertheless, it is of considerable interest in the history of this still little-known genre.⁶ For Fland distinguishes two traditions within the *obligationes*-literature up to his time. He calls them the 'antiqua responsio' (see pars. 13 and 20, below) and the 'nova responsio' (see pars. 14 and 20). The details of these two divergent views, together with some of the other philosophical matters treated by Fland in this and his two other works, will be discussed in a study of Fland's doctrine to be published at a later date. Suffice it here to say only that the 'antiqua responsio' was maintained by the anonymous *Obligationes Parisienses* edited by de Rijk,⁷ and by Albert of Saxony,⁸ Peter of Ailly,⁹ and Paul of Pergula,¹⁰ while the 'nova responsio' was held by Roger Swyneshed¹¹ and Richard Lavenham (whose own tract is based on Swyneshed's).¹²

For the following edition I have consulted the MS. in microfilm copy only. Pointed brackets signal editorial additions, square brackets editorial deletions. Orthography has been normalized to that of the *Thesaurus linguae latinae*.

As usual, there are difficulties in knowing how to expand certain abbreviations: 'ergo'/'igitur', for instance, and 'alia'/'altera'. Although in no case does the choice affect the sense, I have nevertheless tried to expand the abbreviations as consistently as possible. Thus I read 'ergo' where the scribe clearly has 'g' with superscript 'o', but read 'igitur' elsewhere. Again, I read 'alia' for 'a' with superscript 'a'.

Rather more awkward are the forms of 'ille' and 'iste'. I have consistently

⁶ The relevant literature is: Ignacio Angelelli, 'The Techniques of Disputation in the History of Logic', *The Journal of Philosophy* 67 (1970) 800-15; Mary Anthony Brown, 'The Role of the *Tractatus de obligationibus* in Mediaeval Logic', *Franciscan Studies* 26 (1966) 26-35; L. M. de Rijk, 'Some Thirteenth Century Tracts on the Game of Obligation', *Vivarium* 12 (1974) 94-123, 13 (1975) 22-54, and 14 (1976) 26-49; Romuald Green, *An Introduction to the Logical Treatise 'De obligationibus', with Critical Texts of William of Sherwood (?) and Walter Burley*, 2 vols. (Diss. Louvain, 1963; publication forthcoming from The Franciscan Institute); C. L. Hamblin, *Fallacies* (London, 1970) (see index); Paul Vincent Spade, 'Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*: Edition and Comments', *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 33 (1977) 225-42; and Paul Vincent Spade, 'Roger Swyneshed's *Obligationes*: Edition and Comments', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 44 (1977) 243-85.

⁷ L. M. de Rijk, 'Some Thirteenth Century Tracts on the Game of Obligation II', *Vivarium* 13 (1975) 31, II. 3-12.

⁸ Albert of Saxony, *Perutilis logica*, tract. VI, pars 2, conclusions 1 and 3 and rules 2 and 3 (Venice, 1518), fol. 47ra-va. Copy at Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Rés. R.183.

⁹ Peter of Ailly, *Tractatus de arte obligandi*, rules 4, 5 and 7 (Paris, 1489 [Goff A-484]), fol. 5ra. Copy at Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

¹⁰ Paul of Pergula, *Logica and Tractatus de sensu composito et diviso*, ed. Mary Anthony Brown (St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1961), tract. V, rules 3, 4, and 9, pp. 102 f.

¹¹ See my edition, cited in n. 6, *passim*.

¹² See my edition, cited in n. 6, *passim*.

read 'i' with superscript 'e' as 'ille', and read 'iste' only where the abbreviation has superscript 'te' or the word is written out in full. Similarly for the other forms. This results in a text that uses these words almost interchangeably in a way the reader might well find jarring. See, e.g., par. 10: 'Si postmodum proponitur et ista "Tu curris", illa est concedenda...', where the two demonstratives refer to the same thing. Nevertheless I think the readings are justified both for the sake of consistency in expanding the abbreviations and also because there is evidence that the scribe did indeed think of the two words as completely interchangeable. For in par. 22 we find: 'Et quando proponitur talis propositio "Iste male respondet", est dubitanda. Et quando arguitur sic: Per ly "ille" demonstratur, etc.' Here, where the second sentence is *quoting* the first sentence, so that the switch from 'iste' to 'ille' is especially jarring, the scribe has written out both words in full.

<Obligationes>

(1) (f. 44vb) <N>otandum quod positio est¹³ obligatio mediante qua quis obligatus tenetur affirmative respondere ad obligatum. Unde una regula est: Omne positum scitum esse positum in tempore obligationis propositum est concedendum. Unde exemplum: Ponitur ista 'Homo currit'. Vel proponitur ista vel consimilis infra tempus obligationis. Ipsa est concedenda.

(2) Notandum quod tempus obligationis durat facta obligatione et respondens assentat quousque dicatur per opponentem 'Cedit tempus'. Exemplum: Si ponitur ista 'Homo currit' et sit admissa, respondens est obligatus ad sustinendum ipsam pro vera, scilicet, ad concedendum ipsam quando proponitur, quia positio obligat ad concedendum propositam. Sed dicta tali oratione 'Cedit tempus', respondens non est obligatus, et tunc rei veritas est fatenda.

(3) Et sciendum est quod¹⁴ numquam propositiones debent admitti in positione nisi sint possibles penes proprias significationes, cujusmodi sunt tales 'Rex currit', 'Tu sedes' et consimiles. Sed propositiones impossibiles penes proprias significationes non debent admitti, cujusmodi sunt tales 'Homo est asinus', 'Nullus deus est', et cetera.¹⁵

(4) Et sciendum est quod numquam aliquae propositiones repugnantes debent admitti 'Rex sedet', 'Nullus rex sedet', 'Tu curris', 'Tu non curris'. Unde

¹³ positio est *spscr.*

¹⁴ quod *spscr.*

¹⁵ See par. 40 and contrast par. 35.

admissa tali propositione 'Tu curris', si sit falsa debet sustineri pro vera, et suum oppositum, videlicet, illa 'Tu non curris', debet sustineri pro falsa, licet fuerit vera. Similiter, admissa tali propositione 'Rex sedet', debet concedi in positione, et suum oppositum negari, quia concesso uno contradictoriorum debet reliquum negari.

(5) Et dubitato uno contradictoriorum, reliquum debet dubitari. Unde dubitatur illa 'Rex sedet'. Suum oppositum debet dubitari 'Nullus rex sedet'.

(6) Ulterius notandum est quod quaedam est propositio pertinens et quaedam impertinens. Propositio pertinens est illa quae sequitur ex posito vel repugnat posito. Unde duplex est propositio pertinens. Quedam est sequens ex posito et quaedam repugnans posito. Propositio impertinens est quae nec sequitur ex posito nec repugnat posito.¹⁶

(7) Unde omne sequens ex posito est concedendum et omne repugnans posito est negandum.¹⁷ Ad propositionem impertinentem tibi propositam respondendum est eodem modo infra tempus obligationis sicut extra.

(8) Ulterius sciendum est quod quaedam est positio simplex et quaedam composita. Ideo simplex est quando categorica proponitur, ut si fiat talis obligatio 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo currit"', vel 'Ponitur ista "Rex sedet"'.¹⁸

(9) Unde positum dicitur propositio posita. Sed positio dicitur aggregatum ex propositione posita et ex aliis signis obligationis. Unde si fiat talis obligatio 'Pono tibi istam "Homo currit"', ista propositio 'Homo currit' est tibi positum, et illa tota oratio 'Pono tibi ista <m> "Homo currit"' est positio.

(10) Ulterius notandum qualiter respondendum est in tali positione simplici: 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo currit"'. Si sit admissa, est concedenda, quia posita. Si postmodum proponitur illa 'Tu es homo', illa est concedenda, quia vera et impertinens. Si postmodum proponitur et ista 'Tu curris', illa est concedenda, non tamquam sequens nec tamquam vera et impertinens, sed quia sequitur ex posito et concesso. Unde omne sequens ex posito et¹⁸ concesso vel concessis est concedendum. Sed omne repugnans posito, concesso vel concessis est negandum.¹⁹

(11) Sed si fiat talis obligatio 'Omnis homo currit', et postmodum proponitur, ista est concedenda quia posita. Et si immediate post proponitur ista 'Tu curris', si sit falsa neganda est, quia non sequitur ex posito: 'Omnis homo currit; igitur, tu curris', nec sequitur ex posito et concesso, quia nihil est

¹⁶ The terminology defined here applies strictly only to the 'nova responsio' (pars. 14-20). Fland nowhere explicitly gives corresponding definitions appropriate to the 'antiqua responsio', but such definitions can be gathered from his discussion.

¹⁷ This too applies strictly only to the 'nova responsio'. See n. 16 and contrast par. 10.

¹⁸ ex MS.

¹⁹ This is the 'antiqua responsio'. See the references in n. 16 and contrast pars. 6-7.

concessum nisi ista 'Omnis homo currit' ex quo <non>²⁰ sequitur 'Tu curris'.

(12) Deinde proponitur ista 'Tu es homo'. Neganda est quia repugnat posito et opposito negati, quia ista repugnant 'Omnis homo currit', 'Tu non curris' et 'Tu es homo'.

(13) Unde aliqua propositio in uno loco proposita est concedenda quae²¹ si fuerit in alio loco proposita est neganda. Ista est antiqua responsio ad tales obligationes 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo currit"', 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo movetur"' et ad consimilia.

(14) Est tamen una alia responsio quasi nova ad tales obligationes 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo currit"', 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo movetur"'. Unde si ponatur illa 'Omnis homo currit' et sit admissa, et proponitur postmodum, ista est concedenda. Et si postmodum illa 'Tu es homo', illa est concedenda. Et si postmodum illa 'Tu curris', si fuerit falsa, illa est neganda. Et si fiat tale argumentum: 'Omnis homo currit; tu es homo; igitur, tu curris', concedenda est consequentia et negandum est antecedens, scilicet, copulativa facta ex posito et hoc impertinenti. Utraque enim pars copulativae est concedenda secundum illam responsionem, prima quia posita, secunda quia vera et impertinens. Sed copulativa nec est posita nec est pertinens sequens, immo impertinens falsa.

(15) Quod copulativa non sit posita patet. Et quod non sequitur patet, quia non sequitur: 'Omnis homo currit; igitur, omnis homo currit et tu es homo', quia stat quod tu non sis homo. Et sic evidenter responsio probatur sicut patet.

(16) Et secundum illam responsionem illa regula est falsa 'Omne sequens ex posito et concesso est concedendum'.²² Unde illa propositio 'Tu curris', facta prima obligatione sive priori, sequitur ex posito et concesso ut patet, quia sequitur ex copulativa facta ex posito et concesso. Et illa 'Tu curris' non est concedenda, quia copulativa ex qua sequitur est neganda, non obstante quod utraque ejus pars sit concedenda.

(17) Unde illa responsio ponit tales duas regulas. Prima est: Utraque pars copulativae est concedenda, quae copulativa est neganda. Secunda est quod disjunctiva est concedenda cujus utraque pars est neganda.

(18) Prima regula patet priori casu posito, et secunda patet in eodem casu, quia oppositum illius copulativae 'Omnis homo currit et tu es homo' est disjunctiva facta ex oppositis partium illius copulativae, sicut illa 'Non omnis homo currit vel tu non es homo'.²³ Quod ista disjunctiva est concedenda patet, quia suum oppositum est negandum. Et utraque pars disjunctivae est neganda,

²⁰ non: the word appears to have been written and then erased. The sense of the argument in pars. 11-12 shows that the word is required.

²¹ quia MS. (The emendation is required by the argument.)

²² See par. 10.

²³ See Fland's *Consequentiae*, par. 19.

prima quia oppositum positi, secunda quia oppositum veri et impertinentis. Patet igitur secunda conclusio, scilicet, quod disjunctiva est concedenda cujus utraque pars est neganda.

(19) Et si arguitur ultra: 'Non omnis homo currit vel tu non es homo; sed non est ita quod tu non es homo; igitur, non omnis homo currit', concedenda est consequentia et negandum est antecedens, scilicet, 'Non omnis homo currit vel tu non es homo; sed non est ita quod tu non es homo'. Utraque tamen pars est concedenda, quia illa pars est concedenda 'Non est ita quod tu non es homo', et alia pars, quae est disjunctiva, est concedenda. Et sic respondendum est ad disjunctivam factam (f. 45ra) ex compositis partium illius copulativae.

(20) Patet igitur responsio nova ad tales obligationes 'Pono tibi illam "Omnis homo currit"', "Omnis homo est Romae"', et consimiles. Eligat igitur respondens quamcumque positionem quam voluerit et sustinetur responsio nova novis et antiqua antiquis.

(21) Eodem modo solvitur ista obligatio quae apparet esse difficilis: Concedat Sortes illam 'Deus est'. Neget²⁴ Plato illam 'Deus est'. Dubitet Cicero illam 'Deus est'. Et capitur illa propositio 'Ille male respondet'. Et demonstretur per ly 'ille' ille qui eodem modo respondet ad illam 'Deus est' sicut tu respondes ad illam 'Ille male respondet, respondebat vel respondebit'.²⁵ Deinde proponitur illa 'Ille male respondet'. Quod sit dubitanda patet, quia illa est dubium²⁶ et impertinens, et dubium et impertinens est dubitandum, et falsum et impertinens est negandum, et verum et impertinens est concedendum. Si igitur dubitas illam 'Ille male respondet', arguitur tunc sic: Tu scis illam esse veram 'Ille male respondet', quia per ly 'ille' demonstratur ille qui eo²⁷ modo respondet ad illam 'Deus est' sicut tu respondes ad illam 'Ille male respondet'; sed tu dubie respondes ad illam 'Ille male respondet'; dico quod per ly 'ille' demonstratur ille qui dubitat illam 'Deus est'. Ista consequentia est bona et antecedens est scitum²⁸ a te; igitur, consequens; et per consequens haec est concedenda a te quae prius fuit dubitanda a te. Et pro illa obligatione sufficit illa reductio. Decurrat igitur respondens circa reductionem ad aliquam partem, et similiter opponens ut sibi respondens. Concedat illam 'Ille male respondet' vel neget illam 'Ille male respondet'.²⁹

(22) Nova responsione praehibita, solvitur illa nova obligatio: Admittendus est casus. Et quando proponitur talis propositio 'Iste male respondet', est dubitanda. Et quando arguitur sic: 'Per ly "ille" demonstratur ille qui eodem

²⁴ *marg. S*

²⁵ This seems to be a complex 'positio'. See pars. 8 and 27.

²⁶ dubitanda MS. (The emendation is required by the argument.)

²⁷ *eo spscr.*

²⁸ dubium MS. (This radical emendation seems required by the sense of the argument.)

²⁹ The upshot of this seems to be that the 'antiqua responsio' cannot admit this 'positio'. Contrast par. 22.

modo respondet ad istam "Deus est" sicut tu respondes ad illam "Ille male respondet"; sed tu dubie respondes ad illam "Ille male respondet"; igitur, per ly "ille" demonstratur ille qui dubitat illam "Deus est", concedenda est consequentia et negandum est antecedens. Utraque tamen pars est concedenda, una quia pars positi, alia quia vera et impertinens.

(23) Alia regula est nova, scilicet, eodem modo respondendum est ad positum et propter repugnans posito infra tempus obligationis sicut extra.³⁰ Exemplum: Ponitur tibi ista 'Nulla obligatio tibi fit'. Debet admitti. Et si postmodum proponitur illa, debet negari. Et non sequitur: 'Tu negas positum admissum; ergo, male respondes', quia non est inconueniens negare positum quando repugnat posito.

(24) Et sciendum est quod positum repugnat posito quando ex posito sequitur oppositum positionis, sicut patet in exemplo proposito. Unde ista repugnant 'Pono tibi istam "Nulla obligatio tibi fit"' et 'Nulla obligatio tibi fit', quia ista 'Pono tibi istam "Nulla obligatio tibi fit"' significat quod aliqua obligatio tibi fit, et illa 'Nulla obligatio tibi fit' significat quod nulla obligatio tibi fit. Sic igitur repugnat positum cum posito. Consimiliter respondendum est ad tales si proponitur tibi talis 'Tu non es obligatus'.

(25) Antiqua tamen responsio est talis: Si fiat³¹ tibi obligatio 'Pono tibi illam "Tu non est obligatus"' vel 'Pono tibi istam "Nulla obligatio tibi fit"', debes negare³² te esse obligatum tamquam repugnans.³³

(26) Aliter improbatur illa consequentia: 'Haec propositio est tibi posita; igitur, est concedenda'. Si fiat tibi talis obligatio 'Pono tibi istam "Hoc est tibi posita "Tu curris"'", sed postmodum proponitur ista 'Tu curris', est neganda, quia non sequitur: 'Hoc est tibi proposita "Tu curris"; igitur, tu curris', quia quia ratione foret haec concedenda 'Tu curris', facta tali obligatione 'Pono tibi istam "Hoc est tibi posita "Tu curris"'", eadem ratione foret haec concedenda 'Tu es asinus', facta tali obligatione 'Pono tibi istam "Hoc est tibi posita "Tu es asinus"'"; [igitur, tu es asinus]. Et sic possibili posito foret concedendum impossibile. Est negandum igitur talis propositio 'Tu curris'. Sed si illa ponatur, illa est concedenda. Sed si ponitur quod sit tibi posita, non est concedenda propter talem obligationem.³⁴ Tot de positione simplici.

³⁰ See Roger Swyneshed's *Obligationes*, par. 64 and Richard Lavenham's *Obligationes*, par. 8. For references, see n. 6 above.

³¹ Unclear in MS.

³² negare *in marg.*

³³ i.e., one is not to admit the position. See Peter of Ailly, *Tractatus de arte obligandi*, fol. 2ra; Albert of Saxony, *Perutilis logica* VI, pars 2, fol. 49ra. Or else one is to admit the position, but must deny the 'positum' when it is proposed, since it is repugnant to the position. See Paul of Pergula, *Logica*, tract. V, 'contra quartam regulam' and reply, pp. 110 f.

³⁴ This seems to conform to the 'nova responsio' and at least to Paul of Pergula's version of the 'antiqua responsio'. See n. 32 above.

(27) Sequitur de positione composita. Primo, composita est quando ponitur hypothetica. Unde si ponitur copulativa cujus nulla pars repugnat positioni, et sit admissa, illa est concedenda et utraque ejus pars. Verbi gratia, si ponitur talis copulativa 'Tu curris et tu es Romae', et si proponitur copulativa, debet concedi, quia posita, et utraque ejus pars est concedenda, quia utraque ejus pars sequitur ex copulativa.³⁵

(28) Sed si ponitur talis copulativa 'Omnis homo currit et nulla obligatio tibi fit', debet admitti. Et si postmodum proponitur, debet negari,³⁶ vel respondendum ad ipsam sicut ad impertinens,³⁷ quia altera pars repugnat posito.³⁸

(29) Si [si] ponitur disjunctiva cujus altera pars est possibilis, ipsa debet admitti. Et si proponitur postmodum, ipsa debet concedi. Et <si> utraque ejus pars est cum alia convertibilis, utraque ejus pars debet concedi. Et si partes non convertuntur sed una pars sequitur ex alia, et illa pars quae sequitur ex alia est concedenda et respondendum est ad aliam partem sicut ad impertinens.

(30) Si autem ponitur disjunctiva cujus neutra pars sequitur ex alia, disjunctiva debet concedi secundum unam responsionem. Et ad utramque partem respondendum est sicut ad impertinens secundum eandem responsionem.³⁹

(31) Sed si ponitur disjunctiva cujus neutra pars sequitur ad aliam, et si postmodum proponitur disjunctiva, ipsa est concedenda. Et si postmodum proponitur una pars et sit falsa vel dubia, illa est neganda vel dubitanda. Et si postmodum proponitur alia pars, licet fuerit falsa vel dubia, ipsa est concedenda, quia sequens ex disjunctiva et ex opposito unius partis disjunctivae.⁴⁰

(32) Exemplum de disjunctiva cujus partes convertuntur: Ponitur ista 'Omnis homo currit vel omnis homo currit'. Disjunctiva est concedenda et utraque ejus pars.

(33) Exemplum de disjunctiva cujus una pars sequitur ad aliam et partes non convertuntur: Ponitur ista 'Omnis homo currit vel⁴¹ omnis homo movetur'. Illa pars 'Omnis homo movetur' est concedenda. Et ad aliam partem, scilicet, 'Omnis homo currit', respondendum est sicut ad impertinens.⁴²

(34) Exemplum de disjunctiva cujus neutra pars sequitur ad aliam: Ponitur ista disjunctiva 'Tu curris vel tu es Romae'. Disjunctiva debet concedi. Et

³⁵ This holds for both the 'antiqua responsio' and the 'nova responsio'.

³⁶ According to the 'antiqua responsio' in Pergula's version. See n. 33 above.

³⁷ According to the 'nova responsio'. See par. 23 and n. 30.

³⁸ positi MS.

³⁹ i.e., the 'nova responsio'.

⁴⁰ This is the 'antiqua responsio'. Note that a 'dubitatio' is treated here like a denial.

⁴¹ vel *sbscr.*

⁴² According to both the 'antiqua responsio' and the 'nova responsio'.

respondendum est ad utramque partem sicut ad impertinens.⁴³ Sed secundum aliam responsionem disjunctiva est concedenda et quaecumque pars primo proponitur est neganda, et alia est concedenda.⁴⁴

(35) Sciendum est quod nulla⁴⁵ conditionalis quae non valet debet admitti in ista specie obligationis, quia quaelibet conditionalis quae non valet est impossibilis.⁴⁶ Unde numquam talis conditionalis debet admitti 'Si tu curris, tu es Romae'. Si ponitur causalis quae non valet, non debet admitti, et hoc propter eandem causam quae dicitur de condicionali.⁴⁷ Si ponitur temporalis, respondendum est ad illam sicut ad copulativam factam ex consimilibus propositionibus, ut si ponitur talis temporalis 'Omnis homo currit dum omnis homo est Romae', illa temporalis est concedenda et utraque ejus pars.⁴⁸

(36) Si ponitur disjunctiva cujus una pars est possibilis et alia impossibilis, pars possibilis debet concedi quandocumque proponitur et pars impossibilis debet negari. Unde, si ponitur ista disjunctiva 'Omnis homo currit vel omnis homo est asinus', illa propositio 'Omnis homo currit' est concedenda, et illa (f. 45rb) 'Omnis homo est asinus' est neganda.

(37) Unde numquam impossibile est concedendum posito possibili, nec impossibile admittendum.

DEPOSITIO

(38) <D>epositio est obligatio mediante qua quis obligatus est respondere negative ad depositum. De depositione datur talis regula: Omne depositum scitum esse depositum in tempore depositionis propositum est negandum, quia depositio obligat ad negandum. Et omne antecedens ad depositum est negandum, quia negato consequente est antecedens negandum.

(39) Et sciendum est quod duplex est depositio, scilicet, simplex et quaedam composita. Depositio simplex est quando categorica deponitur.

(40) Et sciendum est quod numquam debent aliquae propositiones admitti in depositione nisi propositiones verae contingentes vel propositiones dubiae quae sunt tales 'Res sedet', 'Nullus rex sedet'. Unde si deponitur ista 'Tu sedes', debet admitti. Et si postmodum proponitur, illa debet negari quia deposita. Unde semper opposita propositionum, quae propositiones admittuntur in

⁴³ The 'nova responsio'.

⁴⁴ The 'antiqua responsio'. Fland's remark here assumes that both disjuncts are false.

⁴⁵ omnis MS. (The radical emendation is required by the sense of the paragraph. See also the passage cited in n. 46 below.)

⁴⁶ See Fland's *Consequentiae*, par. 20, which refers to this passage.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

positione, debent admitti in depositione. Et consimili modo respondendum est ad propositionem depositam ac si suum oppositum poneretur. Unde si depona[n]tur ista 'Non omnis homo est Romae', illa debet admitti. Et si postmodum proponitur, illa debet negari quia deposita. Et si postmodum proponatur 'Omnis homo est Romae', illa debet concedi ac si foret positum.

(41) Et consimiliter respondendum est ad tales propositiones 'Tu es Romae', facta tali obligatione: 'Depono tibi illam "Non omnis homo est Romae"' sicut foret respondendum ad consimiles propositiones, facta tali obligatione 'Pono tibi istam "Omnis homo est Romae"'. Unde nulla propositio debet admitti in depositione nisi cujus oppositum est admittendum in positione, nec aliqua propositio est admittenda in positione nisi cujus oppositum est admittendum in depositione. Unde semper oppositum positi est admittendum in depositione; oppositum vero depositi in positione.

(42) Unde numquam propositio categorica necessaria⁴⁹ est penes propriam significationem⁵⁰ admittenda in depositione quia numquam oppositum necessarii, scilicet, impossibile, est admittendum in positione.

(43) Unde si fiant tales obligationes in depositione 'Depono tibi istam "Tu es obligatus"', 'Depono tibi istam "Non omnis homo currit"', et consimiles, respondendum est consimili modo ad istas propositiones depositas ac si eorum opposita fuerunt posita.⁵¹

(44) Unde qui bene scit sustinere posita scit bene sustinere eorum opposita. Haec de depositione simplici.

(45) Depositio composita est quando deponitur una propositio hypothetica, ut si deponitur ista copulativa 'Tu sedes et tu es in hac domo'. Unde, si proponitur illa copulativa, est neganda.

(46) Et aliquando utraque pars copulativae est neganda, scilicet, quando utraque pars copulativae est antecedens ad copulativam depositam. Et aliquando altera pars copulativae et non utraque, scilicet, quando altera pars illius copulativae est antecedens ad ipsam totam copulativam depositam et non utraque.⁵² Aliquando neutra pars copulativae est neganda tamquam antecedens ad ipsam copulativam, ut si ex nulla ejus parte sequitur copulativa deposita. Sed tunc neganda est copulativa deposita, et respondendum est ad utramque partem sicut ad impertinens.⁵³ Unde negato antecedente non oportet negare conse-

⁴⁹ necessaria *in marg.*

⁵⁰ penes propriam significationem *in marg.*

⁵¹ See pars. 23-36.

⁵² These two rules conform to both the 'antiqua responsio' and the 'nova responsio'.

⁵³ The 'nova responsio'. See par. 34. According to the 'antiqua responsio', whichever part is proposed first is 'respondendum sicut ad impertinens'; if it is conceded, the other part must be denied when it is proposed. This follows as the logical 'dual' of the rule in par. 34.

quens. Sed negato consequente est antecedens negare, et concessio antecedente est consequens concedendum.

(47) Et illa dicta, sunt illae regulae sustinendae: 'Omne sequens ex posito tibi est concedendum', et 'Omne antecedens ad depositum est negandum'. Unde quia positum est concedendum, ideo sequens ex posito est concedendum. Sed quia depositum est negandum, ideo antecedens ad depositum est negandum.

(48) Exemplum de copulativa cujus utraque pars antecedit ad ipsam copulativam depositam: Deponitur ista copulativa 'Tu sedes et tu sedes'. Illa copulativa est admittenda, quia copulativa est admittenda in depositione cujus utraque pars est vera contingens.⁵⁴ Et si postmodum proponitur, illa est neganda quia deposita. Et utraque pars est neganda quia utraque ejus pars antecedit ad ipsam copulativam, scilicet, sequitur: 'Tu sedes; igitur, tu sedes et tu sedes', quia sicut ex una parte sequitur copulativa sic ex altera, ex quo partes convertuntur. Unde quandocumque copulativa est deposita cujus partes convertuntur, copulativa est neganda et utraque ejus pars.

(49) Exemplum de copulativa deposita cujus altera pars antecedit ad ipsam et non utraque: Deponitur ista copulativa 'Tu es in ista domo et tu es'. Illa copulativa admissa in depositione, est neganda quia deposita. Et illa pars quae est 'Tu es in illa domo' est neganda, quia est antecedens ad depositum, quia sequitur: 'Tu es in illa domo; igitur, tu es et tu es in illa domo'. Sed non sequitur: 'Tu es; igitur, tu es et tu es in illa domo'. Unde quandocumque deponitur copulativa cujus altera pars est antecedens ad copulativam depositam et non utraque illius pars antecedit ad copulativam depositam, quae antecedit ad copulativam depositam est neganda, et ad aliam respondendum est sicut ad impertinens.

(50) Exemplum de copulativa cujus neutra pars antecedit⁵⁵ ad ipsam copulativam depositam: Deponitur ista 'Tu es in illa domo et ego sum in illa domo'. Illa copulativa admissa, est neganda quia deposita. Et nulla pars antecedit ad aliam, quia non sequitur: 'Tu es in illa domo; igitur, tu es in illa domo et ego sum in illa domo', nec sequitur ex alia parte copulativae copulativa sicut patet. Ideo ad utramque ejus partem respondendum est sicut ad impertinens. Unde quandocumque copulativa cujus nulla pars est antecedens ad copulativam, copulativa est neganda et respondendum est ad utramque partem sicut ad impertinens.⁵⁶

(51) Et quot modis contingit respondere ad copulativam depositam, tot

⁵⁴ See par. 40. Fland ought to have added the proviso that the parts be compossible.

⁵⁵ sequitur MS. (The emendation is required by the example.)

⁵⁶ See the comments above, n. 53.

modis contingit respondere ad temporalem depositam. Unde temporalis convertitur cum copulativa facta ex consimilibus partibus.⁵⁷

(52) Conditionalis (f. 45va) quae bona est vel causalis quae bona est non debet admitti in depositione, quia nulla conditionalis bona vel causalis bona est neganda, quia necessaria.⁵⁸

(53) Si deponitur disjunctiva cujus altera pars est contingens, illa debet admitti.⁵⁹ Et si postmodum proponitur, illa debet negari et utraque ejus pars quia disjunctiva deposita est neganda et utraque ejus pars, quia utraque pars disjunctivae est antecedens ad disjunctivam. Una⁶⁰ regula generalis est: Ex utraque parte disjunctivae sequitur disjunctiva.⁶¹

(54) Et⁶² sciendum quod disjunctiva necessaria non debet admitti in depositione, quia necessarium non est negandum, quia negato necessario oportet concedere suum oppositum, quod est impossibile; igitur, tales disjunctivae non debent admitti 'Tu es vel tu non es', 'Tu sedes vel tu non sedes'. Unde disjunctiva facta ex contradictoriis est neganda.

(55) Et oppositum disjunctivae est copulativa facta ex contradictoriis partium disjunctivae.⁶³ Verbi gratia⁶⁴ oppositum illius disjunctivae 'Tu es vel tu non es' est ista copulativa 'Tu non es et tu es'.

(56) Cum deponitur illa disjunctiva 'Tu es vel tu non es asinus', apparet quod illa debet admitti ex quo utraque ejus pars est contingens et nulla pars repugnat alteri. Apparet igitur quod illa disjunctiva est contingens. Si admittatur, proponitur illa disjunctiva 'Tu non es asinus vel tu es'. Illa est neganda quia deposita. Negata illa, proponitur illa pars 'Tu non es asinus'. Illa est neganda, quia altera pars disjunctivae depositae. Et eadem responsione est haec neganda 'Tu es'. Utraque illarum negata, proponitur illa pars 'Tu es asinus'. Illa est concedenda quia oppositum negati.⁶⁵ Concessa illa, arguitur sic: Tu es asinus; igitur, tu es. Et sic sequitur quod tu habes concedere duo opposita, vel idem habes negare et concedere.

(57) Breviori modo arguitur sic: Negata illa disjunctiva, illa 'Tu non es asinus vel tu es', proponitur ejus oppositum, scilicet, talis copulativa 'Tu es asinus et tu non es'. Haec est concedenda, quia oppositum <de>positi, et sic habes concedere impossibile.

⁵⁷ See Fland's *Consequentiae*, par. 20, and above, par. 35.

⁵⁸ See par. 40.

⁵⁹ This seems to be badly thought out. See pars. 56 and 59.

⁶⁰ *marg.* Regula

⁶¹ See Fland's *Consequentiae*, par. 11.

⁶² *marg.* Nota

⁶³ See Fland's *Consequentiae*, par. 19.

⁶⁴ Verbi gratia: unclear in MS.

⁶⁵ The 'antiqua responsio'.

(58) Pro illo dicitur quod nulla disjunctiva est admittenda 'Tu non es asinus vel tu non es'. Quaelibet talis disjunctiva est necessaria. Et non sequitur: 'Nulla pars est necessaria nec partes repugnant; igitur, disjunctiva non est necessaria'.

(59) Unde⁶⁶ disjunctiva potest tripliciter esse necessaria, quasi impositione deducta. Alio modo disjunctiva est necessaria cujus altera pars est necessaria. Verbi gratia, talis est necessaria 'Tu es asinus vel deus est'. Alio modo talis disjunctiva est necessaria quando fit ex contradictoriis. Verbi gratia, ista disjunctiva est necessaria: 'Tu es vel tu non es'. Tertio modo disjunctiva est necessaria quando, scilicet, [quando] oppositum illius est copulativa impossibilis, licet nulla pars disjunctivae est necessaria nec partes repugnant. Verbi gratia, 'Sortes non est albus vel Sortes est'. Oppositum illius est copulativa non possibilis; igitur, disjunctiva est necessaria. Sic patet solutio ad disjunctivam propositam et⁶⁷ ad consimiles, primo dicendo quod nec illae disjunctivae sunt admittendae, quare opposita sunt copulativae impossibiles et cetera.

IMPOSITIO

(60) Impositio est obligatio mediante qua complexum vel incomplexum ad significandum imponitur. Verbi gratia, imponitur quod *a* significet quod deus est. Tunc ille terminus *a* significet quod deus est, mediante impositione.

(61) Unde omne obligatum per impositionem in tempore obligationis propositum est concedendum. Exemplum: Imponitur *a* ad significandum quod deus est. Haec propositio est concedenda '*a* significet quod deus est', quia obligatum per impositionem.

(62) Unde notandum est quod eodem modo respondendum est ad obligatum per impositionem et ad sequens ex imposito obligato per impositionem⁶⁸ sicut ad positum et ad sequens ex posito per positionem.

(63) Complexum dicitur talis oratio 'Deus est' et huiusmodi, incomplexum sicut tales termini 'homo', 'animal', et huiusmodi.

(64) Unde si imponitur talis oratio 'deum esse' ad significandum quod deus est, debet admitti. Et quando arguitur: 'Qualitercumque significat "deum esse" significat "Deus est" et e contra; igitur, "deum esse" et "Deus est" convertuntur', dicitur negando consequentiam, quia nihil convertitur cum propositione nisi propositio.⁶⁹ Sed aliquid quod non est propositio potest significare sicut propositio, sicut oratio incongrua. Verbi gratia: Imponitur talis oratio

⁶⁶ *marg.* Nota quot modis disjunctiva potest esse necessaria

⁶⁷ et *spscr.*

⁶⁸ per impositionem *in marg.*

⁶⁹ See Roger Swyneshed's *Obligationes*, par. 57.

'deum esse' ad significandum quod deus est. Tunc illa oratio 'deum esse' praecise significat sicut illa 'deus est'. Et illa 'Deus est' est vera, et illa 'deum esse' nec est vera nec falsa.

(65) Ideo talis conclusio est possibilis: '*a* est una oratio et *b* est una oratio alia, et qualitercumque *a* significat *b* significat et e contra, et *a* est oratio vera et *b* nec oratio vera nec oratio falsa', quia stat quod *a* est propositio et *b* oratio quae non sit propositio, quae tamen oratio praecise significat sicut *a* propositio. Illo dato, patet veritas conclusionis.

(66) Unde si imponitur *a* ad significandum praecise quod deus est, propter illam obligationem non oportet concedere '*a* est verum', quia non sequitur quod *a* sit propositio vera vel falsa. Ideo tali obligatione facta, dicendum est quod est impertinens haec, quia sicut dictum est, licet imponitur *a* vel aliqua talis oratio 'deum esse' ad significandum quod deus est, non tamen sequitur quod *a* sit propositio vera, nec sequitur quod talis oratio 'deum esse'⁷⁰ sit propositio.

(67) Ideo debes dicere stante tali obligatione quod *a* est terminus, sicut posuit,⁷¹ non obstante quod *a* significet quod deus est. Unde dictum est quod non propositio significat sicut propositio.⁷² Sed si imponitur quod *a* sit talis propositio 'Deus est', tunc sequitur ex posito⁷³ quod *a* sit propositio. Et tunc debes dicere quod *a* est verum et negare *a* esse litteram vel terminum tamquam repugnans. Sed licet admittis *a* esse propositionem, non debes admittere aliquam talem orationem 'deum esse' fore propositionem. Unde licet admittas quod ille homo sit tibi obligatus, non debes admittere istam 'Iste homo est asinus'. Idem exemplum est ad propositum, sicut patet intuenti.⁷⁴

(68) Ulterius si fiat talis obligatio: Supponitur quod subjectum istius propositionis '*a* est *a*' significet sicut talis terminus 'omnis homo', et praedicatum similiter, et si proponitur ista '*a* est *a*', debet concedi. Et si sic arguitur: 'Ista est vera "*a* est *a*";'⁷⁵ et illa convertuntur "*a* est *a*" et "Omnis homo est omnis homo"; ergo, haec est vera "Omnis homo est omnis homo"', dicitur quod minor est impertinens, scilicet, 'Ista conver(f. 45vb)tuntur "*a* est *a*" et "Omnis homo est omnis homo"'; ergo, satis bene posset concedi quod talis propositio est vera '*a* est *a*', quia praedicatum et subjectum sunt termini singulares et convertibiles [et singulares], et tota propositio est singularis. Et si quaeritur qualiter ista significat '*a* est *a*', dicitur quod non significat <quod> omnis homo est omnis homo conjunctim sed quod ille homo et ille et sic de singulis

⁷⁰ est MS.

⁷¹ This has not been posited, despite Fland's claim.

⁷² propositio sicut MS.

⁷³ add. deus est sed vacat.

⁷⁴ The relevance is unclear.

⁷⁵ littera MS. (The emendation is required by the sense of the argument.)

conjunctim, vel significat omnem hominem esse conjunctim omnem hominem.

(69) Alia potest esse responsio, scilicet, quod posset concedi ista '*a est a*' et tamen ista est falsa '*a est a*', quia illa significat quod omnis homo est omnis homo. Illa tamen est falsa mediante impositione; non igitur est neganda, quod patet per illam regulam:⁷⁶ 'Propter impositionem non est'⁷⁷ varianda responsio ad aliquam⁷⁸ propositionem'.

(70) Istam regulam ponit responsio praecedens.⁷⁹ Non tamen ponit quod illa propositio '*a est a*' <significat> quod omnis homo est omnis homo. Scilicet, imponitur talis propositio '*a est a*' ad significandum quod omnis homo est omnis homo. Ista proposita, secundum priorem responsionem '*a est a*' est concedenda.⁸⁰ Prima tamen responsio⁸¹ ponit istam esse falsam,⁸² sicut prior responsio ponit.⁸³ Et secunda ponit consimilem casum sicut ponit prima responsio. Quare non est neganda ex quo est falsa, quia propter impositionem non est responsio varianda.

(71) Tertia responsio ponit quod ista est falsa et quod illa est neganda quando proponitur. Sed ista responsio non valet, quia tunc sequitur quod haberet concedere talem propositionem 'Homo est asinus' [quod] si imponitur ad significandum quod deus est.

(72) Eligat igitur respondens unam responsionem, primam vel secundam, dimittendo tertiam.

(73) Propter⁸⁴ impositionem non est varianda responsio ad aliquam propositionem. Verbi gratia, si imponitur illa 'Deus est' ad designandum quod homo est asinus, et si postmodum proponitur ista 'Deus est', est concedenda. Et non sequitur: 'Tu concessisti impossibile; ergo, male respondes', quia propositio concessa a te est impossibilis mediante impositione. Unde⁸⁵ semper respondendum est ad propositiones penes primarias significationes et numquam penes secundarias.

⁷⁶ *marg.* Regula. For this rule, see Roger Swyneshed's *Obligationes*, par. 21.

⁷⁷ *est in marg.*

⁷⁸ *aliam MS.* (The emendation is required if the rule is to be applicable. See also par. 73.)

⁷⁹ In par. 68. That is, both views accept this rule. The next sentence explains how they differ.

⁸⁰ This is so according to both par. 68 and par. 69. The reference here, however, seems to be to par. 69.

⁸¹ *i.e.*, in par. 68.

⁸² This makes sense only if 'istam' here refers to 'Omnis homo est omnis homo'. This, while possible, is certainly grammatically strained.

⁸³ *i.e.*, par. 69.

⁸⁴ *marg.* Regula

⁸⁵ *marg.* Nota

(74) Primaria significatio est quam habet de primaria impositione. Secundaria significatio est quam habet accidentaliter et a nova impositione. Verbi gratia, ista propositio 'Deus est' significat primario quod deus est, et illa est sua primaria significatio primo et principaliter. Et si imponitur isti propositioni 'Deus <est>' quod significabit quod homo est asinus, illa erit secundaria significatio, quia illam non habet nisi mediante impositione.

(75) Contra⁸⁶ tamen istam regulam 'Propter impositionem non est varianda responsio' arguitur sic: Imponatur⁸⁷ quod illa 'Deus est' significet quod homo est asinus. Tunc ante istam impositionem factam fuit ista propositio concedenda 'Deus est'. Sed facta impositione, propositio est neganda; igitur, propter impositionem varianda est responsio.

(76) Aliter⁸⁸ tamen arguitur: Significet 'a' in quacumque propositione vera asinum et in quacumque propositione falsa hominem, in quacumque propositione dubia idem quod 'homo <vel non homo>'.⁸⁹ Admissa tali obligatione, proponitur ista 'Tu es a'. Si concedatur, tunc ista erit vera 'Tu es a'; et in quacumque propositione vera ille terminus 'a' significet asinum, et subjectum significat te, nec totalis illa propositio 'Tu es a' significat quod deus est ex impositione, nec aliquod verum aliud; ergo, totalis illa propositio 'Tu es a' significat te esse asinum; et illa est vera per te 'Tu es a';⁹⁰ ergo, aliqua propositio vera significat te esse asinum; igitur, tu es asinus.

(77) Si negatur ista 'Tu es a', tunc ista est falsa; et in propositione falsa ille terminus 'a' significat hominem et⁹¹ subjectum significat te. Antecedens capitur in priori argumento; igitur, illa totalis propositio 'Tu es a' significat te esse hominem; et per te illa est falsa 'Tu es a'; igitur, propositio falsa significat te esse hominem; igitur, tu non es homo.

(78) Si dubium illa significat 'Tu es a', tunc hoc est tibi dubia 'Tu es a'; et in quacumque propositione dubia ille terminus 'a' significet idem quod ille terminus 'homo vel non homo'; igitur, ista propositio totalis significat te esse hominem vel non hominem. Sed si ista propositio est scita a te 'Tu es homo vel non homo', et tu scis quod illa 'Tu es a' significat sicut illa 'Tu es homo vel non homo', ergo habes concedere quod ista 'Tu es a' significat te esse hominem vel non hominem, nec habere dubitare istam 'Tu es a'.

(79) Aliter arguitur quod ista propositio non sit dubia 'Tu es a', quando ante impositionem factam fuit illa neganda; etiam propter impositionem non est

⁸⁶ *marg.* Argumentum

⁸⁷ Imponatur: unclear in MS.

⁸⁸ *marg.* Argumentum

⁸⁹ For the emendation, see par. 78.

⁹⁰ asinus MS. (The emendation is required by the sense of the argument. See also par. 77.)

⁹¹ MS. has an erasure after 'et' and adds 'terminus' in the margin.

varianda responsio, nec aliqua est obligatio propter impositionem; ergo, illa propositio adhuc est neganda.

(80) Si quaeratur⁹² pro quo dicitur quia propter impositionem non est responsio varianda, ad aliquam propositionem quae habet significationem novam mediante impositione. Unde ista 'Deus est' habet significationem novam mediante impositione. Non est varianda responsio ad illam,⁹³ non obstante quod responsio sit varianda ad illam 'Ista est vera "Deus est"', quia 'Illa propositio est vera "Deus est"' non habet aliquam novam significationem mediante impositione.

(81) Pro illo dicendum quod admissio casu neganda est illa propositio 'Tu es *a*' quando proponitur. Et quando proponitur talis propositio 'Hoc est falsa "Tu es *a*"', dicitur 'Concedo'. Et quando arguitur: 'In quacumque propositione falsa significat hominem; et hoc est falsa "Tu es *a*"; igitur, iste terminus "*a*" significat hominem', dicitur 'Concedo illam consequentiam'. Tamen copulativa quae est antecedens est impertinens. Utraque tamen pars est concedenda, sicut praedictum est.⁹⁴

(82) Aliter tamen posset dici quod casus impossibilis est isto modo: In quacumque propositione falsa in qua '*a*' ponitur significat ille terminus '*a*' hominem. Capiatur ergo aliqua propositio falsa in qua ponitur ille terminus '*a*' – sic, gratia exempli, talis propositio 'Tu es *a*'. Tunc est illa falsa 'Tu es *a*'; et ille terminus '*a*' significat hominem, et subjectum te; et tota ista propositio 'Tu es *a*' non significat aliter quam te esse hominem; igitur, propositio falsa significat te esse hominem.

(83) Pro illo, capta tali propositione falsa 'Tu es *a*' in qua ponitur talis terminus '*a*' significare hominem, dicitur quod repugnans est quia illa tota propositio 'Tu es *a*' significat te esse hominem. Et hoc concesso te esse hominem, non est⁹⁵ tamen concessa tali propositione 'Tu es homo'.

(84) Et posito quod illa propositio 'Tu es⁹⁶ *a*' sit falsa et quod ille terminus '*a*' significet hominem, et subjectum⁹⁷ te, ita quod tota propositio significat te esse hominem, dicitur quod non stat cum casu quod tu sis homo, concessa tali propositione 'Tu es *a*'. Unde idem est facere talem obligationem (f. 46ra) et talem: 'Pono quod propositio falsa significat te praecise esse hominem'. Concessa tali propositione, foret haec neganda 'Tu es homo' tamquam repugnans.

⁹² proponitur MS. (This reading makes no sense in the context.)

⁹³ MS. leaves a line blank.

⁹⁴ The 'nova responsio'.

⁹⁵ est *spscr.*

⁹⁶ es *spscr.*

⁹⁷ solum MS. (The emendation is required by the sense of the argument. See also the previous paragraphs.)

Tamen [quod] consimili responsione foret neganda talis propositio 'Tu es homo', admissa priori obligatione. Sed licet talis obligatio est sustinenda a te: 'Significet propositio falsa te esse hominem', non tamen haec est sustinenda a te: 'Significet propositio vera te esse asinum', quia talis propositio 'Tu es homo' est possibilis, et talis propositio est impossibilis 'Tu es asinus'.⁹⁸

(85) Aliter⁹⁹ tamen arguitur sic contra regulam 'Propter impositionem', et cetera. Capiatur ista propositio 'Tu es *a*', et significet '<Tu es> *a*' sicut ista 'Tu es homo', quae praecise significet te esse hominem. Et proponitur talis propositio 'Tu es *a*'. Si negatur, contra: Tu es homo; igitur, tu es *a*. Consequentia patet, quia arguitur ab uno convertibili ad reliquum. Ergo: concedendum a te 'Tu es homo'; ergo, haec est concedenda a te 'Tu es *a*'.

(86) Pro isto dicitur quod talis propositio 'Tu es *a*' est neganda quando proponitur. Et dicitur quod non sequitur: 'Ista convertuntur'¹⁰⁰ "Tu es *a*" et "Tu es homo"; sed haec est concedenda "Tu es homo"; igitur, haec est concedenda "Tu es *a*", quia praedictae propositiones convertuntur ut nunc et non simpliciter.

(87) Adhuc dubium est utrum concessa particulari est aliqua ejus singularis concedenda, vel quacumque singulari alicujus universalis concessa foret concedenda <universalis>. Sit rei veritas quod sit unum *a* et non plures, et quod *a* significet idem quod 'Homo est asinus'. Et ponatur talis particularis 'Aliqua *a* significet quod deus est'. Ista particularis est concedenda, et quando proponitur, quia posita. Sed si talis proponatur 'Hoc *a* significet quod deus est', illa foret neganda. Et nec propter aliquam talem obligationem foret aliqua talis

⁹⁸ While par. 81 gives the 'nova responsio' to the obligatio described, pars. 82-84 are presumably meant to give the 'antiqua responsio'. The details of this reply are obscure. It seems to claim that the 'casus' described in par. 76 is impossible and therefore not to be admitted. The argument, however, does not succeed in proving this claim. The argument seems to be as follows: If one begins by assuming that 'Tu es *a*' is false, one is compelled to deny 'Tu es homo'. This is inconsistent if one begins by assuming, among other things, that you are a man (pars. 82-83). On the other hand, one need not assume this, since 'Tu es homo' is not a necessary sentence (you do not need to exist at all). Hence it is possible to assume, consistently with the 'casus' in par. 76, that the sentence 'Tu es *a*' is false. In that case, it is just as if we had begun with the obligatio 'I posit that a false sentence signifies that you are precisely a man' (par. 84). On the other hand, the last sentence of par. 84 in effect shows that things are not so easy if we begin by assuming that 'Tu es *a*' is true. If we do that, then we are compelled, by an argument exactly like that in pars. 82-83, to concede 'Tu es asinus'. This is inconsistent if one assumes, among other things, that you are not an ass. In this case, however, one must assume this, or at least concede it, since 'Tu non es asinus' is a necessary sentence and 'Tu es asinus' is impossible. There is no way out if we assume that 'Tu es *a*' is true, as there is a way out (par. 84) if we assume that 'Tu es *a*' is false. This elaborate argument, while it seems to be cogent enough, does not succeed in proving the claim in par. 82 that the 'casus' is impossible. All it shows is that, given the casus, 'Tu es *a*' cannot be true.

⁹⁹ *arg.* Argumentum

¹⁰⁰ convertitur MS.

singularis concedenda tamquam [de] sequens ex illa particulari posita. Unde sequens propositionis particularis admissae in propositione,¹⁰¹ nulla ejus singularis est concedenda nisi aliqua ejus singularis foret sequens ex illa, sicut, admissa tali propositione 'Aliquod istorum est', foret haec concedenda 'Hoc illorum est', quia sequitur: Aliquod istorum est; igitur, hoc istorum est, demonstrando Sortem vel Platonem. Consequentia patet, quia sequitur: 'Aliquod istorum est; igitur, ista sunt'. Et sequitur: 'Ista sunt; igitur, hoc istorum est'. Ergo, a primo: Aliquod istorum est; igitur, hoc istorum est. Non tamen sequitur: 'Aliquod¹⁰² istorum currit; igitur, hoc istorum currit'. Causa quare patet intuenti.

(88) Similiter, posita tali propositione 'Aliquis homo currit', foret aliqua talis concedenda 'igitur, ille homo currit', et aliqua dubitanda talis 'iste homo currit'. Et si arguitur sic: 'Aliquis homo currit; igitur, iste homo currit vel ille homo et sic de singulis currit', dicitur quod non sequitur. Sed debet sic argui: 'Aliquis homo currit et ille homo vel ille homo et sic de singulis; igitur, ille homo vel ille homo et sic de singulis currit'.¹⁰³

(89) Posito tamen quod talis particularis, scilicet, 'Aliquis homo currit' habeat duas singulares et non plures 'Iste homo currit' et 'Iste homo currit', concessa ista particulari, disjunctiva facta ex suis singularibus est concedenda, scilicet, 'Ille homo currit vel ille homo currit'. Sed haec non est concedenda nec alia.

(90) In aliis patet quod disjunctiva est concedenda et utraque ejus pars est dubitanda vel neganda. Capitur¹⁰⁴ ista disjunctiva facta ex oppositis terminis [istius] 'Rex sedet vel nullus rex sedet'. Ista disjunctiva est concedenda a te. Et utraque ejus pars est a te dubitanda.

(91) Uterius, sit rei veritas quod omnis homo currit excepto Sorte, et sedeat Sortes. Tunc capitur ista universalis 'Omnis homo currit'. Et ponatur tibi ista 'Sortes currit'. Illa singularis 'Ille homo currit' est concedenda quia posita, demonstrando Sortem, et quaelibet singularis illius universalis 'Omnis homo currit' quia vera et impertinens. Sed universalis est neganda, quia falsa et impertinens.

¹⁰¹ 'Unde ... propositione' seems to make no sense in this context. Perhaps read 'Unde propositione particulari admissa in obligatione'.

¹⁰² Hoc MS. (The emendation seems required by the sense of the argument. The whole paragraph concerns inferences from particulars to their singulars.)

¹⁰³ As it stands, the paragraph is unintelligible. I suggest the following reading, which conforms also with par. 89: 'Similiter, posita tali propositione "Aliquis homo currit", foret aliquando talis concedenda "igitur, ille homo currit", et aliquando dubitanda talis "iste homo currit". Et si arguitur sic: "Aliquis homo currit; igitur, iste homo currit vel iste homo et sic de singulis currit", dicitur quod non sequitur. Sed debet sic argui: "Aliquis homo currit; et ille homo vel ille homo et sic de singulis est; igitur, ille homo vel ille homo et sic de singulis currit".'

¹⁰⁴ *marg.* Nota

(92) Et si arguitur sic: 'Iste homo currit, demonstrando Sortem; et iste homo, et sic de singulis; igitur, omnis homo currit', dicitur concedendo consequentiam. Et negandum est antecedens quae est copulativa. Et utraque tamen pars est concedenda, scilicet, illa pars 'Ille homo currit' est concedenda, demonstrando Sortem, quia posita, et alia quia vera et impertinens. Patet igitur quod particularis est concedenda cujus nulla singularis est concedenda.¹⁰⁵ Quaelibet singularis alicujus universalis est concedenda et illud universale est negandum.¹⁰⁶ Haec autem de obligationibus sufficiant.

Expliciunt Obligationes Roberti Fland.

Indiana University.

¹⁰⁵ The example given in par. 87 works for both the 'antiqua responsio' and the 'nova responsio'.

¹⁰⁶ The argument given in par. 92 works only for the 'nova responsio'.

DER TRAKTAT *DE ISOPERIMETRIS*,
DER UNMITTELBAR AUS DEM GRIECHISCHEN
INS LATEINISCHE ÜBERSETZT WORDEN IST

H. L. L. Busard

SCHON die Griechen, und vor allem Zenodoros, haben sich eingehend mit der Isoperimetrie beschäftigt. Die Fragen, die Zenodoros in seinem Werk *Über Figuren gleichen Umfangs* untersucht und zum Teil löst, sind: welche ebene Figur hat bei gleichem Umfang den größeren Inhalt? und welche körperliche Figur hat bei gleicher Oberfläche den größeren Inhalt? Die Abhandlung des Zenodoros ist uns in mehrfacher Überlieferung zum Teil erhalten:

- (1) bei Pappos im 5. Buche seiner mathematischen Sammlung;
- (2) in dem Kommentar des Theon von Alexandria zum 1. Buche, Kap. 3 des *Almagestes*;
- (3) in einer Einleitung zum *Almagest*, dessen Verfasser noch umstritten ist. Diesen Auszug aus der Abhandlung des Zenodoros werden wir mit Hultsch kurz als den Anonymos bezeichnen.

Von allen drei Abhandlungen wird allgemein angenommen, daß sie auf dasselbe Original zurückgehen, womit hier nicht gesagt sein soll, auf ein und dieselbe Handschrift. Bezüglich der Schriften des Pappos und des Anonymos urteilen so z.B. Rome und Cantor. Theon nennt selbst Zenodoros als den Verfasser eines Werkes *Über die Figuren gleichen Umfangs*, aus dem er einen Auszug bringen will. Pappos und der Anonymos nennen des Zenodoros Namen nicht, geben aber im wesentlichen dasselbe wie Theon. Der Anonymos bezieht sich einmal auf einen Theon als Verfasser eines Kommentars zum 'kleinen Astronomen', doch ist es ungewiß, welches Werk damit gemeint ist.¹ Es mag sein, daß es sich nur um einen Schreibfehler des Verfassers handelt und das Wort klein durch groß zu ersetzen wäre, oder aber, was ich für unwahrscheinlicher halte, daß es sich um ein unbekanntes Werk des 'kleinen

¹ W. Müller, 'Das isoperimetrische Problem im Altertum', *Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaft* 37 (1953), 45-46.

Astronomen' handelt, wozu all das, was für das Vorstudium des Almagestes erwünscht erschien, gerechnet wurde, wie z.B. die Schriften von Autolykos, Euclides, Aristarchos und Theodosius.

Dieser Anonymos nun war zweifelsohne die Vorlage einer mittelalterlichen anonymen lateinischen Übersetzung, die nicht über das Arabische² zu uns gekommen sein kann; denn sie folgt nicht nur dem Anonymos fast wörtlich, sondern enthält auch verschiedene transkribierte griechische Ausdrücke wie z.B. *periferia* und *sub tetrados*. In den folgenden Manuskripten ist diese lateinische Übersetzung erhalten geblieben:

- (1) A = Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.5.28, ff. 105r-106v, 13. Jh.
- (2) B = Basel, Univ. Bibl. F.II.33, ff. 107r-108r, 14. Jh.
- (3) D = Dresden, Sächs. Landesbibliothek Db.86, ff. 180r-182v, 14. Jh.³
- (4) F = Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Conv. soppr. J.V.18, ff. 4rb-5vb, 14. Jh.
- (5) M = Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 10053, ff. 40rb-41rb, 13. Jh.
- (6) O = Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 174, ff. 135r-136v, 13. Jh.
- (7) P = Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 8680 A, ff. 52r-53v, 13. Jh.⁴
- (8) W = Wien, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 5277, ff. 231r-236v, 1525.

All diese Traktate enthalten sieben Lehrsätze über isoperimetrische Figuren, wobei zu bemerken ist, daß sie die Sätze 1 und 2, 3 und 4, 6 und 7, 10-12 des Anonymos zum Satz 1, 2, 4 und 7 zusammengezogen haben und daß bei allen das Schlußwort des Anonymos fehlt.⁵

Was nun den Zusammenhang zwischen den verschiedenen Manuskripten anbetrifft, sei zuerst bemerkt, daß das Manuskript F auf M zurückgeht. Beide enthalten außer dem obengenannten Traktat auch noch einen *Liber de umbris*;⁶ einen Traktat, der anfängt mit den Worten: *Super illum locum Aristoteles in secundo de celo...*;⁷ einen anderen Beweis für den 1. Satz des *Liber isoperimetrorum*;⁸ und einen *Tractatus optimus de corporibus*.⁹ Der Text des *De*

² A. P. Juschkewitsch, *Geschichte der Mathematik im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1964), S. 396; M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* 1 (Stuttgart, 1965), S. 706.

³ Ist schwer von Wasser beschädigt und daher nicht verwendbar.

⁴ Fängt in Satz 2 mit den Worten *ei quod est a k* (Z. 54-55) an.

⁵ Siehe für die deutsche Übersetzung des Schlußwortes Müller, 'Das isoperimetrische Problem im Altertum', 65.

⁶ F: ff. 1r-2r; M: ff. 35ra-36ra.

⁷ F: ff. 2r-4r; M: ff. 36ra-37vb.

⁸ F: ff. 5vb-6rb; M: f. 41rb-va.

⁹ F: ff. 6rb-9vb; M: ff. 41va-43vb. Inc.: 'Demonstratio qua per rarefactionem et condensationem aeris in aquam probatur...'; Expl.: '... transeat per b vel per a vel per d vel inter aliquam illorum.' Siehe auch J. Millas Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 1942), SS. 186-88, und A. A. Björnbo, 'Die mathematischen S. Marcohandschriften in Florenz', *Bibliotheca mathematica*, 3. Folge, 12 (1911-12), 218-19.

ysoperimetris folgt in diesen Manuskripten dem griechischen Text am genauesten. Leider geben sie für die Sätze 5 und 6 einen anderen Beweis, der nachher eingefügt worden ist, so daß wir es mit einer Kopie der ursprünglichen Übersetzung zu tun haben. Über den Zusammenhang zwischen den anderen Manuskripten ist wenig zu sagen. Es mag sein, daß der Verfasser von W bei der Herstellung B benutzt hat, aber sicherlich auch das Manuskript Wien, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 5203, denn Anfang und Ende des 4. Satzes, der einen anderen Beweis als die anderen Manuskripte enthält, stimmen mit denen von MS. 5203 überein. Vielleicht geht P auf A zurück, denn P hat als einziger das Wort *hemiolios* im Text aufgenommen, das sich bei A am Rande befindet, und auch sonst stimmen die Abweichungen vielfach miteinander überein. Auch O mag auf A zurückgehen, denn O hat eine Note in den Text aufgenommen, die sich bei A am Rande befindet.¹⁰ Überdies findet man bei beiden am Rande noch folgende Bemerkung: 'kilogonium dicitur figura 4 laterum et trium angulorum ad formam catapulte'. Falls meine Vermutung richtig ist, ist O erst geschrieben worden, nachdem das Werk von Jordanus *De triangulis* bekannt geworden war, denn in A folgt auf die Note noch: *Item aliter et facilliter per 10 primi Triangulis Jordani*.... Das Manuskript Cambridge, University Library Mm. 3.11, ff. 195ra-197ra, 15. Jh., habe ich nicht berücksichtigt, da es viele Hinzufügungen enthält, die zum Teil den Randbemerkungen von O entnommen sind.

Der Traktat wird in den Handschriften mit *De figuris ysoperimetris* oder *Liber ysoperimetrorum* angedeutet. Ich habe ersteren gewählt, weil Zenodoros nach Theon dem Traktat den Namen *Περὶ ἰσοπεριμέτρων σχημάτων* beigegeben hat. Wird das Werk im Mittelalter zitiert, dann werden beide Namen verwendet, so z.B. von Roger Bacon.¹¹ Von dem Übersetzer ist nichts bekannt, seine Übersetzung zeigt aber gewisse Merkmale, die für die um das Jahr 1160 auf Sizilien angefertigte Übersetzung des *Almagestes* charakteristisch sind, wie z.B. daß die Ausdrücke *isogonium* und *equiangulum*, *isopleurum* und *equilaterum* nebeneinander gebraucht werden, daß *συναμφοτερον* mit *coutrumque*, *ἐπεξευχύναι* mit *copulare*, *ὅτι* mit *quoniam* übersetzt wird und vor allem, daß, wenn ein Artikel von einem attributiven Satzteil gefolgt wird, er mit *id quod* wiedergegeben wird. Jedenfalls zeigt die Übersetzung erst in späteren Bearbeitungen, worauf ich noch zu sprechen komme, eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit mit der des Traktats *De curvis superficiebus*, der nach Clagett¹² auch aus dem

¹⁰ Siehe den kritischen Apparat Z. 57. Im unteren Rande von A f. 105r steht der Name Zenodoros geschrieben.

¹¹ *De figuris ysoperimetris* oder *De ysoperimetris* (R. Steele, *Communia mathematica fratris Rogeri* [Oxonii, 1940], SS. 43, 44, und *Liber isoperimetrorum* und *De isoperimetris* (J. H. Bridges, *The 'Opus Maius' of Roger Bacon* 1 [Oxford, 1897], S. 155).

¹² M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages* 1 (Madison, Wisc., 1964), S. 442.

Griechischen übersetzt wurde. Wir finden beide Traktate vielfach in denselben mittelalterlichen Codices wie z.B. in A, B, D, F, O und Cambridge, University Library Mm.3.11. Ich bin der Meinung, daß die Übersetzung im letzten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts in Süd-Italien oder Sizilien angefertigt worden ist, und daß der Übersetzer deshalb das MS. Vat. graec. 184, ff. 10v-12v aus dem 13. Jahrhundert, das Hultsch für die Herstellung seiner Edition benutzt hat, nicht verwendet hat. Der Traktat *De curvis superficibus*, geschrieben von einer mysteriösen Person, bekannt unter dem Namen Johannes de Tinemue, war im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert zusammen mit der *Kreisquadratur* das populärste Archimedische Werk in Westeuropa. Es wurde schon in der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts von Gerard von Brüssel in seinem *Liber de motu* unter dem Titel *De pyramidibus* erwähnt und enthält eine Bearbeitung einiger Sätze aus dem Werke *Über die Kugel und den Zylinder* von Archimedes, das 1269 von Wilhelm von Moerbeke aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische übersetzt wurde. Auffallend in diesem Traktat ist die ständige Verwendung des Terminus *falsigraphus*, dessen Rolle in geometrischen Beweisen von Aristoteles in *De sophisticis elenchis* beschrieben wurde.¹³ Man versteht darunter einen Gegner, der eine These vertritt, die, wie gezeigt werden soll, zum Widerspruch führt. Die Beweise haben die euklidische Form: die Angabe (*exemplum*), die Konstruktion (*dispositio*) und der Beweis (*ratio*). Überdies werden die Termini *improbatio* für eine formale Widerlegung und *dissolutio* für einen Beweis *per impossibile* verwendet. Den Beweis mit Hilfe des Terminus *falsigraphus* finden wir in Satz 5 der Manuskripte F und M und in Oxford, Bodleian Library Digby 174, ff. 178r-179r, dem der Traktat *De curvis superficibus* vorangeht. Überdies werden die Beweise in letzterem auf euklidische Art gegeben, also mit *exemplum*, *dispositio* und *ratio*, und es wird in Satz 7 auf die Sätze 4, 6, 7 und 8 von Archimedes verwiesen, womit zweifelsohne die Sätze des Traktats *De curvis superficibus* gemeint sind. Es steht daher fest, daß der Digby-Text erst geschrieben wurde, nachdem der Verfasser mit dem Traktat *De curvis superficibus* bekannt geworden war und seine Beweisführungsmethode übernommen hat.

Die Sätze 5 und 6 von F und M und der Text des Digby-Manuskripts müssen also als spätere Bearbeitungen angesehen werden. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Texte der II. Tradition, die acht Lehrsätze über Figuren gleichen Umfangs enthalten, d.h. sie haben den Satz 4 der I. Tradition zweigeteilt und davon Satz 4 und 5 gemacht. Diese Texte sind in folgenden Manuskripten erhalten geblieben:

¹³ *ibid.*, S. 426. Siehe für die Übersetzungen von Moerbeke M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages 2* (Philadelphia, 1976).

- (1) Wien, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 5203, ff. 142r-146r, geschrieben von Regiomontanus;¹⁴
- (2) Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Conv. soppr. J.V.30, f. 12v enthält nur die ersten sieben Zeilen (die Folios 13-24 des originellen Manuskripts fehlen);
- (3) Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Conv. soppr. J.V.18, ff. 11ra-12va;
- (4) Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Conv. soppr. J.V.18, f. 96r-v.

Die Enunziationen von 1. und 3. stimmen ziemlich genau miteinander überein, die Beweise aber weisen große Unterschiede untereinander auf: man kann also diese Tradition nicht als eine Einheit sehen. Die Überschrift des Wiener Manuskripts lautet: *De ysoperimetris Jordani*. Auch in dem Inhaltsverzeichnis auf Folio 1r wird die Schrift dem Jordanus zugeschrieben. Es mag sein, daß diese Zuschreibung an Jordanus geschah, weil sie in der Handschrift der Schrift *De plana spera* von Jordanus folgt; es gibt aber Gründe anzuzweifeln, ob diese Zuschreibung wohl richtig ist, denn im 1. Satz wird nach 5.28 der *Elemente* von Euklid verwiesen, und diesem Satz begegnet man erst bei Campanus. Nun datiert man den Kommentar von Campanus zwischen 1255 und 1259, so daß das Werk erst nach diesen Jahren angefertigt worden sein kann; ziemlich spät für ein Werk von Jordanus, wenn man bedenkt, daß in der *Biblionomia* von Richard de Fournival, verfaßt zwischen 1246 und 1260, schon zwölf Schriften von Jordanus erwähnt werden. Heute nimmt man an, daß Jordanus um das Jahr 1220 tätig war.¹⁵ Dazu kommt noch, daß das von Roger Bacon erwähnte Werk acht Sätze enthält,¹⁶ so daß er einen Traktat der II. Tradition vor sich gehabt haben muß. Bemerkte sei noch, daß in den Manuskripten, genannt unter 1. und 3., der Traktat *De curvis superficiebus* mit Namen im Satz 8 genannt wird.

Ich habe schon darauf hingewiesen, daß Roger Bacon den Traktat *Über Figuren gleichen Umfangs* einige Male erwähnt. Im Manuskript D finden wir neben Satz 5 des 1. Buches des Traktats *De triangulis* von Jordanus am Rande folgende Bemerkung: 'Huius probacio haberi potest ex libro ysoperimetrorum'.¹⁷ Als erstem, der sich mit der Schrift etwas näher beschäftigt hat, bin ich Thomas Bradwardine begegnet, der in Buch 2, Kap. 5 der *Geometria speculativa* einige Sätze gegeben hat, die auf die Sätze 1, 5 und 6 der I. Tradition zurückgehen. In Konklusion I gibt er eine Herleitung des Wortes 'isoperimeter', die er vielleicht Roger Bacon entnommen hat.¹⁸ In Konklusion II beweist

¹⁴ E. Zinner, *Leben und Wirken des Joh. Müller von Königsberg genannt Regiomontanus* (Osnabrück, 1968), S. 308.

¹⁵ Siehe *Dictionary of Scientific Biography* 7 (New York, 1973), SS. 171-77. Siehe auch M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages* 3 (Philadelphia, 1978), S. 349.

¹⁶ Siehe auch Bridges, *The 'Opus Maius' of Roger Bacon*, S. 155.

¹⁷ M. Curtze, *Jordani Nemorarii Geometria, vel De triangulis libri IV* (Thorn, 1887), S. 5.

¹⁸ Siehe Bridges, *The 'Opus Maius' of Roger Bacon*, S. 155.

Bradwardine den 1. Satz der Isoperimeter-Abhandlung 'Omnium polygoniorum isoperimetrorum quod plurimum est angulorum maius est' für ein gleichschenkliges Dreieck und ein Rechteck auf eigene Weise¹⁹ und schließt er mit den Worten: 'et ideo maior pluralitas angulorum maiorem extensionem fert in figura ceteris paribus scilicet perimetris.' In Konklusion III beweist Bradwardine den zweiten Teil des 5. Satzes der Isoperimeter-Abhandlung durch Verwandlung eines Parallelogramms in ein damit isoperimetrisches Rechteck, und in Konklusion IV beweist er den ersten Teil des 5. Satzes an Hand eines Zahlenbeispiels, um schließlich in Konklusion V mit Hilfe der drei vorangehenden Konklusionen zu beweisen, daß der Kreis von allen isoperimetrischen Figuren die größte ist.²⁰

Auch Nikolaus von Cues hat sich eingehend mit isoperimetrischen Fragen beschäftigt, vor allem in *De mathematicis complementis*, und als Vorarbeit soll ihm dieser Text von Bradwardine gedient haben,²¹ was ich für fraglich halte. Denn Nikolaus hat sehr wahrscheinlich den Traktat *De curvis superficiebus* gekannt: die Sätze in *De geometricis transmutationibus*, 'Wenn Du eine Kugel in eine Pyramide verwandeln willst, dann mache die Grundfläche der Pyramide gleich der Oberfläche der Kugel und ihre Höhe gleich dem Halbmesser' bzw. 'Ein Zylinder mit dem Durchmesser als Höhe und dem Größtkreis als Grundfläche ist ein und einhalbmal so groß wie die Kugel',²² stimmen nämlich mit Satz 9 bzw. 8 der *De curvis superficiebus*²³ überein, und die Aussage in *De mathematicis complementis*, 'Wie Archimedes gezeigt hat, ergibt ein Größtkreis viermal genommen die Kugeloberfläche',²⁴ stimmt mit dem Korollar zu Satz 6²⁵ überein. Diese Sätze finden wir auch in Satz 7 der *De isoperimetris* ohne Beweis wie bei Cusanus ausgesprochen. Es kann sein, daß er den Satz, 'Wenn Kegel und Zylinder die nämliche Grundfläche haben und die Mantellinie des Kegels gleich der Zylinderhöhe ist, dann ist die Mantelfläche des Zylinders das Doppelte der Mantelfläche des Kegels',²⁶ dem Korollar zu Satz

¹⁹ J. Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften von Nikolaus von Cues* (Hamburg, 1952), S. 218.

²⁰ Siehe für den lateinischen Text H. L. L. Busard, 'Die Quellen von Nicole Oresme', *Janus* 58 (1971), SS. 182-83.

²¹ J. E. Hofmann, 'Mutmassungen über das früheste mathematische Wissen des Nikolaus von Cues', *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 5 (1965), 132. Siehe auch A. G. Molland, 'The Geometrical Background to the "Merton School"', *The British Journal for the History of Science* 4.2 (1968), 111, und Clagett, *Archimedes* 3, S. 308.

²² Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, SS. 27-28, 197-98.

²³ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, SS. 496-503, 3, S. 305.

²⁴ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 101.

²⁵ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, S. 480.

²⁶ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 100.

2 der *De curvis superficiebus*²⁷ und die Aussage, 'Basis und Kegelmantel verhalten sich wie der Halbmesser des Grundkreises und die Mantellinie des Kegels',²⁸ dem Korollar zu Satz 1²⁹ entnommen hat. Dasselbe gilt auch für die Formeln für die Fläche des Kegel-, Kegelstumpf- und Zylindermantels,³⁰ die er den Sätzen 1, 4 und 2 derselben entnommen haben kann.³¹ Auch ist es möglich, daß er mit seiner Aussage, 'Weil Du aber aus Archimedes eine Methode hast, jeden Teil einer Kugeloberfläche in eine ebene Kreisfläche zu überführen',³² auf Satz 11³³ anspielt; wenn er aber in der Schrift *De mathematica perfectione* den Satz tatsächlich ausspricht, stimmt er leider nicht.³⁴ Bedenken wir noch, daß in vielen mittelalterlichen Handschriften beide Traktate *De curvis superficiebus* und *De ysoperimetris* gefunden werden, und vergleichen wir die Aussage von Nikolaus, 'Vieleckfiguren mit gleichen Seiten und gleichen Umfängen – und von solchen spreche ich – findet man im Gleichklang mit der griechischen Sprache bei einigen als isopleure und isoperimetrische Polygone bezeichnet',³⁵ mit dem Anfang des *De ysoperimetris*, so bin ich vielmehr geneigt anzunehmen, daß Nikolaus einen solchen Traktat durchgearbeitet und verwendet hat.

Das 9. Kapitel des Traktats *De arte mensurandi*, geschrieben von Johannes de Muris um 1340,³⁶ enthält nur einen Satz: 'Circulum esse omnium capacissimam figurarum'. Ein Beweis wird nicht gegeben, nur an Hand eines Zahlenbeispiels wird gezeigt, daß, wenn eine Strecke, dem Kreisumfang gleich, in ein vier-, fünf-, sechs- oder wieviel eckiges Vieleck auch verwandelt wird, dieses Vieleck niemals soviel Raum einnimmt wie der Kreis, der aus dieser Strecke entsteht.

Schließlich kann ich nur noch den Namen eines Mannes aus dem 14. Jahrhundert erwähnen, dem der Traktat *De ysoperimetris* bekannt war, Albert von Sachsen, der in seiner *Kreisquadratur* ein Büchlein *De corporibus ysoperimetris*³⁷ erwähnt.

²⁷ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, S. 463.

²⁸ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 94.

²⁹ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, SS. 458-61.

³⁰ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, SS. 95, 96, 99.

³¹ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, SS. 450-63, 466-69.

³² Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 109.

³³ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, SS. 532-41.

³⁴ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 177. Siehe auch J. E. Hofmann, 'Über eine bisher unbekannte Vorform der Schrift "De mathematica perfectione" des Nikolaus von Kues', *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 10 (1973), 50-51.

³⁵ Hofmann, *Die mathematischen Schriften*, S. 73.

³⁶ M. Clagett, 'A Note on the *Commensurator* Falsely Attributed to Regiomontanus', *Isis* 60 (1969), 383-84.

³⁷ Clagett, *Archimedes* 1, S. 408.

Zusammenfassend kann ich sagen, daß hinsichtlich des isoperimetrische Problems im Mittelalter keine Fortschritte erzielt worden sind, und daß man sich darauf beschränkt hat, immer wieder neue Beweise für die verschiedenen Sätze des Traktats *De ysoperimetris* anzuführen; versuchte man auf eigene Faust den 6. Satz zu beweisen, so blieben die Beweise weit hinter dem der lateinischen Übersetzung zurück.

DE FIGVRIS YSOPERIMETRIS

<1> PRELIBANDUM VERO PRIMUM QUONIAM YSOPERIMETRORUM YSOPLEURORUM RECTILINEORUM ET CIRCULIS CONTENTORUM QUOD PLURIUM EST ANGULORUM MAIUS EST.

Adiaceant enim duo rectilinea ysopleura et ysoperimetra ab , gd et sint 5
circulis circumscripita pluresque habeat angulos ab quam gd . Dico quoniam
maius est ab quam gd .

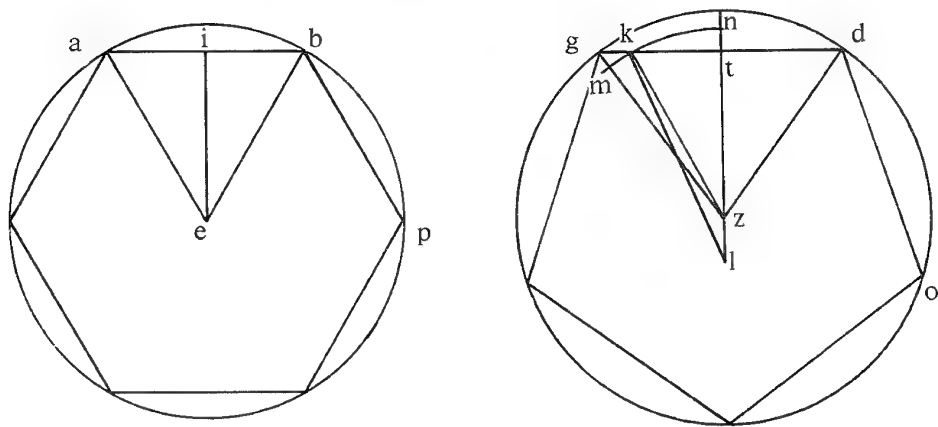


Fig. 1

Sumantur enim eorum que circa ipsa centra circularum e et z et copulentur
 ea , eb , gz , zd et protrahantur ab e et z in ab et gd catheti ei et zt .
Manifestum vero quoniam maior gd quam ba . Idem enim in minus multi- 10
tudine divisum (velut nunc pentagoni divisio minor existens multitudine

1 De figuris ysoperimetris] ysoperimetrorum A : liber ysoperimetrorum FW : Archimedes de
figuris ysoperimetris O : om. M 2 supra Prelibandum add. W propositio prima vero
om. O 3 post plurimum add. BW laterum angulorum om. BW 5 rectilinea]
rectilinee F ante a add. $BOPW$ p post d add. $BOPW$ o et² om. O sint] sit B :
sunt F 6 ante circulis add. $BOPW$ z e circulis] circulus B circumscripita]
conscripta BO : inscripta FM habeat] habeant BM post b add. $BOPW$ p post d add.
 $BOPW$ o 6-7 Dico ... gd om. B 6 quoniam] quod $ABPW$: autem F 7 post b add.
 $BOPW$ p post d add. $BOPW$ o 8 que circa ipsa om. $BOPW$ 8-9 et copulentur e a
om. F 9 z d om. FM et² om. $ABOW$ post et² add. M etiam in om. F et³
om. $ABOW$ e i om. F et⁴ om. $ABFOW$ 10 vero] est BPW 11 divisum]
divisim B velut] sicut O nunc] non W

exagoni divisione) in maius magnitudine dividitur. Est autem ea propter
 ysoperimetra dari esse ambo. Et $g t$ ergo quam $a i$ maior est. Iaceat ei que est $a i$
 equalis $t k$ et copulentur $z k$. Quoniam ergo equilaterum est $g d$, pars est $g d$
 totius perimetri, eadem pars est que secundum $g d$ portio eius qui circa $g d o z$ 15
 circuli* ad totum circulum, hoc est $g z d$ ad quattuor rectos. Equalis vero eius
 quod est $g d o$ perimetros ei que eius quod est $a b p$. Et sicut ergo $g d$ ad $a b p$
 perimetron ita $g z d$ ad 4 rectos, sed sicut $a b p$ perimetros ad $a b$ ita 4 recti ad
 $a e b$, et per equale ergo sicut $g d$ ad $a b$ ita $g z d$ ad $a e b$ et dimidia ergo sicut $g t$
 ad $a i$, hoc est ad $t k$, sic $g z t$ ad $a e i$. Maiorem vero proportionem habet $g t$ ad 20
 $t k$ quam $g z t$ ad $k z t$ angulum, sicut ostendetur, et angulus ergo $g z t$ ad
 angulum $a e i$ maiorem proportionem habet quam ad angulum $k z t$. Ad quod
 vero maiorem habet proportionem illud minus est, minor ergo $a e i$ angulus
 angulo $k z t$, equalis vero qui ad i ei qui ad t , rectus enim uterque. Reliquus ergo
 $e a i$ maior quam $z k t$. Constituatur autem ad k angulo $e a i$ equalis angulus 25
 $l k t$ et coniungatur $k l$ recte $t z$ educte secundum l , equiangulum ergo $l k t$ ei

12 divisione] divisio B : divisio est O ante in add. FM est in om. F in ...
 dividitur om. BW magnitudine] quantitate O Est autem om. FMW ea om.
 $ABOPW$ propter] quia $BOPW$ 13 dari] data $ABOPW$ esse] inesse A : sunt $BOPW$
 ergo om. $ABOPW$ ante quam add. AOP medietas $g d$ ante maior add. AOP
 medietas $a b$ est¹ om. $ABOPW$ ei] enim BW 14 copulentur] copuletur A :
 complentur F post d¹ add. $BOPW$ o pars est $g d$ om. FM est² c B : om. W
 15 ante eadem add. $ABOPW$ et que] quod FM post que add. B est post
 secundum add. F est ante eius add. $ABOPW$ ad totum circulum. Et que secundum $g d$
 portio eius qui] quasi B : om. W qui] que A post circa add. W quasi z om.
 $ABOPW$ 16 ante circuli add. $BOPW$ perimetrum circuli] ex illi F ad totum
 circulum om. P est om. BW quattuor] a FM 17 quod¹ qui FM post p¹ add.
 $ABOPW$ perimetrum Et om. BW ergo om. B 18 4¹ om. FM perimetros]
 perimetrum W : om. FM 4² om. FM 19 et¹] ergo $ABFOPW$ et¹ ... $a e b$ om. F
 equale] equam proportionem $ABOP$: equam proportionalitatem W ergo¹] negatur B :
 om. $AOPW$ 20 hoc est ad $t k$] quare etiam ad $t k$ W : om. B Maiorem om. FM
 habet] que F $g i$] $g d A$ 20-22 $g t$... habet om. O 21 post $g z t$ i¹ add. AOP angulus
 ad $k z t$ om. FM post sicut add. $BOPW$ iam ostendetur] ostenderetur FM et
 om. BW 22-23 Ad ... est om. BOW Ad quod vero] at vero ad quam FM 23 post
 minor add. OW est 23-24 minor ... $k z t$ om. B 24 angulo] quam angulus W qui
 ad i] angulus $a e i$ BOW ad²] est BOW i²] $z t k$ W 25 maior] minor F
 Constituatur] Constuatur B k²] r B 25-27 equalis ... et¹ om. B 26-27 et ... et¹ om.
 W 26 post recte add. O lineae educte] eductum F : educta M equiangulum]
 equiangulus $BFOPW$ post ergo add. O et similis est triangulus

* Der Übersetzer hat nicht bemerkt, daß im griechische Text eine Lücke vorhanden ist.
 Vergleiche F. Hultsch, *Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt*, Band 3.1: *Libri VIII reliquiae, supplementa in Pappi Collectionem* (Berlin, 1878), S. 1140.

quod est $e a i$ et est sicut $a i$ ad $i e$ ita $k t$ ad $t l$ et permutatim. Equalis vero $a i$ ei que est $k t$, equalis ergo et $e i$ ei que est $t l$, quare maior $e i$ quam $z t$. Equalis vero perimetros perimetro, maius ergo quod sub $a b$ perimetro et $e i$ eo quod sub perimetro $g d$ et $z t$, quare et dimidia; maius ergo $a b p$ quam $g d o$. 30 Quoniam vero $g t$ recta ad $t k$ maiorem proportionem habet quam angulus $g z t$ ad angulum $k z t$ (demonstratum autem est Theoni in commemoratione parvi astronomi), nihilominus vero et nunc demonstrabitur. Centro enim z et spatio $z k$ circuli periferia describatur $m k n$ et educatur $z t$ in n . Quoniam ergo est sicut $g k$ ad $k t$ ita $g k z$ trigonum ad $k z t$. Recta $g k$ ad $k t$ maiorem 35 proportionem habet quam $m k z$ sector ad $z k n$ sectorem et componenti. Sed sicut sector ad sectorem ita angulus ad angulum, maiorem proportionem habet $g t$ ad $t k$ quam $g z t$ angulus ad $k z t$ angulum.

In his demonstrandum quoniam ysoperimetricorum et eque multa latera habentium rectilineorum maius est quod equilaterum et equiangulum. Ad 40 huius autem rei demonstrationem presumenda lemmatia quedam et primum quidem huiusmodi.

<2> DATO ANISOCHELI TRIGONO CIRCA EANDEM BASEM TRIGONUM YSOPERMETRUM ET YSCOHELEM CONSTITUERE.

Esto datus anisocheles trigonus $a b g$, et conveniens esto facere quod dictum 45 est. Dividatur $a g$ in duo equalia secundum d et $a d$ recte $a g$ ad rectos trahatur

27 quod] qui O est²] quare W post sicut add. W est ita om. $AFMO$ 27-
29 ita ... eo] $k t$ equalis ei $e r$ qui est $t b$ et ei B 27 ad² om. F t^2] $d FM$ et² om. FM
28 et om. W ei om. FMW $t l$] $z t e l F$ 28-30 quare ... dimidia] et ei quod est
sub $z t$ et dimidio totius lineae equale est perimetro $g d o$ quod vero est sub $e i$ seu $l t$ et dimidio
peripheriae equale est isoperimetro $a b p W$ 29 ante perimetros add. $ABOP$ $a b p$ ante
perimetro¹ add. $ABOP$ $g d o$ quod¹] que F post b add. $ABOP$ p eo om. O
30 $g d$ om. M post $g d$ add. $ABOP$ o ante maius add. F sub 31 Quoniam] quod
 W g^1] $e F$ 32 z] $e BO$ autem om. FM Theoni] ex Theone PW ante in
add. F nihilominus 33 vero om. F nunc] tunc F spatio] spate B 34 in] m
 $ABPW$ n^2] $a b FM$ 35 ita om. FM post $k z t$ add. AOP trigonum ante Recta
add. $AOPW$ Sed, B si Recta om. W maiorem] minorem W 36 sector] sectio AFM
sectorem] sectionem AFM 37 sector] sectio $BFMW$ sectorem] sectionem BFM
ante maiorem add. A ergo, B quia, O quia $z n$, PW quare ante proportionem add. O
ergo 38 angulus om. BOW $k z t$ om. F angulum om. BW 39 his] hoc
 $BOPW$ post quoniam add. O in 40 rectilineorum] rectilinearum B quod] quo F
41 huius] huiusmodi F rei om. F presumenda] asumende F 41-
42 presumenda ... huiusmodi] hoc presumo BW 41 post presumenda add. BPW sunt
lemmatia] lemmata $ABOPW$ 42 quidem] quod A huiusmodi] huiuscemodi FM
43 ante Dato add. W Propositio secunda 44 ante constituere add. $ABOPW$ illi
constituere om. F post constituere add. W et isoperimetricum maius erit anisocheli
45 datus om. O trigonus om. FM 46 Dividatur] Dividam W equalia] equalis FM
 a] ad BOW : $ab A$ ad] secundum BW post rectos add. BPW angulos trahatur]
trahantur FM

$d z$, dividatur vero et contraque $a b g$ in duo equalia secundum k et quo plus potest $k a$ quam $a d$ poterit $d z$. Quoniam enim maior est quam $d e$ manifestum propter $a e$ equaliter posse $a d$ et $d e$, et enim k inter e, b necessarium esse, velut est manifestum educta $e g$ que minor est $g b$ et $b e$, equalis vero ei que est $e a$. 50 Copulentur ergo $z a$ et $z g$, dico ergo quoniam $a z g$ ysoscheles existens ysoperimeter est ei qui est $a b g$. Quoniam enim quod $a k a$ equale est eis que ab

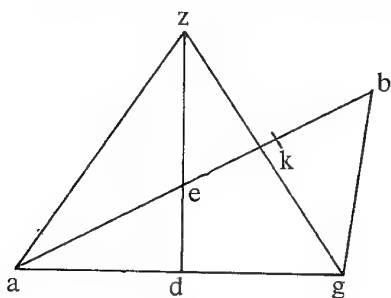


Fig. 2

$a d$ et $d z$, est autem et quod ab $a z$ equale eisdem, equalis ergo $a z$ ei que est $a k$ quare et dupla, itaque $a z, z g$ equales 55 eis que sunt $a b, b g$, ysoperimetrum ergo $a z g$ ei quod est $a b g$.

Dico vero quoniam et maius $a z g$ quam $a b g$. Copulentur enim $z b$ et educatur $z a$ et iaceat ei que est $z g$ 60 equalis $z t$ et copulentur $t b$. Quoniam ergo $t b$ et $b a$ maiores quam $t a$, at vero $t a$ equalis $a z$ et $z g$, hoc est $a b g$, et $t b, b a$ ergo maiores $a b, b g$, quare communi ablata $a b$ maior $t b$ quam $b g$. 65

47 et¹ om. BPW contraque] z c d utraque B: utraque W g] d O et²] a F
48 quam¹] quando F poterit] sit A: possit F: om. O poterit ... enim om. BW
Quoniam] Quod F post enim add. ABOPW d z est] esto W quam²] quoniam F
e om. B manifestum] maximum B post manifestum add. ABOPW est
49 propter] ipsum W enim om. BPW ante e³ add. O d ante esse add. ABOPW est
esse om. BF velut] ut F 50 minor] maior B b¹] e FM 51 a¹] i FM
et om. ABOW a z g] a r g B 52 ysoperimeter] ysoperimetros ABOP: ysoperimetrus W
ei] e z B qui] que FM enim] ergo F: ipsum W 52-54 enim ... eisdem]
propter quod a b in d erit rectus B 52 quod om. F a] ab AOW post k a add.
ABOPW in se equale] equalis F est³ om. AO eis] ei W post que add. O sunt
post ab add. O b g ysoperimetrum ergo a z g ei quod est a b g 52-53 ab a d et] est a b
ad W 53 et¹ om. AO et² om. OW 54 post eisdem add. AOP cum d sit rectus
equalis] equale M: om. W que] qui BW: quod P 55 post dupla add. W duplae
56 eis] ei F 56-57 que ... est om. P 56 ergo om. FM 57 quod] que O post
a b g add. O Nota hoc idem posset indirecte probari et produceretur falsigraphus ad concedendum
quod b z g angulus esset equalis z b a angulo si prius concedendum b g a triangulum esse
equalem vel maiorem z g a triangulo 59 quam om. F Copulentur] completerentur P
60 educatur] educantur FM 61 z t om. B et om. W copulentur] copuletur
AM b] g F Quoniam] quando F 62 ergo] g F b¹] h B b a] h B
quam om. F t a om. OP at] sit FM 63 post equalis add. BW est a b g et] b a
et b g W: om. B ante t b add. BW et, F est 64 maiores] maior est W ante b g add.
P et

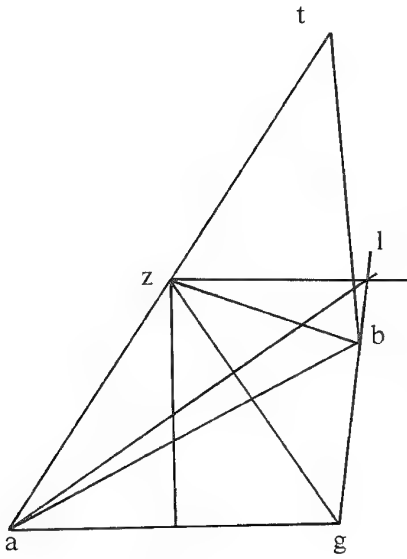


Fig. 3

Quoniam ergo tz ei que est zg equalis et communis zb et basis basi maior, et angulus angulo tzb scilicet eo qui est bzg maior est, ergo totus tzg maior duplo anguli bzg . Est autem anguli zga duplus propter duobus intrinsecis equalibus existentibus equalem esse, maior ergo zga angulus angulo bzg . Constituaturs ergo angulo zga equalis angulus gzl , parallelus ergo zl ei que est ag . Educatur gb in l et copuletur la , equalis ergo azg ei quod alg maiori existenti quam abg .

<3> DATIS DUOBUS TRIGONIS DUUM EQUALIUM LATERUM ET YSOPERIMETRIS ET DISSIMILIBUS, CIRCA EASDEM BASES TRIGONA CONSTITUERE DUUM EQUALIUM LATERUM ET SIMILIA ET YSOPERIMETRA SECUNDUM COUTRUMQUE PRIMIS, ET DEMONSTRARE QUONIAM SIMILIA COUTRAQUE MAIORA DISSIMILIBUS.

Sint duo trigona duum equalium laterum et ysoperimetra et dissimilia abg et dez , sitque maior ag quam ez , quare reliquas ed et dz maiores esse abg , et conveniens esto facere que dicta sunt. Adiaceat recta il equalis existens 85 quattuor abg , edz , et dividatur secundum k in eius que est ag ad ez

66 tz om. F	que] quod BW	est om. FM	post equalis add. W est
67 communis] continens F	post basis add. BOW t b		post basi add. BOW b g
68 tz b] et zz b F	68-70 tz b ... anguli ¹ om. B	70 anguli ¹] angulo W	anguli ¹] angulo B : angulus W
angulis tz b , b z g	71 z] e F	post duplus add. $ABOP$	angulus tz g , W aequalis
continentibus BW	propter om. W	72 equalibus om. F	existentibus]
73 ergo] autem P	post ergo add. $ABOPW$	proportio tz g ad b z g	
quam ad z g a ergo maior	74 ergo om. W	75 l] i F : om. B	post gz l add. P z
parallelus] parallelus AP : parassi ergo uns F	l] i F	post z l add. AOP est	ei]
eius $ABFMOPW$	que] quod BW	76 g^2 om. F	b om. $ABFOPW$
FM	77 ergo om. F	quod] que est $ABOPW$	78 existenti] existente BW
79 ante Datis add. W Propositio tertia	et ¹ om. BW	80 ante trigona add. $ABOPW$	duo
81 et ² om. P	secundum coutrumque] comitesque B : maioraque W		82 post
similia add. W inter se	83 Sint] sicut F	84 e^1 om. B	post quare add. $ABOPW$
necesse est	a b g] a b et b g $ABOPW$	85 post recta add. BW linea	i om. BFW
l om. BW	86 post quattuor add. W lateribus	a b g , e d z] a b , b g , d e , d z W	

proportionem. Et dividantur ik , kl in duo equalia eis que t , m . Quoniam ergo abg maiores existentes quam ag minores sunt quam medietas eius que il , at vero ik maior erat dimidia, maiores itk quam ag , quare rectarum ag , it , tk due qualescumque sumpte reliqua maiores sunt. Rursum quoniam est sicut ag 90 ad ez ita ik ad kl et permutatim, minor vero ag quam ik , minor ergo et ez quam kml , quare et rectarum ez , km , ml due qualescumque sumpte reliqua maiores sunt. Constituatur ergo ex tribus quidem ag , it , tk trigonum ang , ex tribus vero ez , km , ml trigonum xez . (Manifestum enim quoniam n quidem superius quam b cadit, at vero x inferius quam d propter ik quidem maiorem 95 esse quam sint abg atque kl minorem quam sint edz .) Trigona vero ang et xez duum equalium sunt laterum et ysoperimetra eis que sunt abg et edz . Dico vero quoniam et simile ang ei quod est xez .

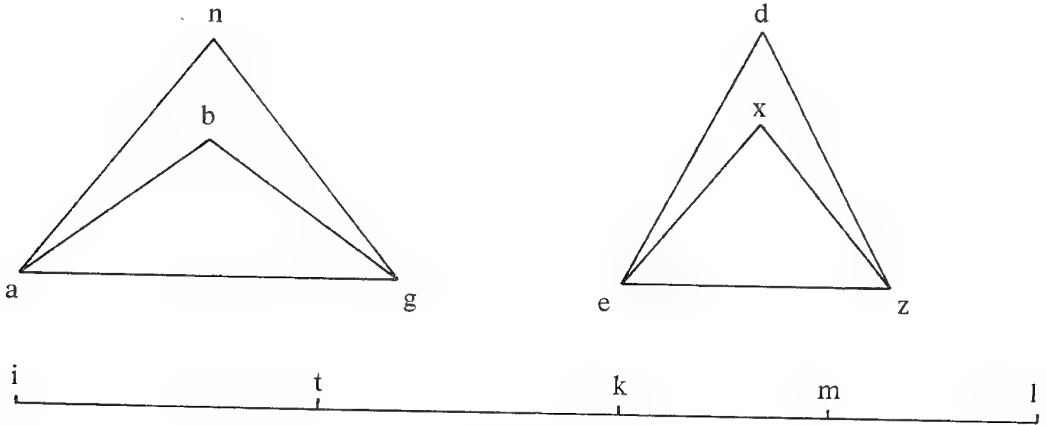


Fig. 4

87 proportionem] proportionaliter A ante Et add. A et sit ik maior sectio, B et sit ik maior tlg , O sit ik maior sectio, P sit ik maior sectio a , W et sit ik maior kl dividantur] dividatur $BFMP$ eis] cum F post eis add. AOP punctis ergo om. $ABOPW$ 88 sunt om. B post que add. W est 89 post vero add. AP quia maiores] maior est BW post $a g^2$ add. AMW et 90 due] que B : om. F Rursum] Rursus O sicut om. W 91 minor vero] maior ergo F post ergo add. BW est et² om. W ez txB 92 et om. BW reliqua] tertia BOW 93 quidem om. BOW i] l B trigonum] trigonus BOW n] m BW 94 m^2] h M trigonum om. W xez . Manifestum om. F n] a i B : non FM : m W 95 quam²] quod W d] est BW i om. F 96 sint¹] sit $BFMW$ sint²] nunc B : sit W Trigona] trigono F n] m BW 97 ez om. F laterum] latera P et¹ om. BW sunt² om. O 98 n] m W ei om. F est om. BOW ez] c t F

Quoniam enim est sicut $k i$ ad $i t$ ita $l k$ ad $k m$, et permutatim sicut $i k$ ad $k l$, hoc est $a g$ ad $e z$, ita $t i$ ad $k m$, hoc est $n a$ ad $x e$, et permutatim sicut $g a$ ad $a n$ 100 ita $z e$ ad $e x$ [propter equalitatis proportionem; equales enim et $a n$, $n g$ invicem atque $e x$, $x z$ rursus equales invicem], sicut autem $a n$ ad $n g$ ita $e x$ ad $x z$, et per equale ergo quare simile $n a g$ trigonum trigono $x e z$. Quoniam vero maiora sunt $a n g$, $e x z$ quam sint $a b g$ et $e d z$ demonstrabitur assumpto in ipsum lemmatio quodam tali. 105

<4> SI FUERINT DUO TRIGONA ORTHOGONIA SIMILIA, QUOD A SUBTENDENTIBUS RECTOS VELUT AB UNO EQUALE EST EIS QUE A RELIQUIS UT AB UNO UTRAQUE DUALITATE OMOLOGORUM.

Sint duo trigona orthogonia similia $a b g$ et $d e z$. Dico quoniam quod a contraque $a g$, $d z$ velut ab uno equale est ei quod a contraque $a b$, $d e$ velut ab 110 uno et ei quod a contraque $b g$, $e z$ velut ab uno. Educantur enim $a b$, $a g$ et iaceat ei que est $d e$ equalis $b i$, et per i , g rectis $b g$, $a i$ parallele $i k$ et $g t$; simile

99 i^1]1 BO k^2]1 BW k^3]1 O l^2 om. B 100 $a g \dots$ est² om. F $e z$] $g z$
 BO i]1 BO k]1 W n^1] m BFW n^2] m W 101 $z e$] secunde B e^2] t B
equalitatis] equalitates AOP proportionem] proportionum AOP : proportionalem B :
proportionalitatem W equales] equalis FM et om. BFM 101-102 $a n \dots$ sicut om.
 B 101 $a n$, $n g$] $a m$ et $m g$ W ante $n g$ add. O et 102 atque] at F : et O
rursus] rursus FOW autem] et B n^1] m W ad¹] et B n^2] m W post $n g$
add. F a t $e x$ ad $x z$] $z x$ ad $x e$ B et om. BOW 103 equale] equam $ABOP$:
equalem W ergo om. BOP post ergo add. $ABPW$ proportionalitatem, O por. n] m
 W trigonum] trigonis B : trigonus M post trigono add. M est, F et z] t O post
vero add. AOP et 104 maiora] maior F n] m W z^1] t FM ante quam add. B
trigono quoniam vero maiora sunt $a n g$, $x e z$ sint om. O assumpto] assumpta B :
assumptio FM 104-105 in ipsum] in ipsam FM : om. BOW 105 lemmatio] lemmato B :
lemmate W lemmatio quodam] finatio qui a i F 106 ante Si add. W Propositio quarta
ante orthogonia add. FM et orthogonia] orthogonalia BPW quod] que B
107 rectos] rectis B : recte O post uno¹ add. W sit a ... uno²] ab uno ut a reliquis B
109 trigona] trigonum FM orthogonia] orthogonalia B Dico] duo F quod om.
 FM 110 contraque¹] quouterque B ante est add. B et contraque²] c e utraque B
111 a contraque] quelutraque B $b g$, $e z$] $b e$, $g z$ B g^2] x FM 112 $d e$ om. B
 b i] l u et per i g P post per add. $ABOPW$ duo puncta scilicet g^1] et b et per b g AO :
et b t g , $g b$ B : et g P rectis $b g$ om. F

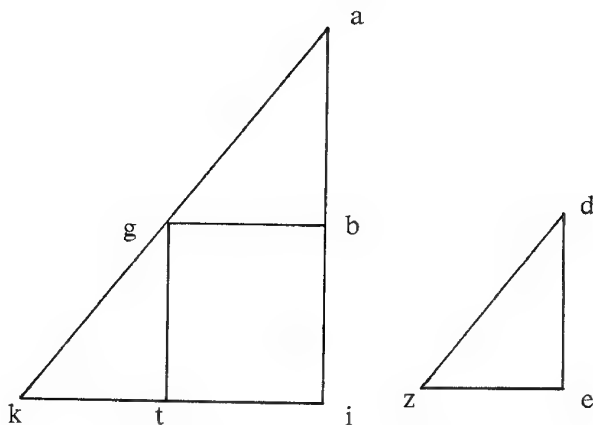


Fig. 5

que est ak , coutraque vero ab , de est ai , coutraque autem bg , ez ik . Et est
equale ak eis que ab ai , ik .

est ergo gtk trigo-
num trigono abg (et
enim utrumque ipso- 115
rum toti). Et est abg
simile ei quod est
 dez , et gkt ergo
simile est ei quod est
 dez . Et est gt ei 120
quod est de equale,
equale ergo et dz ei
quod est gk atque ez
ei que est tk . Quare
coutraque ag , dz ei 125

113-114 trigonum] trigonus B	115 enim om. B	utrumque] utraque BO	115-
118 ipsorum ... ergo] to et est tbg B	116 est] trigonum BW	119 est ¹ om. BM	
121 quod] que $AOPW$	post equale add. Pdz	121-122 equale equale] equalis equalis	
$ABOPW$	122 et dz] dez BF	123 quod] que $ABOPW$	k] $1F$
k] hF	124-126 Quare ... ak om. B	125-126 ag ... coutraque ² om. O	124 i] aB
add. AP est	126 ai] et B : a bP	autem om. B	ante bg add. Ba
127 ai] a x B	ante ik add. W et		i] tBO

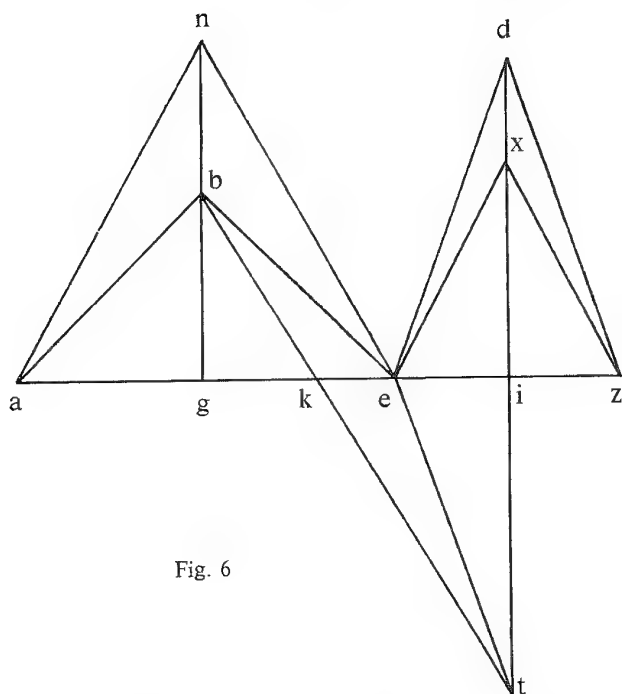


Fig. 6

Hoc prelibato de-
monstrabitur quod
modo propositum, 130
hoc est quoniam
maiora sunt $a n g$,
 $e x z$ trigona quam
 $a b g$, $d e z$. Copulate
enim $n b$, $d x$ educan- 135
tur, catheti ergo sunt
super $a e$, $e z$ propter
duum equalium esse
trigona. Iaceat ergo
recte $d i$ equalis $i t$ et 140
copuletur $t e$, que
manifestum quoniam
non est in directo
recte $b e$. Ut non, se-
cundum verticem an- 145
gulis equalibus factis
angulus $b e g$ equalis
fiet angulo $d e z$ [sed

et minor angulo $d e z$], quod inconueniens est. Propter hoc vero copuletur $t b$,
secabit vero et ipsam $a e$ inter g , e propter non fieri trigoni duos angulos vel 150
duobus rectis equales vel duobus rectis maiores. Quoniam ergo equales
quattuor $a n$, $n e$, $e x$, $x z$ quattuor $a b$, $b e$, $e d$, $d z$, et dimidie dimidiis equales,

129-130 quod modo] quomodo F 130 propositum] proportio F post propositum
add. $ABOPW$ est 131 hoc est $om. BO$ 132 sunt $om. P$ $g] e FMOP$ 134 $g] c$
 $AFMOP$ $e om. B$ 136 ergo] esse B 137 super $om. B$ 140 recte $om. BO$
 $i^2 om. B$ 141 $i] a F$ que $om. B$ 142 manifestum] magnum B 144 non $om. P$
147 post angulus add. OP enim equalis] inequalis $BOP: om. FM$ 148 fiet] fuit
 $ABOPW$: fiat F 148-149 sed ... est] quoniam $b e g$, $d e z$ trianguli fuerint dissimiles ergo
rerum qui est equalis $d e z$ est inequalis angulo $g e b BO$: quoniam $b e g$, $d e z$ trianguli fuerint
similes ergo rerum qui est equalis $d e z$ est maior angulo $g e b P$ 149 et $om. F$ $d] x$
 $AFMP$ vero $om. FM$ 150-151 $a e ...$ maiores] inter a et g i quam illa contra a et inter g et
quare $g b$ nunquam concurrent $d i$ cum sint parallela neque duabus rectis lineis includi
superficies si protrahentur $b g B$ 150 inter] it $F: om. M$ $g, e om. F$ 150-
151 propter ... maiores] quia $b g$ nunquam concurrent $d i$ cum sit $e i$ parallela neque inter a et g
quoniam ita continget duabus rectis lineis includi superficiem si protrahentur $b g O$
150 non] enim A trigoni] ei trigonus F post trigoni add. P trigoni 151 equales]
equalis FM 152 dimidie] dimidium dimidio F dimidiis $om. BMW$ equales]
equalis FM

itaque ne , ex eis que sunt de , eb , hoc est te , eb , equales sunt, quare tb maiores ne , ex , quare et quod a coutraque ne , xe velut ab uno maius eo quod ab tb . Et est id quod a coutraque ne , xe equale ei quod a coutraque ng , xi et 155 ei quod a coutraque ge , ei (similia enim nge , exi trigona dimidia existentia similibus). Ei vero quod ab tb et equale quod a coutraque bg , ti et quod a coutraque gk , ki , similia enim rursum trigona propter parallelas. Maius ergo quod a coutraque ng , xi cum eo quod a coutraque ge , ei , hoc est quod ab gi , eo quod a coutraque bg , ti , scilicet eius quod est di , cum eo quod est a 160 coutraque gk , ki , hoc est quod ab gi . Commune auferatur quod ab gi , reliquum ergo quod a coutraque ng , xi maius eo quod a coutraque di , bg , quare et coutraque ng , xi maior coutraque di , bg . Communes auferantur bg , xi , hoc est non ad semel, sed a coutraque quidem ng , xi ille que sunt bg , xi , a coutraque vero di , bg eodem xi , bg . Hoc enim facto et bis ablatis bg , xi 165 relinquitur nb , dx , maior quidem nb , minor vero dx . Est autem et ge quam ei maior quoniam quidem et tota tota. Et quod sub nb , ge ergo maius eo quod sub dx , ei quare et dimidia. Maius ergo nbe trigonum quam dex^* et totum ergo $aben$ kilogonium maius quam $exzd$ kilogonium [trigonum]. Communia

153 $x]zFM$ hoc est te , eb om. M post sunt² add. P quia te , eb est maiores quam
 $t b$ ante tb add. O quam 154 $ne^1] u g e P$ quare ... xe om. M post quare
add. AFP quoniam a coutraque] ab eo utraque B ab om. B uno] una FM eo]
ea vel eo FM 155 id] ea FM ante quod¹ add. O sicut a coutraque¹] ab utraque B
equale] equalis F ei] et F 155-156 ei ... quod om. M 155 a coutraque²] ab
utraque B 155-156 ng ... coutraque om. P 156 ei om. F a] et M : om. B
coutraque] contraque B e^3 om. B e^4] d FM trigona] trigone F 157 post
similium add. $ABOPW$ a ne , exz triangulorum Ei] si P vero] enim B post vero
add. AP ut proximo ostensum est post quod¹ add. B est et¹] id B , om. OW post
equale add. $ABOPW$ est a^1 om. P a^2 om. P 158 similia ... Maius] hoc est a b , g i
relinquitur B 158-161 similia ... ki om. O 158 parallelas] particulas F : parallelos P
159 quod¹] que B cum eo] et FM 159-162 cum ... xi om. B 159 ei om. F
160 ante eo¹ add. F reliqua enim 160-161 eo¹ ... g^2 om. M 160 scilicet ... cum]
videlicet eius que est di cum AP : et BOW est² om. $BOPW$ 162 reliquum om. F
163 quare] quam F post et add. F a post maior add. BO quam 164 quidem]
quod $BFMOW$ i^2 om. P b] $h B$: $m F$ a^2 om. B 165 g^2] $e FM$ bis] hiis AP :
om. B 166 relique] reliquum B $n b^2$] enim B et ge quam] g quedem B
167 quidem om. O et¹ om. W post tota¹ add. $ABOPW$ a e tota² om. BF post
tota² add. $ABOPW$ $e z$ maior quod¹] que FM maius] maximus B 167-168 eo
quod sub] est quam P 168 Maius] Magis FM post x^2 add. FM a
169 kilogonium¹] kilogonium B maius ... kilogonium² om. BM quam] quod F
Communia] omnia B : commune W

* Vide supra, n. ad l. 16.

apponantur [hoc est non semel sed bis apponantur] $a b e$, $e x z$ trigona utrique 170
 $a b e n$ et $e x z d$ kilogoniorum, itaque $n a e$, $e x z$ maiora sunt quam $a b e$ et
 $e d z$.

<5> HIIS DEMONSTRATIS PROPONATUR DEMONSTRARE QUOD PRIUS DICTUM EST,
 QUONIAM YSOPERIMETRORUM ET EQUE MULTITUDINIS LATERUM RECTILINEORUM MAIUS
 EST QUOD EQUILATERUM ET EQUIANGULUM EST. 175

Esto enim exagonum $a b d m e g$ et subiaceat maius existens omnibus
 ysoperimetris ipsi et eque multitudinis laterum figuris. Dico autem quoniam est

et equilaterum et equiangulum.

Esto enim prius, si possi- 180
 bile est, non equilaterum sit-
 que maior $b a$ quam $a g$ et
 copuletur $b g$ et trigono existe-
 tente anisocheli $b a g$ super
 $b g$ constituatur trigonus yso- 185
 cheles ysoperimeter ei qui est
 $a b g$ sitque $b t g$ (qualiter
 enim oportet facere, demon-
 stratum est in primo pre-
 sumptorum); maius ergo $g t b$ 190
 quam $g a b$ (et hoc enim in
 eodem demonstratum est).

Commune adiaceat $b d m e g$

pentagonum, totum ergo $t b d m e g$ maius est quam $a b d m e g$ et est ipsi yso-
 perimetrum, quod est impossibile. Subiaceat enim omnibus maius, non ergo 195
 anisopleuron est.

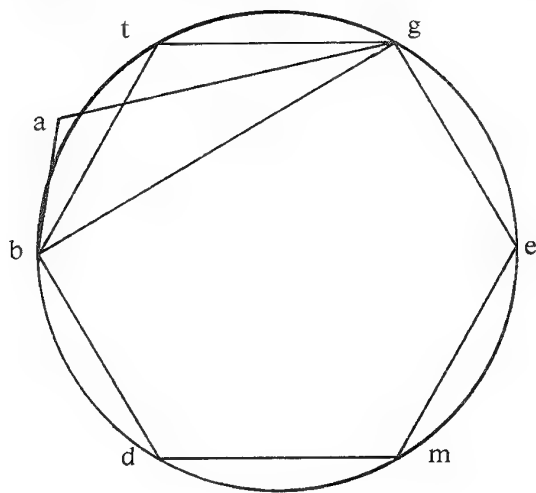


Fig. 7

170 apponantur ¹] apponatur BW	non] enim B	trigona] trigoni F	171 e^1 om.
FO kilogoniorum] kalogoniorum B	e^5 om. F	173 Hiis ... proponatur] Hoc	
praelibato restat W	post est add. W	Propositio quinta	174 quoniam] quod BO : om. W
ysoperimetrorum] ysoperimetrum B	eque] equi FM	multitudinis laterum] multa	
lata habentium BOW	maius] maximum $AOPW$: maxime B	175 et] atque $ABOPW$	
est ² om. $ABOPW$	176 g] tP	177 multitudinis laterum] multa latera habentibus	
BOW autem om. W	178 et ¹ om. BW	180-181 Esto ... equilaterum om. B	
183 copuletur] copulentur BOW	191 enim om. P	194 totum ergo] cumque B : om. W	
ergo] quoque O	maius ... $a b d m e g$ om. BO	est ¹] erit W	195 post enim
add. BOW ipsum			

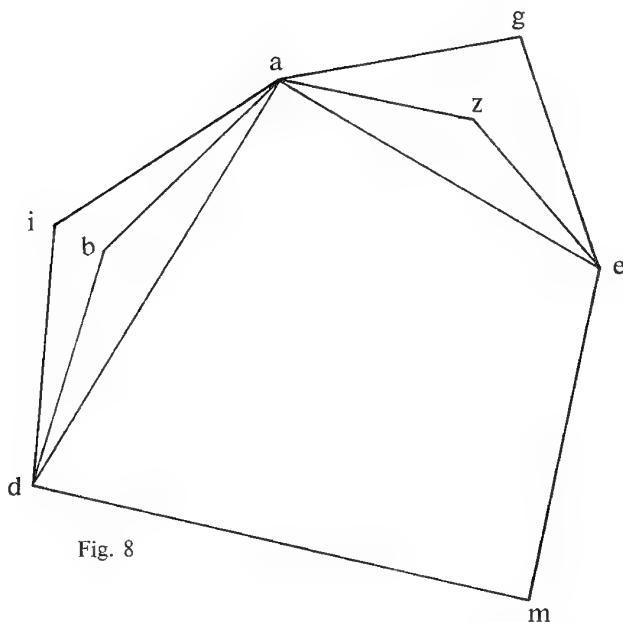


Fig. 8

Dico autem quoniam neque anisogonium est.

Si enim possibile, sit angulus abd maior angulo age et copulentur ad , ae . Quoniam ergo due ag , ge duabus ab , bd equales, angulus vero angulo maior, maior et da basis basi ae . Duobus ergo dissimilibus existentibus trigonis ysochelibus duum equalium laterum abd et age super ad et ae con-

stituantur similia trigona ysochela ysoperimetra ipsis sintque $a id$, aze (qualiter enim oporteat facere dictum est); maiora ergo $a id$ et aez quam abd et age . Commune adiaceat $adme$ quadrilaterum; totum ergo $a idmez$ exagonum maius quam $abdmeg$ ysoperimetron ipsi existens, quod est inconveniens. Non ergo anisogonium est. Ysogonium ergo ostensum est et ysopleurum, maximum ergo ysoperimetrorum eque multorum laterum equilaterum est et equiangulum, quare et e converso.

<6> HOC AUTEM DEMONSTRATO DEMONSTRABITUR ET QUOD EX PRINCIPIO PROPOSITUM EST PROPTER QUOD ET ISTA PRELIBATA SUNT: QUONIAM CIRCULUS OMNIUM YSOPERIMETRORUM FIGURARUM MAXIMUS EST.

Quoniam demonstratum est quoniam omnium ysoperimetrorum et eque

197 Dico] duo B	autem] itaque BOW	198 neque $om. P$	198-199 anisogonium]
anisologonium B	199 est $om. BW$	200 Si enim] Etenim BW	200-
201 post possibile $add. P$ est	208 maior $om. B$	209 ergo $om. P$	215 sintque]
sitque BW	post $a id$ $add. AOPW$ et	z] $i B$	216 oporteat] oportet BOW
dictum] demonstratum W	maiora] maior W	$i om. B$	e] $c B$
adiaceat] adiaceatque B	$i] b B$	218 est $om. BOW$	219 anisogonium]
amblogonium BW	Ysogonium]	ysoperimetrum W	et $om. BW$
220 ysopleurum] ysoperimetrum W	221 est $om. BOW$		219-
222 ante Hoc $add. W$ Propositio sexta	et $om. BOW$		ante quare $add. O$ et
maximus] maximum $ABOP$	225 quoniam?] quod $BW: om. P$		224 figurarum $om. BOW$
			omnium $om. P$

multorum laterum figurarum maius est quod equilaterum et equiangulum, si demonstretur omni equilatero et equiangulo ysoperimetro circulo maior circulus, manifestum quoniam erit demonstratum quod inquisitum est.

Esto ergo circulus ab , ysoperimetro vero ipsi polygonium dez . Dico quoniam maior circulus est polygonio.

230

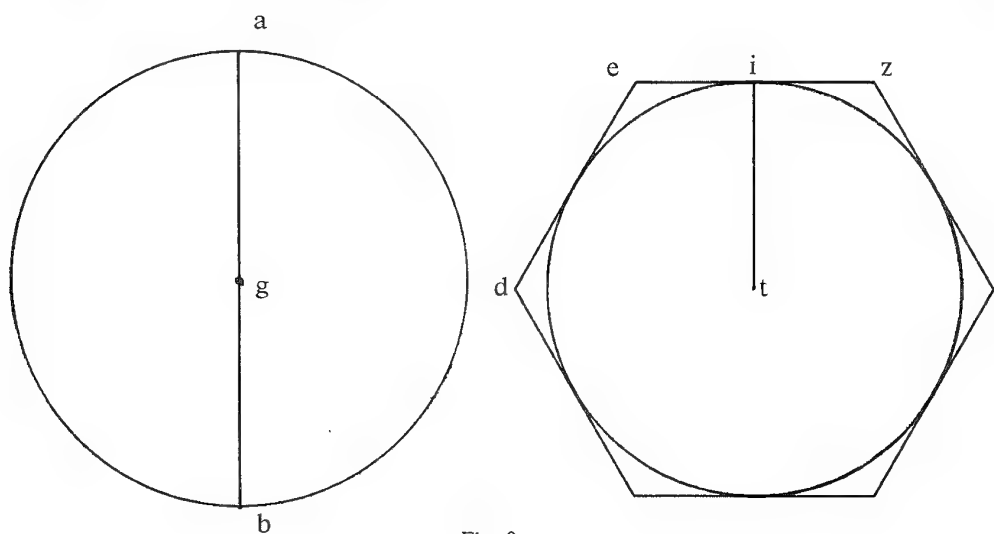


Fig. 9

Scribatur enim in dez polygonio circulus cuius centrum t et copulentur ti , cathetus ergo est super ez . Esto vero et eius quod est ab centrum quidem g , ex centro vero gb . Quoniam ergo ysoperimeter est circulus dez polygonio, perimetros vero eius quod est dez maior perimetro ipsius inscripti circuli, maior est et circulus ab circulo ei quod est dez inscripto circulo, quare et gb 235 quam ti maior. Et est quidem quod sub ti et perimetro polygonii duplum polygonii, quod vero sub gb et perimetro circuli duplum circuli; maius ergo duplum duplo, quare et dimidium dimidio, maior ergo circulus polygonio. Quoniam vero quod sub ea que ex centro et perimetro circuli duplum circuli

226 figurarum om. BOW post equiangulum add. P est 227 demonstratur]
demonstraretur PW ante omni add. BW quoniam ysoperimetro] ysoperimetris B: om.
P circulo om. BW 228 erit] est W est om. B 229 circulus om. AOP
Dico om. B 230 quoniam] quam B 231 Scribatur] Inscribatur AOP t¹ om. P
232 est¹ om. BOW quidem om. BW 233 e om. B 234 e om. B ipsius
om. BW 235 est et] o et y B circulo² om. AP 237 quod] que B 238 duplo]
dupli BO ante quare add. O et 239 centro] semidyametro BOW duplum] duplis
B

demonstratum est Archimenidi in mensuratione circuli. Demonstravit enim 240
quoniam omnis circulus equalis est trigono orthogonio cuius que ex centro
equalis est uni earum que circa rectum, reliqua vero perimetro circuli.

<7> OMNIUM YSOPERIMETRORUM SOLIDORUM MAXIMUM EST SPERA.

Intelligatur primum solidum contentum sub conicis superficiebus sicut
sumebatur et in eis que Archimenidi cuius generatio erat polygonii inscripti in 245
circulo cuius latera sub tetrados mensurantur et delati circa manentem circuli
dyametrum. Esto vero tali solido spera ysoperimetra. Dico quoniam maior est
spera dicto solido. Intelligatur enim in solido spera inscripta; minor est ergo ea
que est ysoperimetros solido. Adiaceat ergo circulus equalis superficiei solidi
 $a b$ et intelligatur ab $a b$ conus altitudinem habens eam que ex centro inscripte 250
solido spere; equalis ergo est solido. Hoc enim est demonstratum ab
Archimenidi. Adiaceat autem similiter et superficiei spere ysoperimetre solido
equalis circulus $g d$ et ab ipso conus altitudinem habens eam que ex centro
spere; maior ergo est $a b z$ cono, in equalibus enim basibus existentes ad
invicem sunt velut altitudines et maior altitudo $g d t$ coni quam $a b z$ quoniam 255
quidem et spera quam spera. Et est $g d t$ conus equalis spere velut colligitur ex
eis que Archimenidis atque $a b z$ equalis solido; maior ergo spera solido.

Quoniam vero conus basim habens circulum equalem superficiei spere
altitudinemque equalem ei que ex centro spere equalis est spere colligitur ex eis
que Archimenidis ita. Quoniam enim demonstravit quod cylindrus basim 260
habens maximum circulum altitudinem dyametrum spere sesquialter est spere,

240 Archimenidi] Archimedi *W* 241 quoniam] quod *BP* est *om. BW*
242 earum *om. BW* rectum] centrum *BW* 243 ante Omnium *add. W* Propositio
selima 244 Intelligatur] Intelligitur *B* 245 et *om. FM* Archimenidi]
Archimenidis *B*: Archimendum *F*: Archimenides *P*: Archimedi *W* polygonii] pilogonis *F*
inscripti] conscripti *BOW* in² *om. FM* 246 sub tetrados] subiectos *B*: sub rectos
FM mensurantur] mensuratur *ABP* circa] contra *P* 248 dicto *om. BW* 248-
249 Intelligatur ... solido *om. AP* 248 in] dicto *FM* spera²] speram *F* inscripta]
scripta *BFOW* 249 est *om. O* 250 et *om. BW* intelligatur] intelligitur *B* ab
 $a b^2$] $a b$ *BF*: $a z b$ *W* inscripte] inscripto *B* 251 ante est¹ *add. W* conus ab *om.*
ABPW 252 Archimenidi] Archimedi *BW*: Archimedo *F* autem similiter et] etiam *FM*
253 eam *om. B* post que *add. BW* est ex] a *BFM* 254 post spere *add. W*
ysoperimetrae est] et *B*: *om. O* z *om. F* ante in *add. W* Coni enim *om. B*
existentes] existens *BO* ad] alii *F* 255 sunt *om. M* altitudines ei] altitudine
F: altitudines *M* 256 quidem] quoque *M* quam spera] *om. B*: queque spera *F*: quaque
spera *M*: $g d$ est maior spera $a b$ *W* Et *om. B* ante est *add. B* que, *W* qui velut] ut
FM 257 Archimenidis] Archimenidi *ABOP*: Archimedi *W* atque] et *B*: at *W* 257-
258 maior ... Quoniam] minus *F* 258 Quoniam] Quod *W* 259 equalem *om. FM*
ex¹] a *BW*: *om. P* 260 Archimenidis] Archimedes *F*: Archimenides *M* ita] in hemiolios]
P: ista *W* enim *om. FM* 260-262 basim ... cylindrus *om. M* 261 altitudinem]
altitudinemque *ABOW* sesquialter] fecit inequaliter *F*

talīs vero cylindrus sextuplus est coni basim quidem habentis eandem, altitudinem vero eam quae ex centro, quadrupla erit sphaera talis coni. Est autem et eiusdem quadruplus et conus altitudinem quidem habens eandem, basim vero superficiei sphaerae equalem; sub eadem enim altitudine existentes ad invicem sunt sicut bases. Superficies autem sphaerae quadrupla est maximi circuli, quare equalis sphaera dicto cono.

Sit etiam superficiei sphaerae equalem habens superficiem solidum poliedron sphaera contentum, dico quoniam maior sphaera solido.

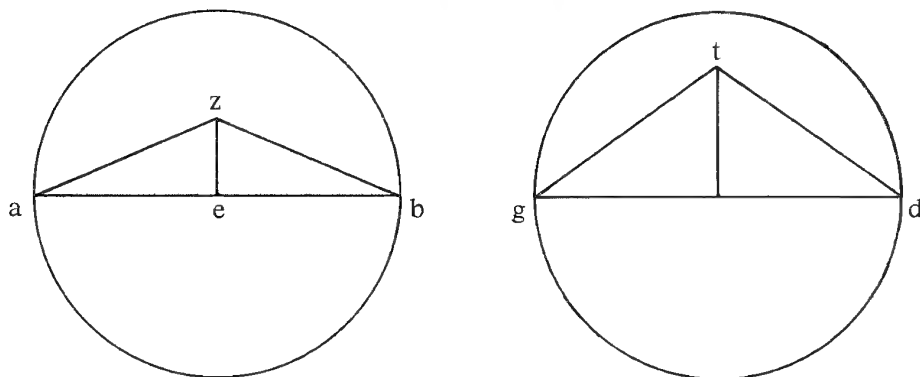


Fig. 10

Intelligatur enim rursus sphaerae equalis conus basim quidem habens equalem superficiei sphaerae ipsius, altitudinem vero eam quae ex centro velut gdt , superficiei vero solidi equale polygonum a quo pyramis altitudinem habens equalem ei quae ex centro inscripte solido sphaerae; maior ergo est conus pyramide (in equalibus enim basibus sunt et maior altitudo coni quam altitudo pyramidis, utrumque vero tertia eius quae sub basi et altitudine, hec quidem cylindri, illa vero prismatis). Et est pyramis equalis poliedro quoniam quidem quod sub ea

262 est] et B	coni om. B	quidem] quoniam F	263 eam] eandem $ABOPW$
263-266 erit ... quadrupla om. F		263 et om. BW	264 eiusdem] eidem M
quadruplus] quadruplum B		et] etiam M	265 ante enim add. M vero
266 maximi] maximum F	267 dicto] dico B : cum W		268 etiam] in F
269 superficiem ... quoniam om. F	270 intelligatur] intelligitur F		268-269 rursus] reccum F :
rursus O	271 sphaerae om. F	velut] vult et F	272 vero] enim F
solidi] solide BOW	equale] quale BO	ante habens add. $BFMOW$	quidem habens
om. BW	273 equalem om. BOW	post quae add. M est	ex] a FM
scripto B	274 quam] quaque F : quaque M	altitudo ² om. FM	275 que] quod
$AFMP$	276 post prismatis add. $AOPW$ est		

que ex centro poliedro inscripte spere et unaquaque basi poliedri solidum, triplum est eius que secundum eandem basim pyramidis, quare sub ea que ex centro et superficie solidi poliedri collectum solidum triplum est solidi poliedri. Est autem et pyramidis equalis altitudinis et circa eandem basim triplum idem 280 solidum (eandem vero basim dico equalem superficiei poliedri); equalis ergo pyramis poliedro minor existens cono equali spere, quare et solidum poliedrum minus spera.

277 solidum] solidis *B* 278 eius] eiusdem *B*: ei *W* que¹] quod *B* secundum
om. BW eandem basim] eadem basi *B* ante pyramidis *add. W* habet ante ea *add.*
F est ea] eo *BW* post que² *add. BW* est, *M* sunt ex *om. B* 279 superficie]
superficiei *BFW* triplum] triplis *B* solidi poliedri²] solidum poliedrum *P* 280 et¹
om. BW et²] tribus *F* eandem] eundem *F* triplum] triplis *B* 281 ergo] vero
FM 283 minus] umus *F* post spera *add. B* Explicit de figuris vel corporibus ysoperi-
metris. *FM* explicit, *W* finitur de corporibus vel figuris ysoperimetris. Viennae Pannoniae per
G(eorgium) G(otzmann) Aubingense VIII Calendarum Novembrium Anno huius seculi quinto
et vicesimo.

ANHANG I*

<5> HIIIS DEMONSTRATIS PROPONATUR DEMONSTRARE QUOD PRIUS DICTUM EST QUONIAM YSOPERIMETRORUM ET EQUE MULTITUDINIS LATERUM RECTILINEORUM MAIUS EST QUOD EQUI-LATERUM ET EQUIANGULUM EST.

Esto enim exagonum quod est polygonium *ab* equilaterum et equiangulum. Dico quod maius est quam quod non est equilaterum et equiangulum ysoperimetrum. Dicit

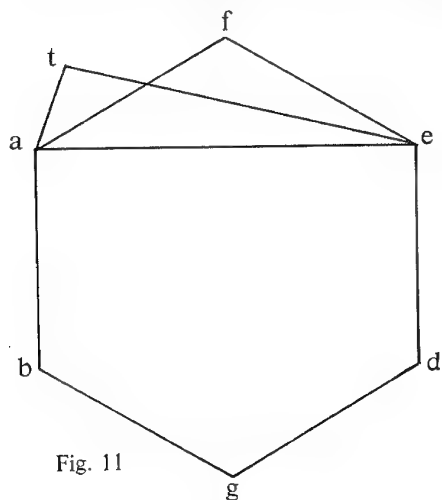


Fig. 11

falsigrafus quod maius est id quod non est 5
equilaterum et equiangulum scilicet *td*,
huius polygonii alia latera contigua sunt
inequalia, non enim omnia contigua sunt
equalia, ergo omnia sunt inequalia *at* et 10
te, igitur triangulus *ate* est anisocheles
super basim *ae*. Fiat triangulus ysoscheles
afe ysoperimeter predicto qui sit maior
eo ut predicta docent; ergo polygonium
afd est equilaterum vel non. Si non, ergo 15
aliud est maius et fiat probatio ut prius.

Item dicit falsigrafus aliquod equi-
laterum sed non equiangulum esse maius
aliquo equiangulo et equilatero sicut *td* 20
huius polygonii anguli non propinqui sunt
inequales. Sint illi *t* et *g*, angulus *t* est
maior angulo *g*, ergo per primum Euclidis

linea *ea* est maior linea *ed*. Super illas bases fiant duo trigona similia equalium laterum
ysoperimetra triangulis *ate* et *ged* et maiora eisdem quod predicta docent que sint *afe*

1 demonstratis] terminatis *F* 3 equiangulum] quiangulum *F* 6 est² *om. F*
10 post ergo add. *F* enim 13 ysoperimeter] ysoperimetrum *F* 15 ante est add. *F* est
maius proxilio a t d pela valet neque autem Si non *om. F* 18 sed non equiangulum
om. F 19 aliquo] alio *F* sicut] sit illud *F* 21 Sint] sicut *F* 22 Euclidis]
eductis *F*

* Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 10053, ff. 40vb-41ra; Florenz, Bibl. Naz. Conv. soppr. J.V.18, f. 5rb-va.

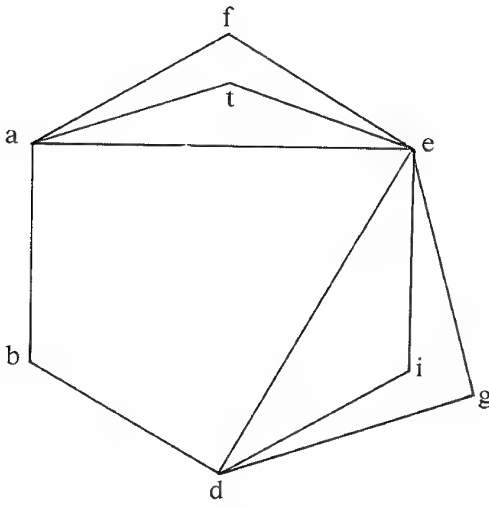


Fig. 12

et *eid*; ergo polygonum *fid* est 25
 maius polygonio *tgd*. Polygonum
 autem *fid* aut est equilaterum et
 equiangulum aut non. Si non, ergo
 aliud est maius et fiet probatio ut
 prius. Si est maius, habetur propo- 30
 situm, omnia enim polygonia yso-
 perimetra equilatera et equiangulara
 sunt equalia.

<6> HUIS DEMONSTRATIS DE- 35
 MONSTRANDUM EST ILLUD PROPTER
 QUOD ISTA SUNT PROPOSITA: QUONIAM
 OMNIUM FIGURARUM YSPERIMETRA-
 RUM CIRCULUS EST MAIOR.

Circulus *gh* et polygonum *ab* 40
 sint ysuperimetra; ergo circulus est
 maior polygonio. Sit illud polygo-
 nium equilaterum et equiangulum quod est maius ysuperimetris rectilineis. Intra illud
 describatur circulus, illius circuli circumferentia est minor linea ambiente scilicet
 polygonio, ille ergo circulus est minor circulo *gh*, ergo *td* semidiameter est minor *ef* 45
 semidiametro, ergo quod fit ex ductu *td* in lineam *ab* est minus eo quod fit ex ductu *ef*
 in eandem *ab* lineam, ergo medietas est maior medietate. Sed medietas eius quod fit ex
 ductu *td* in *ab* est polygonum *ab*, medietas autem eius quod fit ex ductu *ef* in lineam

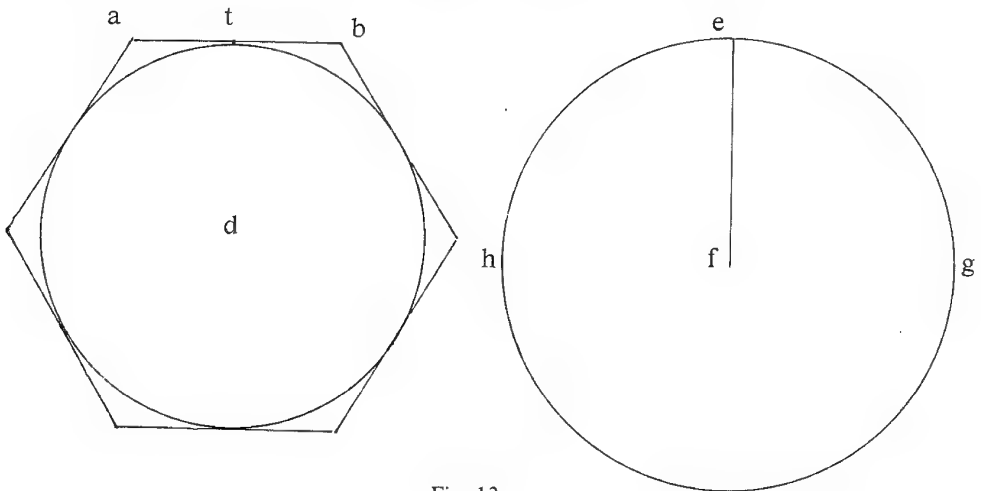


Fig. 13

ab est equale circulo gh quod probat Archimenes, ergo circulus est, hoc gh est, maior ab poligonio. Demonstravit enim Archimenes in mensuratione circuli quod 50 omnis circulus equalis est trigono ortogonio cuius que ex centro equalis est uni earum que circa rectum, reliqua vero perimetro circuli. Quoniam igitur iam demonstratum est quod omnium ysoperimetrorum et equimultorum angulorum maius est quod equilaterum atque equiangulum et hic sit demonstratum quod circulus maior est omni equilatero et equiangulo quod est ysoperimetrum circulo, patet demonstratio quesita. 55

ANHANG II*

<4> SI FUERINT DUO TRIGONA ORTHOGONALIA SIMILIA QUOD A SUBTENDENTIBUS RECTOS VELUT AB UNO FIT, EQUALE EST EIS QUE A RELIQUIS UT AB UNO UTRAQUE DUALITATE OMOLOGORUM.

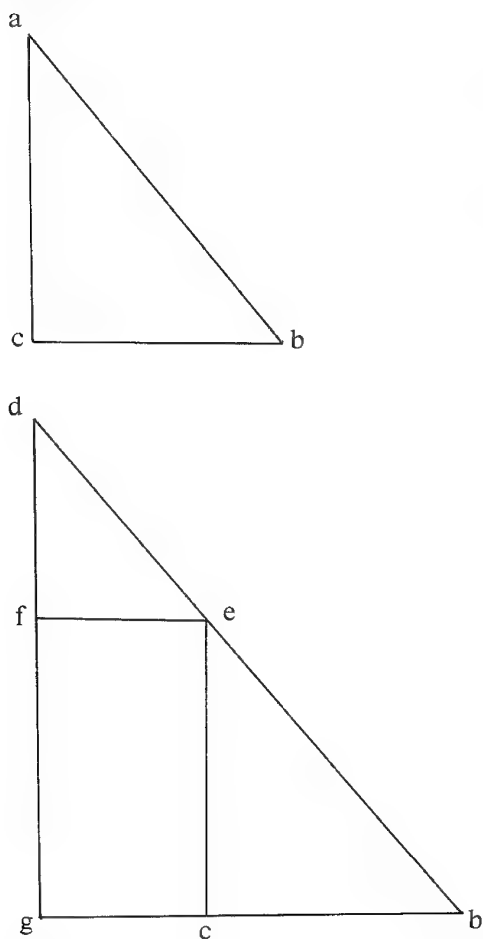


Fig. 14

Sint abc et def duo trigoni orthogonii similes et ab et de subtendantur 5 angulis rectis, postea adiungantur ab , de et si fiet db linea una per primum librum fiat super e punctum angulus equalis a angulo et linea [equalis illum angulum a angulo] protrahatur ad 10 equalitatem ac et claudantur trianguli latera ac et cb prius tamen facto super c punctum angulo equali c angulo idest recto, patet quod triangulus est equalis triangulo et ita iam facti trigoni sunt 15 equianguli. Protrahatur df linea donec concurrat cum cb linea protracta. Probo quod illud quadratum est equidistantium laterum quia db linea cadens super fe et cb facit angulum extrinsecum angulo intrinseco equalem; ergo lineae ille sunt equidistantes. Item 20 bg cadit super ec lineam et super fg lineam et facit angulum intrinsecum rectum; ergo latera opposita in quadrangulo sunt equalia; ergo ec linea est equalis fg lineae et fe linea est equalis gc lineae. Sed dbg triangulus est orthogonius patet quia dg linea equidistat ec lineae et c angulus est rectus; ergo g 30 angulus est rectus; ergo quadratum db lineae valet quadrata dg et gb quorum duo quadrata valent quadrata fd et fe , ec et cb quia sunt eis equales et ita patet propositum quod quadrata late- 35

* Wien, Nationalbibliothek Cod. 5277, f. 234r-v.

rum subtensorum rectis angulis velut unius valent quadrata duorum laterum angulorum velut unius et quadrata reliquorum laterum velut unius et hoc dico laterum proportionalium. Hoc prelibato restat demonstrare quod prius dictum est.

Venlo, The Netherlands.

THE SATIRICAL WORKS OF BERENGAR OF POITIERS: AN EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION

R. M. Thomson

I CAREER

NOTHING is known of Berengar 'of Poitiers' apart from what can be learned from his own writings and their manuscript tradition.¹ He is called 'Pictauensis' in two of the five manuscripts which contain collections of his works, and this carries the more weight as the two manuscripts concerned are not closely related.² Even so, 'Pictauensis' is still vague enough to mean that Berengar was either born or a temporary resident in Poitou. The meagre details of his career suggest the first alternative. These details consist of his contacts with people and places mentioned in his works. His earliest known writing, the *Apology*, names Abelard and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and contains extracts from the writings of both. Not long after this he wrote an open letter to the Carthusians, with particular reference to the community of the Grande Chartreuse itself. At about the same time he wrote a tract, now lost, against the allegedly heretical doctrines of a certain Canon Benedict of Marseilles.³ Later he sent a letter to the bishop and canons of Mende, in which he mentions the cathedral of Maguelone and the canons of the collegiate church of Saint-Ruf at Valence. The canons of Mende had been attacking him for his criticisms of their way of life. Evidently, for some time prior to the writing of this letter, he had been living in southern France, but the names in it suggest the Rhone valley and the frontier between Languedoc and Provence, not Poitou.

¹ On Berengar see in particular E. Vacandard, 'Bérenger de Poitiers', *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* 2 (1905), cols. 720-22; O. Lottin, 'Pierre Bérenger', *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 8 (1935), cols. 379-80; R. Klibansky, 'L'épître de Bérenger de Poitiers contre les Chartreux', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 2 (1946) 314-16; D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 29-49.

² Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 2923 (= B), fol. 43 and Bruges, Bibl. de la Ville 398 (= E), fol. 17v; see below, p. 111 and n. 1.

³ Below, p. 137.

The *Apology* was written following the Council of Sens of 1140, the latest dateable event mentioned in it being the papal condemnation of Abelard in July of that year.⁴ The fierce, passionate tone of the tract, which aims to discredit St. Bernard for his actions against Abelard at the Council, suggests that it was written soon after this date, and so does the fact that it fails to mention Abelard's death, which occurred in 1142. In the letter to the bishop of Mende Berengar refers to Abelard as 'praeceptor meus',⁵ and he describes himself as having been 'adulescens', his beard not yet grown, at the time of the Council of Sens.⁶ Since he mentioned this in order to excuse his rash defence of Abelard, it should be received with caution, but allowing for exaggeration we might suppose him to have been in his late teens or early twenties in 1140. In the same letter he describes the motives which led him to write the *Apology*: 'As a scholar I often enjoyed declaiming in artificial debates. But now there opened the fair prospect of engagement in a real conflict, and I felt called to clear Abelard and confute the abbot's audacity'.⁷ In other words, before and perhaps still in 1140, Berengar was a student of Abelard's, presumably spending some time at Paris.

His only other approximately dateable work is the same letter to Bishop William of Mende, written after the *Apology* which it mentions, and before 1150, the date of the bishop's death. Since he implies in the letter that he is a good deal older and wiser than he was when he wrote the *Apology*,⁸ it is reasonable to presume that the letter was not written long before the mid-century. Two other works are mentioned in it, neither of which can be precisely dated, but as he was so young when he wrote the *Apology*, they were perhaps written after it. One of these works is the letter to the Carthusians, the other the lost tract *De incarnatione Christi* against the canon Benedict.⁹ In the letter to the bishop of Mende Berengar calls himself a 'saecularis'.¹⁰ Nothing further is known about what office he held or in which church. Oddly enough, however, he may have been in a monastery as a child. Near the beginning of the *Apology* he accuses Bernard of having once composed worldly songs. Of this a witness is 'alumna tui, patria nostri sermonis', the 'foster-daughter of your eloquence, the home of mine'.¹¹ This is obscure, but it seems to me that its most

⁴ Below, p. 116 n. c.

⁵ Below, p. 135.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Below, pp. 135-36.

⁹ Below, pp. 131-33; above, n. 3.

¹⁰ Below, p. 135.

¹¹ Below, p. 111.

likely meaning is that Berengar had received his elementary education at a house founded from Clairvaux.

II

WRITINGS

The *Apology*, Berengar's longest and most elaborate surviving work, is the only one of his writings which has attracted much attention from modern scholars, and it was probably always Berengar's best-known piece.¹² Recently D. E. Luscombe described and analysed it as a source for the proceedings at the Council of Sens, as a defence of Abelard's teachings, and as an indicator of the kind of reaction displayed by Abelard's 'fautores' to his harassment by those whom he and they saw as envious and ignorant.¹³ The tone of the work alternates ambivalently between the satirical and serious, but *in toto* the work must be described as a satire, although it has been completely ignored by modern studies of medieval protest and parody.¹⁴

Berengar begins by damning Bernard with faint praise, pretending surprise at the degree of eloquence attained by a man so little versed in the liberal arts. He accuses him of having written licentious songs, and of using his eloquence to distract attention from his false doctrine. Then comes the famous, ribald description of the proceedings at the Council, at which the clergy are imagined drunk and therefore incapable of delivering rational judgment. Bernard's actions at and after the Council are seen as motivated by pure rancour. From this point on the rest of Abelard's assailants are forgotten, and Berengar confronts Bernard and Abelard alone. First he attempts to demonstrate that Abelard is 'catholicus' by quoting from a purported letter of Abelard to Heloise, containing an orthodox credal statement. Next he attacks the list of alleged Abelardian heresies drawn up at Bernard's instance, the so-called *Capitula*. Unfortunately he has to undercut this argument by admitting that while Abelard did not teach many of these heresies, he did teach some. From this point on Berengar adopts a less defensive tactic, shifting away from Abelard's person and teaching, and moving in on St. Bernard. He proposes to show that Bernard himself is in some senses a heretic.

First he attacks Bernard's work on the Song of Songs. He begins jestingly: Bernard ought not to have written it at all, for he adds nothing to what the

¹² See pp. 105-106; and E. Gilson, *The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard*, trans. A. H. C. Downes (London, 1940), app. 3, pp. 167-69.

¹³ Luscombe, *School*, pp. 31-47.

¹⁴ e.g., in P. Lehmann, *Die Parodie im Mittelalter*, 2nd edition (Stuttgart, 1963).

Fathers have already written; he breaks the ancient canons of literary propriety by introducing into an account of the marriage of the bride and groom a lengthy lament upon his brother's death (here Berengar indulges in a heavy and tasteless display of sarcasm, hinting that Bernard's affection for his brother was unnatural, and quoting slabs of Horace to prove that Bernard is breaking time-honoured literary conventions). Now comes his most serious point, that Bernard, following Origen and Pythagoras, has taught the pre-existence of the human soul. He ends triumphantly: 'If you had discovered such perversity in Peter's works, you would certainly have placed it in the midst of that monstrous list of charges which you fabricated'. Next Berengar turns to another of Bernard's works, the *De diligendo deo*, and makes outrageous fun of it, accusing Bernard of now saying the screamingly obvious, then becoming needlessly obscure. Finally, Berengar berates Bernard for being unmerciful towards Abelard, reminding him that even the greatest of the Fathers sometimes wrote heterodoxy: 'Many Catholic Fathers made statements which ought to be controverted, but they are not on that account numbered among the tribe of heretics'. In particular he singles out Jerome's harsh and eccentric view of marriage expressed in the *Adversus Iovinianum*. This is a line of argument which appears again in the letter to the bishop of Mende, and it is a remarkable one. He ends on a note of high seriousness, giving scriptural examples of God's forgiveness and mercy contrasted with man's hardheartedness. In conclusion he promises a second book which will contain a detailed philosophical defence of Abelard; this he never in fact began, as he testifies in the letter to the bishop of Mende.¹⁵

The letter to the Carthusians is short, pungent and without humour, a bitter and powerful piece of invective. Its message may be summed up in Berengar's own glowing, scriptural language: 'You have raised your bodies to the mountains, but your minds have remained in the valleys. What profit is there, brothers, if you go out into the desert, yet in the desert retain the hearts of Egyptians? What profit if you flee the frogs of Egypt, yet croak yourselves with filthy slanders?' He points to the considerable hiatus which stands between their professed ideals and their actual lives, between the appearance and the reality of their behaviour. In particular he singles out their passion for litigation as a target for criticism.

The letter to the bishop of Mende is a defence against criticism by the bishop and his canons of Berengar's earlier writings and reputed verbal statements. To these accusations Berengar makes a variety of replies, some of which I shall analyse later. Suffice it to say here that in some cases he excuses himself on one

¹⁵ Below, p. 136.

ground or another, in others he denies having made the statements attributed to him, in others he claims to have been misinterpreted, in others again – the most interesting cases of all – he defends his right to be a serious critic, even of one such as St. Bernard. As with the *Apology*, the tone of the letter is ambivalent. Although Berengar is apparently anxious to clear himself of the charges levelled against him, and to remain on good terms with the bishop and his clergy, there is an underlying current of mockery running through the work which negates much of its apparent seriousness.

These three works are edited below, but they are almost certainly not the only surviving works by Berengar. Some years ago Dom Jean Leclercq discovered a group of three letters copied by François Ganneron, a monk of the charterhouse of Mont-Dieu, who died in 1669. The letters are preserved in the manuscript of Dom Ganneron's collected works, now H501-503 in the Archives départementales des Ardennes, Charleville-Mézières. One of them, a 'Letter to Some Hermits', has been edited by R. B. C. Huygens from this and a further seven manuscripts, the earliest from the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Six of the manuscripts ascribe the work to a certain 'Berengarius', another has 'Bernardus', while Dom Ganneron's own transcription has only 'B.', although he himself credited Bernard of Clairvaux with its authorship. Huygens showed that the author was not the famous Berengar of Tours, but declined to guess further, speaking of a 'foule de Bérenger' between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷ However, *ex ungue leonem*: the style of the letter is unmistakably that of our Berengar, which is certainly idiosyncratic. A particularly significant comparison can be made with his letter to the Carthusians. The similarities involve rhetorical expressions, favourite quotations and *Leitmotiven*. Thus:

mancum ebur exculpere *Ep. ad erem.* / sic pingit in ebore mancus *Apol.*;
 ab Egypto per desertum ad terram promissionis *Ep. ad erem.* / de Aegypto ... in
 deserto *Ep. ad Cart.*;
 in heremo secundum heremum non uiuere defectus est *Ep. ad erem.* / Quid
 prodest fratres exire in eremum et in eremo habere cor Aegyptium *Ep. ad
 Cart.*;
 fugite de medio Babylonis *Ep. ad erem.* / Adhuc est Cartusia inter flumina
 Babylonis *Ep. ad Cart.*

Berengar composed particularly elaborate and characteristic greeting formulae for his letters and here too there is a close resemblance between the two letters certainly by him and the letter to the hermits:

¹⁶ R. B. C. Huygens, 'Textes latins du xi^e au xiii^e siècle', *Studi medievali*, 3rd Ser., 8 (1967) 493-502.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 496.

Heremitis in uasta heremo commorantibus Berengarius sic ire per heremum, ut introducantur ad regnum (*Ep. ad erem.*);

Fratribus Cartusiae professionem iuratis Berengarius cum Lazaro, quondam paupere, aeternam habere requiem (*Ep. ad Cart.*);

Patri et domino suo G(uillelmo) Mimatensi episcopo, pleno dierum, Berengarius renouari ut aquilae iuuentutem suam (*Ep. ad episc. Mim.*).

In Dom Ganneron's manuscript the greeting formula of the letter to the hermits has been altered, and the addressee given as the community of Mont-Dieu. While it is hard to know how much weight to give this as against the testimony of the other earlier manuscripts, it perhaps suggests that the recipients of the letter were Carthusians. In this respect it is interesting that in his letter to the Carthusians Berengar constantly refers to them as 'hermits'. On the other hand the tone of the letter to the hermits is rather different from that of Berengar's other known works. It is neither satire nor diatribe. It claims to be a response to a request by the recipients; it offers a word of encouragement and advice, albeit astringent. And yet the *Hauptidee* is the same: no matter where one goes or how ascetic one's way of life, sin remains a constant threat and only humble and constant reliance upon the grace of Christ can ensure freedom from its domination.

The other two letters in Dom Ganneron's manuscript have been edited by Jean Leclercq, and it was he who suggested to me that they be examined to see whether they too might be by Berengar.¹⁸ One is a letter of exhortation from 'uester ille' to 'amantissimis patribus eremitis de Monte Dei', which resembles the letter to the hermits. Like Berengar's letter to the Carthusians it is almost totally constructed from biblical quotations and allusions, many of them recondite and requiring a quasi-allegorical interpretation to make sense of them in context. One quotation, 'Qui tanget picem inquinabitur ab ea', is used and parodied by Berengar in the *Apology*.^{18a} Thus this letter *could* be by Berengar; it is not possible to be more certain than that. The final letter in Ganneron's manuscript is addressed by 'Bernardus Claraualle' to his mother Aleth, who is described as a nun. The letter is written to console her in her illness. Jean Leclercq notes that the letter's style is not Bernardine; evidently the greeting formula has been tampered with. Whoever wrote it was a learned man, citing Ovid and letters of Seneca and Jerome as well as the Bible. Berengar quotes Ovid and Jerome's correspondence was clearly some of his favourite reading.

¹⁸ J. Leclercq, 'Nouveaux témoins de la survie de saint Bernard' in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel* 2 (Silos, 1977), pp. 97-102 (the letter to Aleth); Dom Leclercq has not yet published the other letter. I am indebted to him for drawing both of them to my attention, and for a typescript copy of the second.

^{18a} Below, p. 114.

He does not use Seneca's letters but, like the author of the letter, he sometimes quotes proverbs and *Sprichwörter* which are otherwise unknown.¹⁹ On the whole, however, I am not sure that the style of this letter is Berengar's. Expressions in it such as 'ceterum' (as an adverb) find little or no parallel in those works which are surely his. My verdict on this letter, therefore, is: probably not by Berengar.

III

THE MEANING OF BERENGAR'S WRITINGS

More than thirty years ago Professor Raymond Klibansky called for a study of the 'human and literary aspects' of Berengar's writings.²⁰ D. E. Luscombe, the only scholar since then to have given close attention to Berengar's works, did not claim to be fully answering this call, and indeed he reiterated it.²¹ It is not my intention here to repeat or amplify what Luscombe has so perceptively said about Berengar as Abelard's defender; rather I want to consider Berengar's writings as a whole and in the widest possible context. One main question will serve to focus discussion: how are Berengar's writings to be characterized? – or, to put it differently, what were Berengar's intentions in composing them? The answer is by no means simple.

(a) *Berengar as a prophet*

First of all, and perhaps most importantly, Berengar saw himself as writing within a prophetic tradition inaugurated by the pagan philosophers on the one hand and the Old Testament prophets on the other. For a Christian the tradition was best represented by the latter and by the early Latin Fathers. The tradition encompassed the ideas of warning, exhortation and criticism. In each of the three certainly attributed works of Berengar these ideas dominate and are usually expressed or accompanied by quotations from the ancient authorities. So, in the letter to the Carthusians, much is made of the pithy aphorism 'cultus iustitiae est silentium' from Isaiah.²² In the letter to the bishop of Mende Berengar cites the precedent of Colotes who criticized Plato, as Berengar had criticized Bernard, even though Colotes was 'mus ad elephantem' in comparison with the great philosopher.²³ Aristotle is supposed to have said

¹⁹ Below, pp. 112 n. f, 113 n. q, 124 nn. p and w, 138 n. w.

²⁰ Klibansky, 'L'épître', 314.

²¹ Luscombe, *School*, p. 31 and n. 2.

²² Below, p. 132.

²³ Below, p. 135.

'amicus est Socrates, sed magis amica est ueritas'; thus Berengar feels justified in saying 'amicus est Bernardus, sed magis amica est ueritas'.²⁴ In the *Apology* and the letter to the bishop of Mende examples are given of how the Fathers kept each other up to the mark by mutual criticism. Thus Jerome and Augustine 'alterno rostro se carpunt'.²⁵

Berengar therefore wrote consciously in a venerable tradition that it is appropriate and necessary to criticize others in the name of truth. This is an especially urgent task for the Christian writer, whose special target is heresy. Thus the title of Berengar's *Apology against Bernard* was almost certainly meant to recall Jerome's *Apology against Rufinus*, a work cited in it.²⁶ This point of view is characteristic of all of Berengar's known works, and from this angle the letter to the hermits is of a piece with the others, although not so harshly worded. In the letter to the bishop of Mende Berengar describes himself as a 'watchdog'.²⁷

(b) *Berengar's contemporary viewpoint: (i) Scholastic versus monks?*

Nonetheless, even when the length and continuity of this tradition and its influence upon Berengar are recognized, one may still ask what contemporary viewpoint he represented in its interpretation and application to the Church of his day. The most obvious suggestion is that he wrote as a scholastic against monks.

The work of his which best exemplifies this alignment is the *Apology*. It was written, we recall, while he was young, and a student or recently so – 'as a scholar I often enjoyed declaiming in artificial debates. But now there opened the fair prospect of engagement in a real conflict, and I felt called to clear Abelard and confute the abbot's audacity'.²⁸ From this one gathers both that he wrote the *Apology* as an enraged student or ex-student and also that its form and language were determined by the rhetorical exercises in which he had received training in the schools. How thin was the line that divided dictaminal exercise from serious polemic has been emphasized in an important recent article on the literature of the Investiture Contest.²⁹ Certainly Berengar loses no opportunity to display his quite considerable learning and to deride St. Bernard for his alleged literary and doctrinal ineptitude. In the *Apology* an extensive list of *auctores* is conspicuously paraded: from the Fathers Augustine, Ambrose,

²⁴ Below, p. 136.

²⁵ Below, pp. 135-36.

²⁶ Below, p. 125 and n. z.

²⁷ Below, p. 134.

²⁸ Below, p. 135.

²⁹ I. S. Robinson, 'The "Colores Rhetorici" in the Investiture Contest', *Traditio* 32 (1976) 209-38.

Claudianus Mamertus and much Jerome; from the 'gentiles' Virgil, Ovid, Persius, Juvenal, Martial and, above all others, Horace. He also did some versifying on his own account.³⁰ Conversely he criticizes Bernard for his lack of formal education. With heavy sarcasm he pretends wonder at the volume of the abbot's writings, 'which cover the surface of the globe', although the author is 'liberalium disciplinarum ignarus'.³¹ The 'imperiti' say that Bernard writes 'ubertim et eloquenter', but they are deceived, for false statements and heretical doctrine may easily be hidden beneath 'urbanitas'.³² The most characteristic of such passages occurs within the long argument mounted by Berengar to demonstrate the inappropriateness of Bernard's inclusion of a lament for his dead brother in the sermons on the Song of Songs. 'Some witless people, seduced by the seductive power of [the abbot's] tongue, lovers of a mass of words but spurners of the spirit of reason, say that in this lament he has employed such sublime *facundia* that modern eloquence is unable to surpass it. O false judges of eloquence, for the lament is full of circular arguments, and the *sententiae* are strangled by the volume of words'.³³ This is as close as Berengar comes to pitting dialectic against rhetoric. It is scarcely close enough to make him a true Abelardian, or to enable us to see him simply as a schoolman with a grudge against monks.

One question which must arise concerns the extent of his seriousness in making such charges against Bernard. In the letter to the bishop of Mende he says that his remarks about the abbot should be read 'ioco non serio';³⁴ but of course this could represent a later and politic modification of his views, or a mere trumped-up excuse. Berengar admits that after writing the *Apology* he became less keen to defend his old teacher's controversial views and consequently less enthusiastic about vilifying Bernard. On the other hand, if one examines his criticism of Bernard as a whole, one cannot but notice the absence of care and judgment. I shall return to this point later; here it is enough to note that he quotes allegedly incriminating statements of Bernard with extraordinary freedom, perverting and even inventing some. He exaggerates, or at least maximizes, the gravity of some of Bernard's faults, appearing to equate literary gaffes with doctrinal heresies. Hyperbole and lack of discrimination are characteristics of the satiric mode, which is supremely and necessarily injudicious. I will suggest later that most if not all of Berengar's comments about Bernard's lack of formal education is in fact satirical topos.

³⁰ Below, pp. 114 n. b, 115 n. h, 116 n. d, 122 n. i.

³¹ Below, p. 111.

³² Below, pp. 111-12.

³³ Below, pp. 123-24.

³⁴ Below, p. 136.

The other question with which we can probe Berengar's status as a champion of scholasticism is whether he explicitly defends the particular intellectual tradition associated with that milieu. In fact he does not defend Abelard on any such grounds, as for instance freedom of thought or liberty to innovate, although he does suggest (but almost certainly jestingly, or at least in an ambivalent context) that Abelard's judges at the Council of Sens were incapable of understanding the profundities of his reasoning.³⁵ Berengar's main line of defence is that Abelard was in all fundamentals orthodox, and if errant on some points, then no worse than some of the Fathers or than Bernard himself. Neither does Berengar in any of his known works make obvious use of dialectic. He expounds the Fathers and 'sacra pagina' very much in the monastic manner. This is best seen in the letter to the Carthusians, most of it a (heated) commentary or meditation on the passage from Isaiah which he repeats as a kind of refrain. What is new and perhaps shows Abelardian influence is his comparison and criticism of various Latin Fathers, and his assertion of the importance of mutual criticism among Christian writers. One would like to see here the shadow of the *Sic et non*, but in fact Jerome, in letters quoted by Berengar, makes similar points.³⁶

(b) *Berengar's contemporary viewpoint: (ii) Secular versus religious?*

Another contemporary viewpoint which Berengar might be expected to represent is that of secular clergy versus religious. Certainly all three works edited here contain that kind of criticism. And yet he attacked seculars as well – the canon of Marseilles and the canons of Mende.³⁷ If the letter to the hermits is by this Berengar, then he was apparently *asked* by one group of religious, perhaps Carthusians, for some writing which would edify and encourage them in their religious devotion. But even with those qualifications Berengar stands, along with the Chartrain canon Payen Bolotin,³⁸ as an early representative of a tradition of satire against the *new* religious Orders of the twelfth century. Particularly in the tone which he adopts against the Carthusians and in the specific charges which he levels at them, he is a forerunner of later and better-known critics of the new monasticism.³⁹ I think

³⁵ Below, p. 113.

³⁶ Jerome, *Epp.* 58. 10; 84; 126. Moreover, Abelard himself had a totally different attitude to the *Adversus Iovinianum*; see P. Delhay, 'Le dossier anti-matrimonial de l'*Adversus Iovinianum* et son influence sur quelques écrits latins du XII^e siècle', *Mediaeval Studies* 13 (1951) 70-77.

³⁷ Below, pp. 137-38.

³⁸ J. Leclercq, 'Le poème de Payen Bolotin contre les faux ermites', *Revue bénédictine* 68 (1958) 52-86.

³⁹ An account of their criticisms will be found in D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1963), chap. 39.

of the Englishmen Walter Map, Gerald of Wales and Nigel Longchamp.⁴⁰ By this time vilification of the new Orders for greed, hypocrisy and pride had tended to become part of the stock repertoire of satirists, on a par, for instance, with the common identification of Rome and *nummus*.⁴¹ It is worth documenting this close relationship between Berengar and the later anti-monastic satirists.

They are united in singling out hypocrisy and a false sense of superiority as vices peculiar to the new Orders. The Carthusians, says Berengar, abstain from the flesh of animals, but feed instead on human carcasses.⁴² They pry into the intimate affairs of other people and spend time in condemning them by innuendo. As Walter Map said of the Cistercians, 'I cannot forget that they are Hebrews, we Egyptians'.⁴³ Secondly, both Berengar and the later writers mention the evils of legalism and litigiousness. Berengar accuses the Carthusians of carping in their judgments of others, and of involvement in endless litigation. They ought to be 'cellicolas non causidicos'.⁴⁴ In similar vein Gerald of Wales, his invective sharpened by personal grievance, blasts the Cistercians for their expansionist sheep farming, for using legal process to increase their property.⁴⁵ But perhaps the criticism which most goes to the heart of the matter, and in which the others are subsumed, is the accusation that the stricter Orders have abandoned the world physically but not mentally. I have already mentioned the distinction between outward and inner change as an important element in Berengar's thought.⁴⁶ Thus he speaks of being in the desert while one's heart is still back in Pharaoh's fleshpots.⁴⁷ Nigel Longchamp, in the *Mirror for Fools*, has his hero, Dan Burnellus the ass, seek wisdom from the new Orders, but in vain; they are *inwardly* no better than anyone else.⁴⁸

It is comparatively easy to explain the later criticism, in terms of the development of the religious Orders themselves and in terms of an already established literary tradition. It is less easy to explain Berengar's preoccupation with diatribe. Perhaps his personal involvement with Abelard gave him his

⁴⁰ Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. M. R. James (Anecdota Oxoniensia, Med. and Mod. Ser. 14; Oxford, 1914), pp. 35-57, especially pp. 40-54; Gerald of Wales, *Speculum ecclesiae* in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer et al. (RS 21; London, 1861-91), 4.3-354; Nigel de Longchamps, *Speculum stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo (Berkeley, 1960), 11. 2053-2872.

⁴¹ J. Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam* (Lübeck-Hamburg, 1968).

⁴² Below, p. 132.

⁴³ *De nugis curialium*, dist. 1, cap. 25 (p. 49).

⁴⁴ Below, p. 133.

⁴⁵ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 665-68, 670-71; cf. what he has to say of Map (pp. 675-76).

⁴⁶ Above, p. 92.

⁴⁷ Below, p. 131.

⁴⁸ *Speculum stultorum*, 11. 827-1119.

initial impetus; perhaps it was his scholastic background; perhaps it was the patristic ('prophetic') tradition. I shall return to this problem by way of conclusion.

(c) *Berengar as satirist*

The satirical element, encompassing both protest and mockery, is present in the three works edited below and predominates in the *Apology*. It is therefore important to analyse Berengar's satirical technique.

The first thing to realize is that here too Berengar was writing in a well-defined tradition, although its beginning can only be traced back to about 1100. It seems that most twelfth-century satire is connected with a scholastic milieu, and Berengar himself is a good example of this.⁴⁹ His position in the mainstream of European Latin satire can be illustrated by the satirical topoi which he shares with other writers of the century. Thus Berengar portrays the Council of Sens as a bacchanalian revel, with the bishops so drunk and sleepy that when asked 'damnatis?' they can only reply '-namus' ('we swim').⁵⁰ The scene is drawn with the help of quotations from Horace, Juvenal and Persius, and one immediately thinks of the earlier *Tractatus Garsiae*, a satire against Urban II, in which bibulousness is an important element, and the same antique authors sources for elegant and relevant quotations.⁵¹ Looking at the period after Berengar one might single out the famous *Drinkers' Mass*, perhaps composed before c. 1200.⁵² Again within the description of the Council of Sens, there occurs a lengthy passage which is a cento of quotations from the Gospel of John: 'Let the Gospels be consulted. The high priests and pharisees took counsel and said: what shall we do because this man says many wonderful things? If we let him alone, all will believe in him. But one of their number named Abbot Bernard, being a high priest of their council, prophesied saying: it is expedient that one man die for the people, lest the whole nation perish. From that day on therefore they sought to condemn him...'⁵³ The parodying of biblical passages is one of the most striking and original techniques of twelfth-century satire. Garcia had already employed it, but Berengar's parody of John is highly reminiscent of the well-known Gospel of St. Mark-of-Silver, written about the mid-century, possibly in the Paris schools.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ On the origins and character of twelfth-century satire see R. M. Thomson, 'The Origins of Twelfth-Century Latin Satire', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 13 (1978) 73-83 and A. Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 71-77 and following.

⁵⁰ Below, p. 114.

⁵¹ R. M. Thomson, ed. and trans., *Tractatus Garsiae* (Leiden, 1975).

⁵² Lehmann, *Parodie*, pp. 233-41; cf. *Carmina Burana* 1.3, ed. B. Bischoff (Heidelberg, 1970), pp. 66-67.

⁵³ Below, p. 115.

⁵⁴ *Carmina Burana* 1.1, ed. A. Hilka and O. Schumann (Heidelberg, 1930), no. 44.

Ribaldry and sarcasm are notable features of the satirical technique employed by Berengar especially in the *Apology* and the letter to the bishop of Mende. In one passage of the *Apology* he even goes so far as to imply, without directly stating, that Bernard's affection for his brother was unnatural. This is part of Berengar's criticism of the abbot for lack of decorum in including the lament for his dead brother in his commentary on the Song of Songs, the predominant tone of which is, or ought to be, joyful. If the abbot really wished to record his feelings about this event, says Berengar, then he should have written a separate work, following ancient practice. He continues:

Socrates mortem sui Alcibiadis philosophici uigoris ubertate testatur. Plato Alexim puerum, cui amatorias cantiunculas composuerat, insigni titulo ducit ad tumulum.⁵⁵

It is difficult to see why Berengar included the mention of Plato's homosexual love songs, if he was not intending the scandalous implication about Bernard to be drawn by his reader.

Berengar's capacity for sustained sarcasm is also well illustrated by a passage from the *Apology* in which he describes the events which led Bernard to write the *De diligendo deo*:

A certain man with a fat Roman neck asked you what was to be loved, and in what way. To whom you replied thus: '... You ask what is to be loved, to which I reply briefly, God'. This Roman, this thick camel, hops over the Alps avid for Gallican argument, in order to inquire what is to be loved, as though there were no one nearer capable of conveying the slightest notion of this matter to him. To whom our philosopher states, not that virtue is to be loved, like Chrysippus, nor pleasure, as Aristippus, but God, as a Christian. What a smart little reply, and worthy of a learned man. But what young peasant girl, what absolute rustic is ignorant of this fact? Thus ancient aunts philosophize at their knitting... So, when Bernard said that God was to be loved, he spoke the most venerable and utter truth; but in saying such he opened his mouth to no effect. For no one doubts this fact. This Roman hoped to hear some great mystery, and our archimandrite told him something that any country bumpkin might have said. And yet, in saying openly that God is to be loved, he struck at the Roman, who had been taught in the papal court to love not God but gold.⁵⁶

The last sentence, of course, introduces fleetingly another popular topos of twelfth-century satire, already found in Garcia c. 1100, as the theme of the Gospel of St. Mark-of-Silver about the mid-century, and in the works of later

⁵⁵ Below, p. 124.

⁵⁶ Below, p. 126.

writers such as Walter of Châtillon.⁵⁷ Malicious sarcasm appears again in the letter to the bishop of Mende, in answer to a complaint by his canons that Berengar had made critical remarks about their way of life. To this Berengar replies, using words adapted from St. Jerome, that his remarks were aimed at followers of the religious life generally, not at any one community in particular. He professes wonder that they should wound themselves with his arrow when it was not aimed at them. He is puzzled that they took such trouble. The implication, of course, is clear enough. Why would they complain unless they had guilty consciences?⁵⁸

The satirist is not interested in being fair, and this may be sufficient explanation for the above-mentioned hiatus between the triviality of most of Bernard's faults as listed by Berengar and the vehemence of his attack upon them, for the entire lack of discrimination with which he lambasts venial and mortal sins alike, and for his hopeless inaccuracy. I wish to develop this last point here. In supplying references to Berengar's quotations and paraphrases it would have been desirable, though it has not often been possible, to give the passages from his sources in full because he rarely reproduces his source verbatim, even when claiming to do so. A random check of the *loci citati* identified in this edition will prove this to be true. One consequence of his cavalier attitude to his sources is that it involved him, consciously or not, in serious errors. Of course, in nine cases out of ten, it does not matter whether Berengar reproduces the *ipsissima verba* of his source or not. But it does matter when Berengar claims to quote a passage from Bernard's Song of Songs commentary which is not found there at all, though about half of it is lifted from St. Ambrose.⁵⁹ Again it matters when he assigns a quotation to Bernard's *De diligendo deo* and heaps a good deal of derision upon it, although that quotation too is not found in St. Bernard.⁶⁰ The quotation which he uses to accuse Bernard of teaching the pre-existence of the human soul is also a fabrication, although in this instance Bernard did make statements amounting to much the same thing.⁶¹ So also with the alleged quotations from Augustine and Claudianus Mamertus bearing on this problem.⁶² I think that two reasons can be advanced for this inaccuracy. In the first place there is a mechanical one: although Berengar plainly was widely read and had a well-stocked mind, he

⁵⁷ For Walter of Châtillon's best-known satires see *Carmina Burana* 1.1, nos. 8 and 41; K. Strecker, *Moralisch-Satirische Gedichte Walters von Châtillon* (Heidelberg, 1929), pp. 82 ff.

⁵⁸ Below, p. 137.

⁵⁹ Below, p. 123 and n. 1.

⁶⁰ Below, p. 126 and n. f.

⁶¹ Below, p. 125 and n. y.

⁶² Below, pp. 125-26, 128.

worked in haste impelled by anger, and did not trouble to check the references which he reproduced from memory. But in the case of the quotations falsely attributed to Bernard we must suspect pure malice, or at least a lack of seriousness: that Berengar did not *care* whether he was quoting accurately or not.

These proven inaccuracies and fabrications must give rise to discussion about the two references in his *Apology* to works which do not survive elsewhere. The first is his notice of, and quotation from, the commentary on the Song of Songs by Reticus of Autun. He could have known of this work, which is now lost and was always rare, from Jerome,⁶³ and he was certainly capable of fabricating the alleged quotation from it. The other questionable document is his supposed verbatim transcription of an otherwise unknown letter from Abelard to Heloise.⁶⁴ Both items fit his purpose suspiciously well. These considerations force one to remember that the *Apology* is a satire, not an attempt to mount a rational, factually based case against Bernard as a writer or theologian.

(d) *Conclusion*

Finally, even in the *Apology*, and in spite of the strong element of sheer ridicule, Berengar professes a serious and positive purpose, and on occasion adopts a tone of seriousness and spiritual depth. Later, writing to the bishop of Mende, he issues a series of justifications of his invective. To examine the truly serious elements in Berengar's writings is a necessary preliminary to a conclusion seeking to account for the orientation of Berengar's output as a whole.

In one passage of the *Apology* a note of real seriousness and spirituality is struck. To St. Bernard he says:

I beseech you, admit Peter to be as Christian as you yourself. And if you will, he will be as catholic as yourself. And if you will not, he will still be catholic. *Communis enim Deus est, non priuatus.*⁶⁵

In other words, God is bigger than Bernard's idea of him. In the letter to the hermits there occurs a magnificent passage on sin and grace. Part of it reads thus:

Pride is a vice common to demons and to hermits. If the demons fell because of this vice, then it is obvious that hermits will not rise because of it. What therefore

⁶³ Below, p. 120 and n. r.

⁶⁴ Below, pp. 117-18.

⁶⁵ Below, p. 117.

must a hermit do, lest by some chink this vice enter him? He must keep by his cell door a dog, constantly barking against sin, lest while he is asleep the thief is able to enter his house. Now the dog symbolizes the invocation of grace; the dog's barking stands for that intent supplication which keeps the pure heart from falling asleep; the dog is trust in grace alone. The Apostle had this dog by him when he wrote 'By the grace of God I am what I am....'⁶⁶

Both of these ideas, 'God is bigger than any single individual's conception of him', and 'only reliance on grace will enable the conquest of the sin of pride', raise Berengar above the level of the mere polemicist. If we assume that the letter to the hermits was written later than Berengar's other extant works, in which its main ideas are foreshadowed, then we can even speak of Berengar's spiritual development and maturation.

Berengar's justifications of his invective are contained in the letter to the bishop of Mende. First of all, and most embracingly, he claims that his purpose is positive and creative, not to destroy but to reform, or as he puts it, to act as a watchdog over the Lord's flock, not as a hostile wolf.⁶⁷ He attacks Bernard for the reverse in the *Apology*, for claiming but not showing concern for the safety of Abelard's soul, for seeking to silence Abelard rather than to persuade him to change his views. Secondly, for Berengar there is nothing upon the earth which is so perfect as to be above criticism: neither a person such as Bernard, be he ever so holy, nor an institution such as the Grande Chartreuse, be its life ever so ascetic. 'Bernard is not the sun; he is not fixed in the firmament; it is enough if he be moon';⁶⁸ and 'Chartreuse is not in paradise; it is still by the waters of Babylon'.⁶⁹ To the objection that Berengar is himself insignificant in comparison with the objects of his criticism and therefore has no right to attack them, he opposes the pagan and patristic tradition. People with no eminence themselves have felt justified in justly criticizing the mighty; others even more eminent than Bernard (Plato, Augustine) have been so criticized.⁷⁰ There is thus ample precedent: Berengar's task has been sanctified; all that matters is that the criticism be just. Finally, he points out that his criticism does not amount to wholesale damnation; only some of Bernard's actions have been called to account: 'Let no one think that I have drawn my stylus through the wax to injure him who in my judgment is the St. Martin of our time.... I too think of the abbot as a burning and shining light; yet he deserves some blame. What

⁶⁶ Huygens, 'Textes latins', 499.

⁶⁷ Below, p. 134.

⁶⁸ Below, p. 135.

⁶⁹ Below, p. 132.

⁷⁰ Below, pp. 135-36.

injury is inflicted on gold when it is praised, although its dross is disapproved of? Praise the abbot if you like; I will praise him even more'.⁷¹

Berengar's known writings range from the youthful satire at one extreme through more serious invective to a work expressing pastoral concern at the other. The change probably took place over a period of time, as Berengar grew older and less influenced by Abelard and the scholastic environment. But common to all his writings is the prophetic element. Primarily Berengar was and felt himself to be a writer in this, the most ancient of the several traditions affecting his outlook.

IV

INFLUENCE AND POPULARITY

In spite of Berengar's claim, in his letter to the bishop of Mende, that copies of his *Apology* were all over France and Italy,⁷² he cannot be called an influential writer in terms of what he hoped to achieve for Abelard. While the issues were 'hot' his influence seems to have been very much localized; Guibert of Nogent strikes one as a twelfth-century writer of comparable contemporary notoriety.⁷³ All of the five extant manuscripts containing more than a single work by Berengar derive from a single exemplar dating from before c. 1300 and perhaps from much earlier. It was designed as a dossier of material on the Council of Sens, in support of Abelard's case, as are other extant examples.⁷⁴ Thus it seems that early interest in Berengar's writings, and their very survival, was dependent upon their connection with the controversy between Abelard and St. Bernard. Berengar did not become popular in his own right until after c. 1250, when he could be read for broad edification, or as literature, or when his criticisms were more generally approved of. Even so, late in the thirteenth century Jean de Meung apparently found him interesting only because of his rendering of Abelard's *Confessio*, which Jean translated into French.⁷⁵ However, Petrarch, Jean de Hesdin and Jean Gerson read him as satirist and

⁷¹ Below, p. 135.

⁷² Below, p. 136.

⁷³ J. F. Benton, *Self and Society in Medieval France: The Memoirs of Abbot Guibert of Nogent (1064?-c. 1125)* (New York, 1970), pp. 229-39.

⁷⁴ Luscombe, *School*, p. 115 and n. 2.

⁷⁵ J. Monfrin, *Abelard, Historia calamitatum*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1967), pp. 29-30. Jean's translations survive in Paris. Bibl. Nat. fr. 920 (fourteenth century, first half). Jean seems to have used a manuscript containing a collection of Abelardiana like Bibl. Nat. lat. 2923 (our B), although the letter of Peter the Venerable to Heloise, which Jean translates, is not there. Cf. C. Bozzolo, 'L'humaniste Gontier Col et la traduction française des *Lettres* d'Abélard et Héloïse', *Romania* 95 (1974) 199-215, especially 202 and 204, who argues that Jean did not *himself* translate the *Confessio*. I owe this reference to Mr. P. Dronke.

moralist.⁷⁶ The contents of the surviving manuscripts containing his works suggest a strongly rhetorical interest in them. It is, for instance, significant that three manuscripts also contain the late twelfth-century mock debate on marriage, the *Dissuasio Valerii* by Walter Map.⁷⁷ B has an extensive series of letter collections and two *Artes dictandi*. Most illustrative of all is E, with its clear Parisian and scholastic associations, in which Berengar's works are reduced to a series of extracts selected as the best 'purple passages' directed against St. Bernard. Petrarch's own notes in B indicate that this was at least one of his interests in Berengar: 'non magni quidem corporis, sed ingentis acrimoniae' he said of the *Apology*.⁷⁸

V

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The three works of Berengar edited here are transmitted as a collection in three manuscripts, the *Apology* and letter to the bishop of Mende are extracted in another, and the letter to the Carthusians is found alone in a sixth. The manuscripts are as follows.

A = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1896

Fourteenth century, provenance unknown. 219 fols. Fols. 1-175v Jerome, *Epistulae* and extracts from his other works; fols. 175v-176v Rufinus, *Apologia*; fols. 176v-185v Jerome, *Adversus Rufinum*; fols. 185v-191v Berengar, *Apol.*, *Ep. ad episc. Mim.*, *Ep. ad Cart.*, ending incompletely and running without a break into Abelard, *Dialogus*, which ends fol. 192; thereafter Abelard, *Confessio 'uniuersis'*; *Dissuasio Valerii*; Jerome, *Epistulae* and extracts from his other works.

Bibliography: Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général des manuscrits latins 2 (Paris, 1940), pp. 228-29; Luscombe, *School*, p. 30 n. 4; B. Lambert, *Bibliotheca hieronymiana manuscripta*, 4 vols. (Steenbrugge, 1969-72), 1A. 249-50, 2. 7, 68, 374, 400, 415, 3A. 26, 53, 85, 94, 161, 173.

B = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 2923

c. 1300, written in the French Midi. 180 fols. Fols. 1-42 Abelard, *Historia calamitatum* and the correspondence with Heloise; fols. 43-47 Berengar, *Apol.* (with a lacuna due to the loss of several leaves after fol. 44), *Ep. ad episc. Mim.*, *Ep. ad Cart.*, ending incompletely and running without a break into Abelard, *Dialogus*, which ends fol. 48; thereafter Abelard, *Confessio 'uniuersis'*; his letter to the bishop of Paris; Cassiodorus, *Variae*; two *Artes dictandi*; Étienne de Tournai, *Epistulae*; formulary of letters; Petrarch's memorial.

⁷⁶ Luscombe, *School*, pp. 45 n. 3, 49 and n. 3.

⁷⁷ Below, and p. 107.

⁷⁸ Luscombe, *School*, p. 45 n. 3.

Bibliography: *Bibliothèque Nationale. Catalogue général* 3 (Paris, 1952), pp. 282-84; P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1907), 2. 217-24; J. Leclercq, 'L'amitié dans les lettres au moyen âge: autour d'un manuscrit de la bibliothèque de Pétrarque', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 1 (1945) 391-99; J. Monfrin, ed., *Abélard, Historia calamitatum*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1967), pp. 18-19; Luscombe, *School*, pp. 29-30 n. 4.

C = Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C.271

Fourteenth century, second half. Written perhaps in Italy, but by the fifteenth century at Cambrai. 109 fols. Fols. 2-75v patristic works, mostly by or concerning Jerome; fols. 76-84 Berengar, *Apol.*, *Ep. ad episc. Mim.*, *Ep. ad Cart.*, ending incompletely and running without a break into Abelard, *Dialogus*, which ends fol. 84v; thereafter Abelard, *Confessio 'uniuersis'*, *Historia calamitatum* and the correspondence with Heloise.

Bibliography: F. Madan et al., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 5 (Oxford, 1905), no. 29565; Klibansky, 'L'épître', 314-16; Monfrin, *Abélard*, pp. 23-25; Luscombe, *School*, p. 30 n. 4; Lambert, *Bibliotheca* 1A. 229, 1B. 409-20, 3B. 653.

D = Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. A.44

Early thirteenth century, written in England. The MS. contains an extensive florilegium of prose and verse, much of it twelfth century. Fols. 53-54 contain Berengar, *Ep. ad Cart.* complete.

Bibliography: *Summary Catalogue*, no. 30151; Klibansky, 'L'épître', 314-16; A. Wilmart, 'Le florilège mixte de Thomas Bekynton', *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies* 1 (1941) 41-84 and 4 (1958) 35-90; Luscombe, *School*, p. 30 n. 4; P. Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-lyric*, 2 vols., 2nd edition (Oxford, 1968), 2. 568.

E = Bruges, Bibliothèque de la Ville 398

Fourteenth century, perhaps written in Paris. Three contemporary books bound together early: I (fols. 1-16) Peter of Blois, *Compendium uitae beati Iob*; II (fols. 17-94) extracts from Berengar, *Apol.* and *Ep. ad episc. Mim.*, headed 'Inuentiones Berengarii' (ending fol. 21v), followed by scholastic exercises, rules for the duties of an abbot, the refutation of two heretical propositions, sermons on the superiority of theology to the other sciences, and more scholastic exercises; III (fols. 95-105) more scholastic exercises. The scholastic items suggest a connection with the University of Paris in the fourteenth century.

Bibliography: A. de Poorter, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de la Ville de Bruges* (Gembloux, 1934), no. 398; Luscombe, *School*, p. 30 and n. 4.

F = Orléans, Bibliothèque de la Ville 78 (75)

Fifteenth century, from Fleury. 51 fols. (numbered by pages). Pp. 1-62 an anon. commentary on John; pp. 63-71 Berengar, *Apol.*, *Ep. ad episc. Mim.* and *Ep. ad Cart.*, ending incomplete at the same point as in A, B and C; thereafter the *Dissuasio Valerii* and sermon extracts.

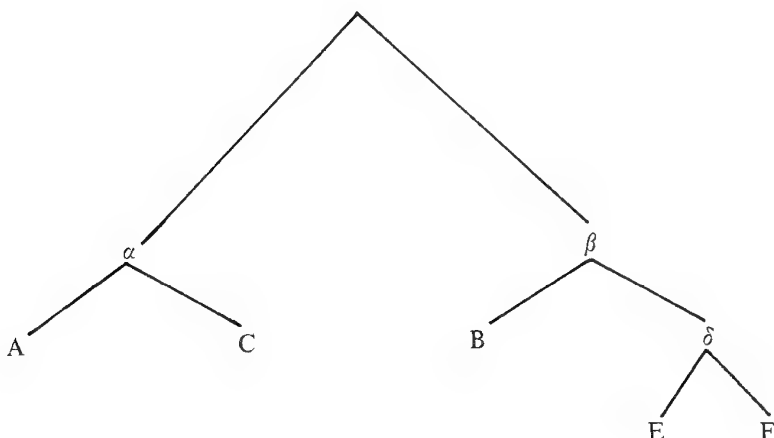
Bibliography: C. Cuissard, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) (Orléans 1) (Paris, 1889), pp. 38-39; Luscombe, *School*, p. 30 n. 4.

In addition, another manuscript was known in the early eighteenth century, but is now lost. This was Paris, St. Victor GGG 17, used by D'Amboise and Duchesne for their edition of Abelard's works.⁷⁹ It contained Abelard's *Historia calamitatum* and the correspondence with Heloise, sermons of St. Augustine, letters of St. Bernard, works by Gerson and Petrarch and, finally, Berengar's *Apology*, entitled 'Apologia Berengarii contra beatum Bernardum Clarae-uallensem et alios qui condemnauerunt Petrum Abaelardum'. If the manuscript was not a composite one, then its latest contents date it to the fifteenth century. The *titulus* to its version of Berengar's *Apology* is the same as in A; thus the St. Victor text was either a copy of A, or at least closely related to it.

Of the five manuscripts which contain more than a single work by Berengar, at least four obviously derive from a common archetype. This must be so because in A, B, C and F the same three works are found in the same order, a chronologically illogical one, and in all cases the last of the three, the letter to the Carthusians, breaks off near the end, in three cases running on into Abelard's *Dialogus*. Thus behind these four manuscripts must lie a single one from which a leaf had been lost before they or their more immediate ancestors were copied from it. We can also assume that in this archetype Berengar's works were followed by Abelard's *Dialogus*, and almost certainly by his *Confessio* as well, since that was copied after the *Dialogus* in manuscripts A, B and C. The Berengarian extracts in E are textually close to the other four manuscripts, and so it too probably descended from the same archetype. That it does not include selections from the letter to the Carthusians is easily explained by the evident fact that the extractor was only interested in Berengar's polemic against St. Bernard. The complete letter to the Carthusians, an isolated item in the D florilegium, contains readings peculiar to itself and not particularly reputable, although it is the earliest Berengarian text, so that it cannot be placed in the same line of descent.

A *stemma codicum* for the manuscripts of Berengar's works is not easy to construct, since the two letters are brief and all manuscripts agree closely in their readings. This is less true of the *Apology*, but here the picture is obscured by the major lacuna in B, and by the fact that E gives only extracts. D cannot be fitted into a *stemma* at all. However, the readings of A, B, C, E and F, as recorded in this edition, suggest the following pattern:

⁷⁹ Monfrin, *Abelard*, pp. 42-43.



That is to say, none of the extant manuscripts was copied from another. A and C often agree with each other against readings common to B, E and F. E and F, however, sometimes agree with each other against B. Each manuscript has its own share of scribal errors. The *stemma* is thus one in which all of the manuscripts have some degree of authority. The most perplexing editorial problem, which fortunately arises but rarely, is how to decide between differing but equally grammatical readings given by the α group against β . In such cases I have generally adopted the α reading, since A and C show signs of having been copied from a good exemplar, in spite of obvious copyist's errors in each of them. B, E and F, on the other hand, sometimes share errors which must go back to their common exemplar β , and which show it to have been less reliable than α .

Berengar's works were first edited by D'Amboise and Duchesne in their 1616 edition of Abelard's works, using the manuscript A.⁸⁰ By the sensible correction of A's more obvious errors, but not, apparently, by using any other manuscript, they succeeded in producing a workable text, except for the necessarily incomplete state of the letter to the Carthusians. Certainly they had access to the version of the *Apology* in the St. Victor manuscript, but there is no evidence that they made use of it. Such evidence would be hard to find if, as I have suggested, the St. Victor copy was closely related to A in any case. The D'Amboise-Duchesne text of the *Apology* was reproduced in Rawlinson's edition of 1718,⁸¹ and in the nineteenth century all three works were reprinted

⁸⁰ A. Duchesne, *Petri Abaelardi ... et Heloisae conjugis eius ... opera nunc primum edita ex MSS. Codd... Francisci Amboesii...* (Paris, 1616). On the precise role of each of the two editors see Monfrin, *ibid.*, pp. 31-46.

⁸¹ R. Rawlinson, *Petri Abaelardi ... et Heloissae ... epistolae a prioris editionis erroribus*

by Migne.⁸² Victor Cousin included Berengar's writings in his edition of Abelard's works, citing the earlier editions of D'Amboise-Duchesne and Rawlinson as well as the manuscript B. But he does not seem to have collated B, and so his text is for all intents and purposes that of 1616.⁸³ In other words, the D'Amboise-Duchesne edition of Berengar's works is virtually the only one.

The following new edition makes use for the first time of all the manuscripts signalled by Luscombe.⁸⁴ Because of the nature of the *stemma* no one manuscript has been taken as the base, and orthography has been normalized according to 'classical' usage. All variants have been recorded except for those of a purely orthographical nature. A suprascript '2' after the siglum (A², B², etc.) signifies that the reading was corrected in the manuscript. The abbreviation 'q̄m' seems to have been used for both 'quoniam' and 'quem', and has been expanded according to the sense required.

purgatae... (London, 1718). For the spuriousness of the claim made in the title see Monfrin, *ibid.*, pp. 46-50. The *Apology* is found on pp. 252-72.

⁸² PL 178.1857-76.

⁸³ V. Cousin, *Opera Petri Abaelardi*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1849-59), 2.771-91.

⁸⁴ Luscombe, *School*, pp. 29-30 n. 4.

APOLOGIA BERENGARII PICTAVENSIS
CONTRA SANCTUM BERNARDUM CLARAEVALLENSEM ABBATEM
ET ALIOS QUI CONDEMNAYERUNT PETRUM ABAELARDUM¹

Scriptorum tuorum exemplaria, Bernarde, celebris circumquaque fama diuulgat. Nec mirum scripta tua in famae pulpito collocari, cum constet² ea, qualiacumque sint, a maioribus huius temporis approbari. Mirantur³ homines in te, liberalium disciplinarum ignaro, tantam ubertatem facundiae, quia emissiones tuae iam cooperuerunt uniuersam superficiem terrae.⁴ Quibus est diuinitus respondendum⁵ quia *magna opera Domini*,^a et haec⁶ est mutatio dexteræ Excelsi.^b Sed nihil est cur admiratione percelli⁷ debeant. Immo magis⁸ mirandum esset eloquii te urgeri siccitate,^c quem audiuius a primis fere adulescentiae rudimentis cantuunculas mimicas et urbanos modulos⁹ fictitasse. Neque certe in incerto loquimur opinionis, sed testis est¹⁰ alumna tui, patria nostri sermonis.¹¹ Nonne id etiam tuae memoriae altius est insignitum, quod fratres tuos rhythmico certamine acutaeque inuentionis uersutia semper exsuperare contendebas? Cui grauis et peracerba uidebatur iniuria reperire aliquem qui pari responderet proteruia?

Possem aliqua de nugis tuis huic opusculo cum¹² testium probabiliū astipulatione inserere, sed uereor paginam foedi¹³ commenti interpositione interpolari. Ceterum cunctis nota teste non indigent. Illum itaque commentandi et nugandi¹⁴ usum ad diuinum saepe instrumentum accersis; et astruunt imperiti grauiter et granditer dictum, quod ubertim et eloquenter effutis. Sed non sic esse ratio necessaria conuincit. Frequenter enim ueritas absolute et illepidè profertur, et falsitas plausibilis eloquii comitate commendatur. Similesque sunt, ut ait Augustinus, simplicitas dicendi et eloquentia uasis

^a Ps 110:2. ^b Ps 76:11. ^c For the stylistic application of 'siccitas' see pseudo-Cicero, *Ad Herenn.* 4.6.

¹ Incipit apologia Berengarii contra beatum Bernardum Clareualensem abbatem et alios qui condempnauerunt Petrum Abaelardum *A*; Incipit apologia Berengarii Pictauensis pro magistro Petro Abaelardo *B*; apologia Berengarii contra Sanctum Bernardum Clareuallensem abbatem et alios qui condempnauerunt Petrum Abaelardum *C*; in apologia Berengarii Pictauensis quam fecit pro defensione magistri Petri Abaelardi quedam inuentiones continentur contra beati Bernardi doctrinam et eius eloquentiam ex qua notare aliqua decreui *E*; *no title F*. ² cum constet *bis F*. ³ mirantur ... astruam *E*, *headed* Quod non est admiranda facundia beati Bernardi neque commendanda. ⁴ tue ... terre *om. F*. ⁵ tue ... terre *add. F*. ⁶ hoc *C*.
⁷ procelli *AC*. ⁸ magis *om. E*. ⁹ modos *E*. ¹⁰ est *om. A*. ¹¹ sermonis nostri *F*.
¹² ex *AC*. ¹³ fidei *A*. ¹⁴ negandi *B*.

rusticanis et urbanis; falsitas uero et ueritas, ferculis uilibus et preciosis. Vtraque autem fercula utrisque¹⁵ possunt uasis ministrari.^{16d}

Neque hoc ideo dixerim, ut te notabilem et suspectum reddam, sed¹⁷ ut¹⁸ ueritatem non in omni facundia esse simpliciter¹⁹ astruam. Sed super hoc hactenus; ad reliqua potius transeamus. Iamdudum sanctitudinis tuae odorem ales per orbem fama dispersit, praeconizauit²⁰ merita, miracula declamauit. Felicia iactabamus moderna saecula tam corusci sideris uenustata²¹ nitore, mundumque iam debitum perditioni tuis meritis subsistere putabamus. Sperabamus in linguae tuae arbitrio caeli sitam clementiam, aeris temperiem, ubertatem terrae, fructuum benedictionem. Caput tuum nubes tangebatur,^e et iuxta uulgare prouerbium 'rami tui²² umbras montium transcendebant'.^f Sic diu uixisti, sic Ecclesiam castis institutionibus informasti ut ad semicinctia tua^g rugire daemones autumaremus et beatulos nos tanto gloriaremur patrono.

Nunc, pro dolor, patuit quod latebat, et colubri soporati tandem aculeos suscitasti. Omissis omnibus, Petrum Abaelardum quasi signum ad sagittam posuisti,^h in quem acerbitalis tuae uirus euomeres, quem de terra uiuentium^{hh} tolleres, quem inter mortuos collocares. Corrogatis undecumque episcopis eum in Senonensi²³ concilio²⁴ⁱ haereticum pronuntiasti, ab utero matris Ecclesiae uelut aborsum praecidisti.²⁵ In uia Christi ambulanti tanquam sicarius de occulto prodiens tunica inconsutili^j spoliasti. Contionabaris ad populum ut orationem funderet ad Deum pro eo; interius autem disponebas eum proscribendum ab orbe Christiano. Quid uulgi faceret? Quid uulgi oraret, cum pro quo esset orandum nesciret? Tu uir Dei, qui miracula feceras, qui ad pedes Iesu cum Maria sedebas,^{26k} qui conseruabas omnia uerba haec in corde tuo,^l purissimum sacrae orationis thus coram supernis obtutibus adolere deberes ut reus tuus Petrus resipisceret²⁷ et talis efficeretur quem nulla suspicio inquinaret. Sed forsitan malebas talem, in quo reprehensionis idoneam nancisceris occasionem?

Denique post prandium allatus est liber Petri, et cuidam praeceptum est ut uoce clamosa Petri opuscula personaret. At ille et Petri odio animatus et uitis

^d Aug., *Conf.* 5.6.10. ^e Job 20:6. ^f *Non inueni.* ^g Cf. Ac 19:12.
^h Lam 3:12. ^{hh} Jer 11:19 et al. ⁱ The Council of Sens, 1140; descriptions of its proceedings may be found in J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard* (Cambridge, 1932), pp. 229 ff. and L. Grane, *Peter Abelard* (London, 1970), chap. 8; cf. Luscombe, *School*, chap. 4 and the literature there cited. ^j Jo 19:23. ^k Lc 10:39. ^l Lc 2:19.

¹⁵ utriusque *AB*. ¹⁶ administrari *E*. ¹⁷ licet *C*. ¹⁸ *canc. C*. ¹⁹ simplici-
ter esse *F*. ²⁰ preconauit *B*. ²¹ uenustatur decore *F*. ²² tui rami *B*.
²³ Senonensium *F*. ²⁴ consilio *A*. ²⁵ *bis F*. ²⁶ sederas *BC*. ²⁷ respiceret *A*.

germine irrigatus (non illius qui dixit *ego sum uitis uera*^m sed illius qui patriarcham nudum strauit in area²⁸ⁿ) sonorius quam postulatum fuerat exclamauit. Post aliqua pontifices insultare, pedem pedi applodere, ridere, nugari conspiceres, ut facile quilibet iudicaret illos non Christo uota persoluere sed Baccho. Inter haec salutantur cippi, pocula celebrantur, laudantur uina, pontificum guttura irrigantur. Tunc aliquis Horatiano sale ludere posset:

nullam, Vare, sacra uite prius seueris²⁹ arborem.^o

Nam illud quod idem poeta in alio carmine promit:

nunc est bibendum, <nunc pede libero³⁰>
pulsanda tellus^p

ibi memoriter³¹ gerebatur. Quanto salubrius audiretur suauis poetae³² Galli sententia luculentis admodum uersibus uigilata. Ait enim:

uina probo si pota modo, debentque³³ probari;
si non pota modo, uina uenena³⁴ puto.^q

Sed Lethaei potio suci pontificum corda iam sepelierat. Ecce, inquit satiricus,

inter pocula quaerunt
pontifices saturi, quid dia³⁵ poemata narrent.^r

Denique cum aliquid subtile diuinumque sonabat, quod auribus pontificalibus erat insolitum, audientes omnes dissecabantur cordibus suis et stridebant dentibus in Petrum.^s Et oculos talpae habentes^t in philosophum 'hoc' inquirunt 'sineremus uiuere monstrum?' Mouentesque caput quasi Iudaei *uah*³⁶ inquirunt *ecce qui destruit templum Dei*.^u Sic iudicant uerba luminis caeci, sic uirum sobrium damnant ebrii, sic contra organum Trinitatis disserunt calices facundi.^v Sic contra simplicem disputant cornuti. Sic sanctum canes,^w sic margaritas porci^x corrodunt.^y Sic sal terrae infatuatur.^z Sic legis fistula obturatur. Con-

^m Jo 15:1. ⁿ Gen 9:21. ^o Hor., *Carm.* 1.18.1. ^p Hor., *Carm.* 1.37.1-2.

^q *Non inueni*; certainly not by the Roman poet Gallus, as Luscombe, *School*, p. 46. ^r Pers., *Sat.* 1.30-31, which has *Romulidae* for *pontifices*. ^s Ac 7:54. ^t Jer., *Ep.* 84.7.

^u Mt 27:40. ^v Hor., *Ep.* 1.5.19. ^w Mt 7:6. ^x *ibid.* ^y Cf. Jer., *Ep.* 84.3: 'Ipsorum enim decretum est, non facile margaritas ante porcos esse mittendas, nec dandum sanctum canibus...' ^z Cf. Mt 5:13.

²⁸ *arca A.*

²⁹ *seueris prius F.*

³⁰ *nunc ... libero Hor.: om. ABCF.*

³¹ *immemoriter C.*

³² *poeta F.*

³³ *debet que in ras. C: deberet A.*

³⁴ *uenena*

³⁵ *dici A.*

³⁶ *uah tibi B.*

probo F.

tionatur sapiens uir:³⁷ qui tangit picem inquinabitur³⁸ ab ea,^a quod nos³⁹ alio possumus reddere uersu: 'qui tangit uinum indignabitur⁴⁰ ab eo'. Biberat episcoporum sobrietas sanguinem uuae⁴¹ meracissimum,^{42aa} cuius integritatem aqua non deuirginauerat, quia secundum Martialem:⁴³

grande nimis scelus est sacrum iugulare Falernum
nec Bacchus lymphae coniugium patitur.^b

Impleuerant primates orbis, philosophi gutturi,⁴⁴ dolia sua uiuido uino, cuius calor ita insederat⁴⁵ cerebris ut in somni lethargiam oculi omnium⁴⁶ soluerentur. Inter haec sonat lector, stertit⁴⁷ auditor. Alius cubito innititur ut det oculis suis somnum; alius super molle ceruical dormitionem palpebris suis molitur; alius super genua sua⁴⁸ caput reclinans dormitat.

Cum itaque lector in Petri satis aliquod reperiret spinetum, surdis exclamabat⁴⁹ auribus pontificum: 'damnatis?' Tunc quidam uix ad extremam syllabam expegefacti, somnolenta uoce, capite pendulo 'damnamus' aiebant. Alii uero damnantium tumultu⁵⁰ excitati, decapitata⁵¹ prima syllaba, 'namus' inquiunt. Vere natis, sed natatio⁵² uestra procella, natatio uestra mersio est!⁵³ Sic milites dormientes testimonium perhibent, quia nobis dormientibus uenerunt apostoli et tulerunt corpus Iesu.^{54c} Qui uigilauerat in lege Domini die ac nocte^d nunc damnatur a sacerdotibus Bacchi. Sic morbidus medicum⁵⁵ curat. Sic damnat naufragus in litore constitutum. Sic arguit innocentiam qui ad furcas ducitur suspendendus. Quid agimus, anima? Quo nos uertimus? Excideruntne tibi praecepta rhetorum et occupata luctu, praepedita singultibus, dicendi ordinem non tenes?^e Putasne ueniens Filius hominis inueniet fidem super terram?^f Vulpes foueas habent et uolucres caeli nidos; Petrus autem non habet ubi caput suum reclinet.^g Sic iudicant in loco iudicis sedentes rei, in loco uindictis⁵⁶ innocentiae uexatores. Similiter sunt omnia talibus iudicibus, talibus actoribus deprauata:

hic satur exiguo mauult turgescere somno,⁵⁷
hic ex porrectis ampullat uerba labellis.

^a Ecclus 13:1. ^{aa} Dt 32:14. Cf. Mart., *Epig.* 1.18.5 for the hexameter. The pentameter is not Martial, but probably Berengar's own composition. ^c Mt 28:13.
^d Ps 1:2. ^e Jer., *Ep.* 60.5. ^f Lc 18:8. ^g Cf. Mt 8:20.

³⁷ uir sapiens *BF*. ³⁸ non leg. *F*. ³⁹ nos possumus *A*. ⁴⁰ inquinabitur *A*.
⁴¹ uue uiuacissimum *A*. ⁴² macerissimum *A*. ⁴³ Martialis gulam *FB*. ⁴⁴ turis *AC*.
⁴⁵ ita insederat *BF*: ita inhererat *C*: incesperat *A*. ⁴⁶ esse *B*, *canc.* *C*. ⁴⁷ sertit *A*.
⁴⁸ sua *om.* *A*. ⁴⁹ reclamatur *F*. ⁵⁰ tumultum *F*, *canc.* *C*. ⁵¹ decapita *F*.
⁵² vacacio *A*. ⁵³ est *om.* *AC*. ⁵⁴ Iesu *om.* *A*. ⁵⁵ modicum *F*. ⁵⁶ iudicis *B*.
⁵⁷ sumpno *F*.

Hic loquitur nimis, ille tacet; hic ambulat, hic stat;
alter amat fletus, alter crispere cachinnum:
diuersisque modis pax est uestigia cunctis.^h

Quid hi tales egerint, quidue⁵⁸ decreuerint iurisperiti? Euangelica lectio consularum.⁵⁹ Collegerunt, inquit, pontifices⁶⁰ et Pharisei concilium,⁶¹ et dixerunt: quid facimus, quia hic homo multa mira dicit? Si dimittimus eum sic, omnes credent in eum. Vnus autem ex ipsis, nomine Bernardus abbas, cum esset⁶² pontifex concilii illius, prophetauit dicens: *expedit nobis ut unus⁶³ exterminetur homo a populo, et non tota gens⁶⁴ pereat.*ⁱ Ab illo ergo die cogitauerunt condemnare eum,^j dicentes illud Salomonis: tendamus insidias iusto; supplantemus ei gratiam labiorum;^k *inueniamus radicem⁶⁵ uerbi contra iustum.*^l Facientes fecistis, et linguas uipereas in Abaelardum euaginastis. Subuersi subuertistis,⁶⁶ et uinum absorbuistis⁶⁷ sicut qui deuorat pauperem in abscondito.^m

Inter haec Petrus orabat:⁶⁸ *Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa.*ⁿ Interdum illud Psalmistae sedulo ruminabat: *circumdederunt me uituli multi, tauri pingues obsederunt me, aperuerunt super me os suum.*^o Vere pingues, quorum colla thoris adipeis incrassata liquidam sudabant aruinam.^{69p} Nec mirum. Visitauerant enim domestici fidei^q uentrium⁷⁰ lacinias⁷¹ in misericordia et caritate.^r Sedit autem in concilio uanitatis^s contra psalmi decretum quidam memoriae celebris episcopus, in cuius auctoritatem plurimorum se reclamabat assensus.^{72t} Hic hesternam crapulam ructuans, huiusmodi in contione sermonem euomuit: 'fratres, Christianae religionis participes, omni periculo prouidete ne fides in uobis turbetur, ne sincerus columbae oculus^u turgente macula obducatur. Nihil enim prodest aliarum uirtutum possessio ubi⁷³ fuerit fidei defectio, iuxta illud Apostoli: *si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum, caritatem autem⁷⁴ non habeam, nihil mihi prodest.*^v O Mineruae lepos! O sales Attici! O eloquentia⁷⁵ Tulliana! Hanc certe

^h The last three lines are Sedulius, *Carm. pasch.* 1.331-33. The first two are presumably by Berengar himself. ⁱ Cf. Jo 11:47-51. ^j Jo 11:53. ^k I cannot identify this quotation, which is not biblical. ^l Job 19:28. ^m Abac 3:14. ⁿ Ps 119:2. ^o Ps 21:13-14. ^p Jer., *Ep.* 147.8. ^q Cf. Gal 6:10. ^r The sense here is admittedly obscure; I have not been able to identify this as a quotation. ^s Ps 25:4. ^t On the bishop's identity see Luscombe, *School*, p. 33 n. 1. ^u Cf. Cant 1:14, 4:1, 5:12. ^v 1 Cor 13:1, 3.

⁵⁸ quid *ABC*. ⁵⁹ consulat *A*. ⁶⁰ ponti *F*. ⁶¹ consilium *B*. ⁶² esset pontis *F*. ⁶³ unus *om. F*. ⁶⁴ gens *om. A*. ⁶⁵ indicem *A*. ⁶⁶ subuertisti *B*. ⁶⁷ absorbuistis et *C*. ⁶⁸ orabat dicens *F*. ⁶⁹ ad ruinam *A*. ⁷⁰ neutrum *F*. ⁷¹ lacrimas *B*. ⁷² plurimorum ... assensus *om. F*. ⁷³ nisi *A*. ⁷⁴ autem *om. C*. ⁷⁵ loquentia *A*.

caudam non uult hic asinus. Talis finis tali capiti non respondet. Vnde etiam qui fauerunt, pressa fronte ruborem confessi sunt. Placet et non immerito hanc magni nominis umbram^w gregi illorum connumerare, de quibus dictum est: conceperunt uentum et telas araneae texuerunt.^x Praefatus uero episcopus etiam praemissis adiungens: 'Petrus' inquit 'semper turbat Ecclesiam, semper excogitat nouitatem.' O tempora!⁷⁶ O mores!^y Sic iudicat de sole caecus. Sic pingit in ebore mancus. Sic urbem appretiatur asinus. Sic animales episcopi iudicant, sic casus⁷⁷ uentilant, sic discutiunt rationes. Sic pugnant contra eum filii matris suae.^z Sic sues crassae aduersus silentem grunniunt.

Inter tot itaque et tantas angustias deprehensus Abaelardus ad Romani examinis confugit asylum.⁷⁸ 'Filius sum' inquit⁷⁹ 'Romanae Ecclesiae. Nolo causa⁸⁰ mea quasi impii iudicetur.'⁸¹ *Caesarem appello*.^a At Bernardus abbas, in cuius brachio fidebat praesulum multitudo, non dixit ut praeses qui tenebat Paulum in uinculis, *Caesarem appellasti, ad Caesarem*⁸² *ibis*,^b sed 'Caesarem appellasti? ad Caesarem non ibis.'⁸³ Renuntiauit enim quae gesta fuerant Apostolico, et statim a Romana sede litterae⁸⁴ damnationis in Petrum per Gallicanam Ecclesiam uolauerunt.^c Damnatur taliter os illud, promptuarium rationis, tuba fidei, hospitium Trinitatis. Damnatur, pro dolor, absens, inauditus et inconuictus! Quid dicam? Quidue non dicam, Bernarde?

Nil opus est bello, ueniam pacemque rogamus,
porrigimus iunctas ad tua lora manus.^d
Iura cadent rerum, uertetur sanctio legum.
Si⁸⁵ uis, si⁸⁶ mandas, si sic decernis agendum,
quem penes⁸⁷ arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi.

Cuius unquam, Iesu bone, culpa tam caecos habuit iudices ut non⁸⁸ utrumque causae latera uentilarent, ut non in quam potissimum partem ius uergeret elimarent? Isti, clausis oculis, palpant negotium et, quasi oculati rerum cognitores, arcu iniquitatis intenso toxicum subito iaculantur edictum. Quidquid intestinus odiorum furor, quidquid implacabilis amentiae turbo rotaret⁸⁹ in Petrum, quidquid iniqua conflaret⁹⁰ aemulatio, censurae apostolicae sobrium

^w Cf. Luc., *Phars.* 1.135. ^x A conflation of Is 59:4-5 and Os 8:6. ^y Cic., *In Cat.* 1.2. ^z Cant 1:5. ^a Ac 25:11. ^b Ac 25:12. ^c Bernard's appeal to the pope is his *Ep.* 189; Innocent's reply is his *Ep.* 447 (PL 179.517), July 1140. ^d *Ov., Am.* 1.2.21 followed by 20. The rest of the verses are apparently Berengar's own composition.

⁷⁶ tempora *om. A, spatio relicto.* ⁷⁷ causas *B.* ⁷⁸ auxilium *C*². ⁷⁹ inquit sum *F.* ⁸⁰ nolo causa] non locam *A.* ⁸¹ iudicent *A.* ⁸² Caesarem non *A.* ⁸³ ad ... *ibis om. A.* ⁸⁴ litem *A.* ⁸⁵ sic *F.* ⁸⁶ sic *F.* ⁸⁷ penes *om. A.* ⁸⁸ nunquam *C.* ⁸⁹ rotarat s.s. *B*². ⁹⁰ conflarat s.s. *B*².

nunquam dormire deberet acumen. Sed facile deuiat a iustitia qui plus hominem quam Deum timet in causa. Verumque illud est quod per propheticum organum sonat: *omne caput languidum; a planta pedis usque ad ceruicem*⁹¹ *non est in eo sanitas.*^{92c}

Sed corrigere, inquiunt fautores abbatis. Petrum uolebat.⁹³ Si Petrum, bone uir, ad integrum fidei statum reuocare disponebas,⁹⁴ cur ei coram populo aeternae blasphemiae characterem impingebas? Rursusque, si Petro amorem populi tollebas, quomodo corrigere disponebas? Ex qua complexione in summam⁹⁵ redigitur te in Petrum exarsisse non amore correctionis sed desiderio⁹⁶ propriae ultionis? Praeclare dictum est a propheta: *corripiet me iustus in misericordia.*^f Vbi enim deest misericordia, non est correctio iusti sed barbaries incondita tyranni.

Testatur etiam rancorem animi eius epistola ad Innocentiam papam directa, in qua sic⁹⁷ stomachatur: 'non debet' inquit 'refugium inuenire apud sedem Petri, qui fidem impugnat Petri'.^g Parce, parce, bellator inclyte! Non decet monachum sic pugnare. Crede Salomoni: *noli inquit nimium esse*⁹⁸ *iustus, ne forte obstupescas.*^h Non impugnat fidem Petri, qui fidem affirmat Petri. Debet ergo inuenire refugium apud⁹⁹ sedem Petri. Patere,¹⁰⁰ quaeso, Petrum tecum esse Christianum. Et si uis, tecum erit Catholicus. Et si non uis, tamen erit Catholicus. Communis enim Deus est,¹⁰¹ non priuatus. Sed si sedet sententia cordi, pergamus pariter contemplari quomodo Petrus fidem infestat¹⁰² Petri. Scribit enim Petrus ad ancillam Dei Helloissam sacris litteris apprime institutam familiarem satis epistolam, quae inter reliqua horum etiam¹⁰³ uerborum redolet continentiam:

Soror mea Helloissa¹⁰⁴ quondam mihi in saeculo cara, nunc in Christo carissima,ⁱ odiosum me mundo reddidit logica. Aiunt enim peruersi peruertentes, quorum sapientia est in perditione, me in logica praestantissimum esse sed in Paulo non mediocriter claudicare, cumque ingenii praedicent aciem, Christianae fidei subtrahunt puritatem, quia, ut mihi uidetur, opinione potius traducuntur¹⁰⁵ ad iudicium quam experientiae magistratu. Nolo, nolo¹⁰⁶ sic esse philosophus ut

^c Is 1 : 5-6. ^f Ps 140 : 5. ^g Cf. Bern., *Ep.* 189.5. ^h Cf. Eccl 7 : 17. ⁱ Cf. Abelard's *Hymnarius Paraclitensis*, ed. J. Szövényfi, 2 vols. (New York, 1975), 2, praef. '... soror mihi Helloisa in saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima...', and *Ep.* 2, ed. J. T. Muckle, 'The Personal Letters between Abelard and Heloise', *Mediaeval Studies* 15 (1953) 73 '... soror in saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima...'

⁹¹ ueracem B. ⁹² ad ...sanitas om. F. ⁹³ uolebant C. ⁹⁴ disponebas reuocare AC. ⁹⁵ summa C. ⁹⁶ amore C. ⁹⁷ sic om. B. ⁹⁸ esse nimium F. ⁹⁹ ad F. ¹⁰⁰ parce F. ¹⁰¹ est om. F. ¹⁰² infestat fidem F. ¹⁰³ After this word several folios are missing in B. ¹⁰⁴ Helyosa A. ¹⁰⁵ om. C, in marg. tendit. ¹⁰⁶ eras. C; om. AF, spatio relicto in A.

recalcitrem Paulo. Nolo¹⁰⁷ sic esse Aristoteles ut secludar a Christo. Non enim aliud nomen est¹⁰⁸ sub caelo, in quo oporteat me saluum fieri.^j Adoro Christum in dextera Patris regnantem. Amplector eum ulnis¹⁰⁹ fidei in carne uirginali de Paraceto¹¹⁰ sumpta gloriosa diuinitus operantem. Et ut trepida sollicitudo cunctaeque ambages a candore tui pectoris explodantur,¹¹¹ hoc de me teneto, quod super illam petram fundavi conscientiam meam super quam Christus¹¹² aedificauit Ecclesiam suam. Cuius petrae titulum tibi breuiter assignabo: credo in Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, unum naturaliter et¹¹³ uerum Deum; qui sic in personis approbat Trinitatem ut semper in substantia custodiat unitatem. Credo¹¹⁴ Filium per omnia Patri¹¹⁵ esse coaequalem, scilicet aeternitate, potestate, uoluntate et opere. Nec audio Arium, qui peruerso ingenio actus, immo daemonico seductus spiritu, gradus facit in Trinitate; Patrem maiorem, Filium dogmatizans minorem, oblitus legalis praecepti: *non ascendes* inquit *lex per gradus ad altare meum*.^{116k} Ad altare quippe Dei¹¹⁷ per gradus ascendit, qui prius et posterius in Trinitate ponit. Spiritum etiam Sanctum Patri et Filio consubstantiali et coaequalem per omnia testor, utpote quoniam bonitatis nomine¹¹⁸ designari uolumina mea saepe declarant. Damno Sabellium,¹¹⁹ qui eandem personam asserens Patris et Filii Patrem passum autumauit: unde et patripassiani dicti sunt. Credo etiam Filium Dei factum esse Filium hominis, unamque personam ex duabus et in naturis duabus¹²⁰ consistere. Qui post completam susceptae humanitatis dispensationem passus est et mortuus et resurrexit et ascendit in caelum uenturusque est¹²¹ iudicare uiuos et mortuos. Assero etiam in baptismo uniuersa remitti delicta, gratiaque nos egere¹²² qua et incipiamus bonum et perficiamus, lapsosque per poenitentiam reformari. De carnis autem resurrectione quid opus est dicere, cum frustra glorier me Christianum si non credidero resurrecturum? ¹²³ Haec itaque est fides in qua sedeo, ex qua spei contraho firmitatem. In hac locatus salubriter latratus Scyllae non timeo, uertiginem Charybdis rideo, mortiferos Sirenarum modulos non horresco. Si irruat turbo, non quatiore; si uenti perflent, non moueor. Fundatus enim sum supra firmam petram.¹

Haec de epistola Petri ad uerbum excerpenda putauit, ut liquidum fieret quomodo Petrus impugnaret fidem Petri.

Nunc, rigide censor, adesto et fidem Petri sincero perpende iudicio. Dixisti: 'non debet refugium inuenire¹²⁴ apud sedem Petri, qui fidem impugnat Petri.' Hoc per se dictum quoddam esset eminens et generale uerum. Sed quia¹²⁵

^j Ac 4:12.^k Ex 20:26.¹ Cf. Mt 7:25, Lc 6:48.

¹⁰⁷ non A. ¹⁰⁸ est om. F. ¹⁰⁹ ullius C. ¹¹⁰ Paraceto Duchesne: palacio ACF.
¹¹¹ excludantur in ras. C. ¹¹² Christus filius Dei F. ¹¹³ et om. C. ¹¹⁴ credo
in AC. ¹¹⁵ Patri om. F. ¹¹⁶ meum altare A. ¹¹⁷ Dei om. F. ¹¹⁸ nomen AC:
non C². ¹¹⁹ Fabellium A. ¹²⁰ duabus naturis F. ¹²¹ -que est om. F. ¹²² egere
om. F. ¹²³ si ... resurr. om. F. ¹²⁴ inueniret F. ¹²⁵ quia om. F.

personaliter dixisti de Petro, conuinco te sentire contraria¹²⁶ uero. Non enim Petrus arguit fidem,¹²⁷ ad cuius lineam uitam suam disponit; nec alienus est a Christi portione cuius se tam humiliter insigniuit nomine. Deberet ergo refugium apud sedem Petri inuenire, si non illecebrae tui eloquii clausissent uiscera misericordiae^{128 m} Romanae Ecclesiae. Sed, dum tu Petro clementiae ostium obstruis, conceptae uesaniae signanter impetum prodīs.

Hic fortasse inquires 'nimia super me¹²⁹ lacessis iniuria. *Zelus domus Dei comedit me*,ⁿ eo quod lepra insanae doctrinae macularet corpus Ecclesiae. Cui obuiandum in ipso statim nequitiae semine putauī, ne late serperet uis ueneni. Nonne caute consulteque egi, quod foedum illud sacrilegumque dogma manuali quodam indiculo complosi ne scilicet breuiter uolentibus attingere summam rei onerosum esset ire per spatiosos saltus uoluminum Abaelardi?' Ad haec ego: 'laudo te, pater, sed in hoc non laudo. Indiculum uidimus in quo non Petri dogmata sed nefandi¹³⁰ commenti capitula legimus: quod scilicet Pater <sit>¹³¹ omnipotentia, Filius quaedam potentia, Spiritus Sanctus nulla potentia; quod Spiritus Sanctus, licet sit eiusdem substantiae cum Filio, non tamen est de eadem substantia; quod homo sine noua gratia possit operari; quod Deus non possit plus facere quam facit, nec melius facere quam facit, nec aliter facere quam facit; quod anima Christi non descendit ad inferos.^o Haec et alia indiculus tuus continet, quorum quaedam, fateor, Petrus et dixit et scripsit,¹³² quaedam uero neque protulit neque scripsit. Quae autem dixerit et quae non dixerit et quam Catholica mente ea quae dixerit senserit, secundus arrepti operis tractatus Christiana disputatione ardentem et impigrem declarabit. Nam talia sunt quae dilui debent atque refelli ut non immerito proprio reseruentur uolumini.'

Nunc illud est acriter persequendum cur uir sanctus et in ore famae nominatissimus, qui quaedam perenni sepelienda silentio scriptis propriis tradidit, Petro Abaelardo haereseos crimen impeggerit. Rata namque est fama et ab antiquo quasi naturae legibus prouulgata¹³³ neminem de simili crimine quempiam posse conuincere. Quod dum fecisti, et imprudenter et impudenter egisti.

Petrus errauerat: esto. Tu, quare errasti? Aut sciens aut nesciens errasti. Si sciens errasti, hostis Ecclesiae comprobaris; si nesciens errasti, quomodo es defensor Ecclesiae, qui errorem nescis discernere? Errasti uere, dum originem

^m Cf. 1 Jo 3:17, Col 3:12. ⁿ Ps 68:10; Jo 2:17. ^o On this *indiculus* (or *capitula*) see Luscombe, *School*, pp. 107-42; on Berengar's quotations from it see *ibid.*, pp. 37-38 and nn. 4-5.

¹²⁶ contra *A.*
¹³⁰ nefandi *A.*

¹²⁷ fidem arguit *F.*
¹³¹ sit scripsi: om. *ACF.*

¹²⁸ miseratione *C*; ratione *F.*
¹³² scripsit et dixit *F.*

¹²⁹ me om. *C.*
¹³³ promulgata *F.*

animarum de caelo asseruisti esse. Quod qualiter et in quo¹³⁴ libro astruas, quoniam utile et facile est cognitu, sagaci lectori ab altiori cardine retexam. Est liber,¹³⁵ quem Hebraeus *Sirasirim*, Latinus nominat *Canticum canticorum*, cuius littera uigilantibus animis diuinae cuiusdam¹³⁶ intelligentiae sudat arcanum. Ad hunc librum Bernardus manum expositionis¹³⁷ applicat, ut ab hirsutis¹³⁸ litterae operculis egregii sensus frugem eliciat. Vtitur sane mediocri et temperato genere dicendi.

Sed libet paululum percunctari cur Bernardus post tot illustrium uirorum sudores, qui¹³⁹ in praefato opere sua ingenia contriuerunt, tam immensae¹⁴⁰ maiestatis uolumen tentauit in lucem proferre. Nam si maiores nostri plenarie sufficienterque libri huius latebras produxerunt in solem, miror qua fronte ausus tuos extenderis in opus elimatum ad unguem. Quod si aliqua sunt tibi reuelata sacramenta, quae eorum notitiam fugerint, non inuideo; immo labori uehementer applaudo. Sed cum eorum expositiones commentumque tuum studiosis reuoluo manibus, nihil te noui dixisse comperio; immo sensum alienum uerbis tuis uestitum deprehendo. Superuacua igitur explanatio tua esse uidetur. Ac ne quis me putet improbabilia prolocutum, proferam super hunc librum quadrigam expositorum, Origenem scilicet Graecum, Ambrosium Mediolanensem, Ret^{<ic>}ium Augustudunensem, Baedam Angligenam. Quorum primus cum in ceteris libris alios,¹⁴¹ ut ait Hieronymus, uicerit, in Canticis canticorum se ipsum uicit.^p Secundus uero probabili et erudito sermone Sponsi sponsaeque firmavit amores.^q Tertius perplexitatem uoluminis sublimi ore disseruit.^r Quartus autem eiusdem libri opaca septem libris absoluit.^s Post tales itaque et tam industrios uiros Bernardus arat,¹⁴² quasi aliquid intentatum nostri maiores reliquerint.¹⁴³ Possemus sane lucubrationibus diserti hominis acquiescere, nisi potius tragoediam uideretur quam commentarios texere. Patefacta namque quadam parte operis, repente mortem sui fratris inducit, in cuius funeris prosecutione duos paene quaternos consumit.^t Quod quam ibi discrepans et inconcinnum fuerit, paucis expedium.

Liber ille Salomonis in Sancti Spiritus officina conflatus Christi et Ecclesiae sub sponsi sponsaeque typo maritat amplexus. Porro nuptiis gaudia consonant.

^p Jer., *Translatio homil. Origen. in Cant.*, prol. (PL 23.1173-74) and *Ep.* 84.7.

^q Ambrose wrote no such work. ^r Reticius' work is known only from its mention in Jer., *Ep.* 37, and *De uiris illustr.* 82. Berengar's extract, if genuine, is the only surviving fragment from it (*Clavis* 78; Stegmüller, *Repertorium* 7255). ^s Bede, *In Cantica canticorum allegorica expositio* (PL. 91.1065-1236). ^t Bern., *In Cant. serm.* 26.2-13.

¹³⁴ et in quo] in A. ¹³⁵ liber ... simulare E, headed Quod beatus Bernardus scribere non debebat nec tali stilo super cantica canticorum. ¹³⁶ cuidam E. ¹³⁷ expositionis manum F. ¹³⁸ insutis F. ¹³⁹ que C. ¹⁴⁰ in mense A. ¹⁴¹ alios s.s. C: om. AEF. ¹⁴² erat C. ¹⁴³ reliquerunt (-linq- A) AC.

At Bernardus aut rerum¹⁴⁴ obscurarum¹⁴⁵ taedio uictus aut negligens Apostoli dictum suadentis *gaudere cum gaudentibus*^u mortuum suum ducit ad nuptias, cum scriptum sit: *non est Deus mortuorum sed uiuentium*.^v Discumbente itaque sponso in sponsae gremio et iuenculis sponsi¹⁴⁶ sponsaeque iuenculabus alterna iucunditate plaudentibus, tuba funebris subito clangit,¹⁴⁷ epulae in luctum eunt, organa uertuntur in funus. Tragoedia risum proterit nuptiarum. Non discretus, non elegans citharista fuisti, qui funebres modulos regio conuiuio praesentasti. Quis unquam somniauit tale portentum? Solemus ridere picturas incipientes ab homine et in asinum desinentes. Reuolue, quaeso, prisci super hunc librum monumenta ingenii, et nullum reperies qui in huiusmodi materia tristitia laetis confoederet. Vnde Ret<ic> ii Augustudunensis¹⁴⁸ aurea sic depromit camena: 'mos est' inquit 'generosae materiae obseruandus ut sponsi sponsaeque tripudia festiua tuba persultet'.¹⁴⁹ Neque enim in funera fas¹⁵⁰ distrahi animum, quoniam ad exponendum Cantica nuptiarum inuitat alacritas conuiuiarum. Sed quoniam tantae facultatis ratio in nobis uel nulla est uel admodum orba, eius innitar gratiae, qui per Euangelium suum sonat: *sine me nihil potestis facere*.^w Neque certe mihi deficiet transitorium¹⁵¹ uerbum, cum credam in Verbum quod est in principio apud Deum.^x O uox Catholico digna doctore! O fidelis confessor gratiae! Recte perpendiculum sui iudicii uir sapiens lineauit, qui moerorem¹⁵² a gaudio¹⁵³ tanto interstitio sequestrauit. Tu uero terminos transgrediens quos posuerunt patres tui^y cantica in elegos, carmina in threnos sorte miserabili¹⁵⁴ conuertisti. Quod si tibi deessent ecclesiasticae scita censurae,¹⁵⁵ recolere poteras etiam gentilis instituta prudentiae. Nam, cum Zeuxis pictor eximius¹⁵⁶ simulacrum Helenae pinxit,¹⁵⁷ non ei brachia simiae nec chimerae uentrem nec caudam piscis aptauit, sed humanorum membrorum expolitione¹⁵⁸ perfectum publicis uisibus¹⁵⁹ propalauit; alioquin indecens¹⁶⁰ et ridiculosa esset pictura.^z Vnde Horatius in Arte poetica sic effert:¹⁶¹

humano capiti ceruicem pictor equinam
iungere si uelit, et uarias inducere plumas
undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum

^u Rom 12:15. ^v Mc 12:27. ^w Jo 15:5. ^x Jo 1:1. ^y Ps 103:9, quoted in Bern., *Ep.* 193, referring to Abelard! ^z Cf. Val. Max., *Facta et dicta mem.* 3.7, ext. 3.

¹⁴⁴ rem A. ¹⁴⁵ obscurarum om. E. ¹⁴⁶ sponsum F. ¹⁴⁷ plangit F.
¹⁴⁸ Augustudunum CE. ¹⁴⁹ persultent AE. ¹⁵⁰ fas est C: uas A. ¹⁵¹ transitorium
deficiet E. ¹⁵² memorem E. ¹⁵³ gaudio tam EF. ¹⁵⁴ miserabili sorte F.
¹⁵⁵ censere C. ¹⁵⁶ examius C: om. F. ¹⁵⁷ et add. C sed canc. ¹⁵⁸ politione E.
¹⁵⁹ uisibus AEF. ¹⁶⁰ incedens A. ¹⁶¹ refert A; in ... effert om. F.

desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
spectatum admissi¹⁶² risum teneatis, amici?^{163a}

Concedit Ars ut quod uelis¹⁶⁴ incipias, sed non ut quemlibet finem inceptis tuis
supponas.¹⁶⁵ Vnde idem poeta paulo¹⁶⁶ post scripsit:¹⁶⁷

pictoribus atque poetis
quidlibet audendi semper fuit aequa potestas:
sed non ut placidis coeant immitia, non ut
serpentes auibus gementur,¹⁶⁸ tigribus agni.^b
uelut aegri somnia operis tui, uanae
species finguntur ut nec pes nec caput uni
reddatur formae...^c
Purpureus, late qui¹⁶⁹ splendeat, unus et alter
adsuitur pannus...^d

At¹⁷⁰ ne quis fautorum tuorum obloquatur,

scimus inurbanum lepido¹⁷¹ seponere dicto
legitimumque sonum digitis callemus et aure.^e

Quid plura? Tota Ars poetica iurata contra¹⁷² te bella suscepit. Deberes reuera¹⁷³
ingenii tui puerperium, iuxta eiusdem poetae institutionem, nonum premere in
annum,^f ut male tornatum opus rursus liceret incudi reddere, et curare ne te
lunae labor offenderet. Deberes utique festinantiam emissionis differre, cum
scriptum sit:

nescit uox missa¹⁷⁴ reuerti.^g

Laudamus in te, pater, uenam ingenii sed artis culpamus inscitiam.¹⁷⁵ Inde est
quod ueteres definierunt ingenium esse mutilum nisi opem artis sibi asciscat.
Laudantur sales Lucilii, et tamen mordetur quod in composito currat pede.^h

Impostos uersus componit et arte carentes
Ennius ingenio diues et arte rudis.ⁱ

^a Hor., *Ars* 1-5. ^b *ibid.* 9, 10, 12, 13. ^c *ibid.* 7-9. ^d *ibid.* 15-16. ^e *ibid.* 273-74. ^f *ibid.* 388. ^g *ibid.* 390. ^h Jer., *Ep.* 84.2 (cf. Hor., *Serm.* 1.10.1-4).
ⁱ The hexameter is apparently Berengar's own composition; the pentameter is from Ov., *Trist.* 2.424.

¹⁶² admissum *E.* ¹⁶³ ceruicem ... amici *om. F.* ¹⁶⁴ uel *ACF*; uis *C*².
¹⁶⁵ imponas *E.* ¹⁶⁶ Paulus *C.* ¹⁶⁷ scribit *CE*; paulo ... scripsit *om. F.* ¹⁶⁸ sic *Hor.*:
generentur *EF*; geniretur *A*; gementur (?) *C.* ¹⁶⁹ quo *E.* ¹⁷⁰ aut *A*²*F.*
¹⁷¹ lepidum *E.* ¹⁷² circa *E.* ¹⁷³ res uera *A.* ¹⁷⁴ emissa *F.* ¹⁷⁵ insciam *F.*

E¹⁷⁶ quibus est ille:

omnes mortales sese laudari exoptant.^j

Sed quoniam lippis et¹⁷⁷ tonsoribus^k claret quod non recte lamenta epithalamio coniugasti, libet aliqua de ipso boatu tragico speculari. Inter cetera, ni fallor, oratoris nostri lugubris musa sic calculat: 'decessit frater a uita, immo ut rectius fatear, mortem reliquit pro uita. Frater, inquam, decessit,¹⁷⁸ tenor continentiae, morum speculum, uinculum religionis. Quis ulterius uegetabit me ad laborem? Quis amplius leniet¹⁷⁹ moerentem?' Et post aliqua: 'Bos bouem requirit seque solum putat; frequenti mugitu pium testatur affectum. Bos, inquam, bouem requirit,¹⁸⁰ cum quo ducere collo aratra consueuit.'^l Pulchrum quidem est et tinnulum quod Bernardus loquitur, sed de alio sudore pretium nomenque uenatur. Ambrosius enim haec uerba syllabatim in quaerimonia illa posuit, quam¹⁸¹ de excessu Satyri amici sui mulcebris dealbatoque stylo procudit. Itaque Bernardus in hoc planctu¹⁸² adeo est uehemens, adeo pertinax, adeo nimius ut legenti cuilibet constans sit eum non ueros fletus edere sed uerba quibus ueri quaestus exprimantur effundere. Aiunt tamen quidam insulsi, seductorio¹⁸³ eius linguae moderamine seducti, qui corpus uerborum diligunt, animam autem rationis spernunt, eum tam facundia sublimi¹⁸⁴ in lamentis illis uti ut nulla modernae eloquentiae facultas ei ualeat exaequari. O falsi iudices eloquentiae, quos proiicit uocis uentus ut puluerem a¹⁸⁵ facie¹⁸⁶ terrae! Quaenam ibi sententiarum uis? Quae¹⁸⁷ pocula rationum? Totus in uerbis fluctuat et more ridiculi syllogismi rotatur in circulo. Vnde poeta:

Citharoedus,

inquit,

ridetur, chorda qui semper oberrat eadem.^m

Canoras tamen nugas legionemque sermonum¹⁸⁸ rerumⁿ parcus,¹⁸⁹ uerborum fecundus eructat.¹⁹⁰ Laeta uerborum gramina sata instrangulant¹⁹¹ sententia-

^j Walther, *Sprichwörter* 19908. ^k Hor., *Serm.* 1.7.3. ^l None of this is found in the text of Bernard as we have it. Only the last two sentences have any parallel in Ambrose: *De exc. frat.* 1.8 (PL 16.1349). ^m Hor., *Ars* 355-56; Walther, *Sprichwörter* 26879a. ⁿ Hor., *Ars* 322.

¹⁷⁶ ex CEF. ¹⁷⁷ et Hor.: etiam et CE: etiam A. ¹⁷⁸ decessit E. ¹⁷⁹ leniet C²: leniret C: lenitet A. ¹⁸⁰ seque ... requirit om. E. ¹⁸¹ quoniam A. ¹⁸² planctu hoc F. ¹⁸³ seductoris C. ¹⁸⁴ sublimi facundia EF. ¹⁸⁵ ante EF. ¹⁸⁶ faciem E. ¹⁸⁷ quoue E. ¹⁸⁸ sermorum E. ¹⁸⁹ paucas (?) E. ¹⁹⁰ eadem ... eructat om. A. ¹⁹¹ ibi strangulant EF.

rum. Aut fortasse idem dicendo multipliciter Vlixem simulare uolebat. De quo scriptum est.¹⁹²

ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem.^o

Sed non talibus instrumentis mortuus suscitatur, nec eloquentiae praestigiis¹⁹³ uita mortuo comparatur. Vnde cuiusdam distichum egregie sonat:¹⁹⁴

cur dantur frustra pro psalmis carmina pulchra?
Plus prodesset ei ter 'miserere'¹⁹⁵ mei'.^p

Quod si dolorem suum delinimentis facundiae remedioque carminis euaporare¹⁹⁶ nolebat, cur non saltem¹⁹⁷ super hoc proprium separatim opusculum condebat? Nec deerant a quibus talis materiae mutuari posset exemplar. Socrates mortem sui Alcibiadis philosophici uigoris ubertate testatur. Plato Alexim puerum, cui amatorias cantiunculas composuerat,^q insigni titulo ducit ad tumulum. Taceo¹⁹⁸ Pythagoram, Democritum,¹⁹⁹ Carneadem, Posidonium reliquosque, quorum excellentia Graecia superbit, qui teste Hieronymo diuersis saeculis, diuersis libris diuersorum lamenta minuere²⁰⁰ sunt conati.^r Praetereo²⁰¹ Anaxagorae laudatam semper sententiam, qui, cum ei nuntiaretur filium ob<i>isse, fletu represso 'sciebam' inquit 'me genuisse mortalem'.^s Et, ut peregrina omittens, ad nostra ueniam: Tullius eloqui Romani maximus auctor consolatorium de morte filii sui librum edidit, cui praeclara magnorum uirorum monumenta quasi stellas micantes impressit.^t Hieronymus dolori,²⁰² quem de morte Nepotiani conceperat, plausibili medetur eloquio.^u Ambrosius, de quo praefatus sum,²⁰³ duos libros de excessu dilecti sui Satyri suauis stylo edisserit.^v Ad horum normam planctum tuum texere debebas, non immemor illius uulgaris prouerbi:

uicini barbae propriam debes simulare.^w

Sed quoniam²⁰⁴ super hoc²⁰⁵ satis abundeque²⁰⁶ digessimus,²⁰⁷ tempestiuum

^o Ov., *Ars am.* 2.128. ^p *Non inueni.* ^q The only source known to me for this story is Apul., *Apol.* 10, a very rare text, although not unknown, in the twelfth century. ^r Jer., *Ep.* 60.5. ^s Cf. Jer., *Ep.* 60.5 and Cic., *Tusc. disp.* 3.30. ^t Cf. Jer., *Ep.* 60.5-6 and Cic., *Tusc. disp.* 5.63 ff.; but Cicero's lost work was written on his daughter's death. ^u Jer., *Ep.* 60 ad *Heliodorum epitaphium Nepotiani.* ^v Amb., *De exc. fratr.* (PL 16.1345-1416).
^w *Non inueni.*

¹⁹² scriptum est *om. F.* ¹⁹³ praestigiis *om. F.* ¹⁹⁴ cuiusdam ... sonat] quid *F.*
¹⁹⁵ misere *F.* ¹⁹⁶ eua potare *AC*; eleuare *s.s. C².* ¹⁹⁷ salum *F.* ¹⁹⁸ taceo *C.*
¹⁹⁹ Demetricum *A.* ²⁰⁰ minime *A.* ²⁰¹ praetereo *ut uid. F*; praeterea *AC.*
²⁰² dolore *A*; dolore *C.* ²⁰³ de ... sum *om. F.* ²⁰⁴ quoniam ... locasses *E*, headed
Quod beatus Bernardus dixisse uidetur originem anime esse de celis. ²⁰⁵ dictis *E.*
²⁰⁶ abunde *E.* ²⁰⁷ digessimus *F.*

est illud capitulum in eodem libro uisitare, in quo animarum originem de caelis fabularis esse. Vbi sic recolo te locutum: 'merito dixit Apostolus: *nostra conuersatio est in caelis*,^x unde patenter ostenditur quod origo animae est²⁰⁸ de caelis'.²⁰⁹ y Haec uerba tua subtiliter explorata Christianae mentis palato haeresim sapiunt.²¹⁰ Si enim idcirco animae originem de caelis astruis, quia quandoque beata futura est in caelis, eadem ratione corporis origo erit in²¹¹ caelis, quia quandoque beatum futurum est in²¹² caelis. Sed ad hoc intimandum talia uerba se²¹³ non accommodant. Aut si ideo animae originem caelestem ascribis, quia olim orta, id est²¹⁴ facta sit in caelis, quod quidem uerborum talium resultat intentio, prauitatem Origenis incurris, qui in libris Periarchon Pythagoreum Platoniumque dogma secutus originariam²¹⁵ in caelo sedem animabus²¹⁶ disponit.²¹⁷ z

At quoniam de anima mentio se ingressit, non absurdum est commemorare quae altercationis uarietas occupauerit de animarum origine. Aiunt philosophi, quorum duces sunt Plato et Pythagoras, quibus et tu ex parte maxima acquiescis, animas²¹⁸ similiter olim²¹⁹ ab initio factas conditasque in thesauris Dei, indeque ob antiquae uitae contagium in corporum ergastula lapsas, rursusque, si corpus iuste gubernauerint,²²⁰ ad antiquae honestatis uultum meritorum²²¹ uehiculo redituras.^a Fuerunt et haeretici qui animam partem esse diuinae substantiae contenderunt, occasionem huius²²² fabulae inde rapientes quod scriptum²²³ est in Genesi: *et*²²⁴ *sufflauit Deus in faciem eius*, scilicet Adae, *spiraculum uitae*.^b Contra quos intonat breuiter²²⁵ Augustinus: 'flatus' inquit 'ille Dei qui hominem animauit. Factus est ab ipso, non de ipso, quia nec²²⁶ hominis flatus hominis pars est, nec homo eum facit de seipso, sed ex aereo halitu sumpto et effuso'.^c Item fuerunt quidam crassis ignorantiae tenebris obuoluti, qui uenire animas ex traduce delirabant; quos confutare quodammodo est eorum ineptias roborare. His tribus neniis²²⁷ quasi rationi aduersis orthodoxae ueritatis²²⁸ gladio amputatis, asserunt sancti patres nouiter creatis corporibus creatas nouiter animas quotidie infundi, iuxta illud²²⁹ Euangelii:

^x Phil 3:20. ^y Cf. Bern., *In Cant. serm.* 27.7-9, although these exact words are not found there. ^z Jer., *Apol. adv. Ruf.* 3.40 (PL 23.508). ^a Cf. Plato, *Timaeus interpr. Calcidio*, ed. Waszink, pp. 36-37. ^b Gen 2:7. ^c Cf. Aug., *De orig. anim.* 1.4.

²⁰⁸ sit *F.* ²⁰⁹ in celis *E.*; unde ... celis *om. A.* ²¹⁰ sapiunt heresim *F.* ²¹¹ de *EF.*
²¹² de *E.* ²¹³ se *om. E.* ²¹⁴ id est] et *E.* ²¹⁵ originariam iam *F.*
²¹⁶ animabus sedem *F.* ²¹⁷ disposuit *E.* ²¹⁸ animas *om. CE.* ²¹⁹ olim *om. F.*
²²⁰ gubernauerit *A.* ²²¹ meritorium *A.* ²²² huius *om. E.* ²²³ sufflatus *F.*
²²⁴ et *om. F.* ²²⁵ breuiter intonat *EF.* ²²⁶ nec hio *A.* ²²⁷ sententiis *CEF.*
²²⁸ ueritatis *om. E.* ²²⁹ illud *om. F.*

Pater meus usque modo operatur, et ego operor.^d Tu itaque a doctrinae salutaris tramite deuius in philosophorum scopulos ruis. Et dum dignitatem animae iactitas, originem ei sideream flore ieiunii²³⁰ eloquii nundinaris. Quod si in Petri opusculis huius uecordiam reperisses, non est dubium quin eam inter illa quae peperisti, capitulorum monstra, locasses.²³¹

Hinc ad alios tui ingenii fructus articulus est uertendus. Quaerit a te uir collo inflatus Romano quid sit diligendum et quomodo. Cui sic rescribis: 'orationes a me, Aimerice,²³² et non quaestiones flagitare solebas';^{233e} et post aliqua: 'quaeris quid sit diligendum. Cui breuiter respondeo: Deus.'^f Homo Romanus, grossus camelus, Gallicano argumento gibbosus trans Alpes saltat ut quid sit diligendum inquirat, quasi iuxta se non habeat qui rei huius sibi notionem infundat. Cui noster philosophus mandat non uirtutem esse diligendam, ut Chrysippus, nec uoluptatem, ut Aristippus, sed Deum ut Christianus. Acutulum sane responsum, et docto homine dignum. Sed quaenam abiecta muliercula, quisnam hoc²³⁴ ignoret extremus idiota? Sic philosophantur in textrinis²³⁵ aniculae. Sic propositiones Dagani cum ioco mirari solemus.^g De cuius propositionibus aliquas exempli gratia interseram: 'filius' inquit 'sum matris meae. Placenta est panis. Caput meum est grossius²³⁶ pugno meo. Cum meridies est, dies est.' Quis est cui audita tam ridicula ueritate labia risu non quatiuntur? Similiter et cum Bernardus dixit Deum esse diligendum, uerissimum quidem²³⁷ dixit²³⁸ et uenerabile uerum; sed ad hoc dicendum pro nihilo aperuit os suum. Nemo enim de hoc dubitat. Sperabat enim Romanus aliquid secreti audire, et archimandrita noster tale quid intonat, quod quilibet rusticus ualeret respondere.²³⁹ Et tamen, dum Deum diligendum pronuntiat, latenter ferit Romanum, qui in curia papae non Deum didicerat amare sed²⁴⁰ aurum.^h Sequitur postea de modo diligendi: 'modus' inquit 'est sine modo diligere'.ⁱ Aimericum (sic enim dictus est ad quem scribis) quasi lacteo succo pauisti, dum Deum diligendum aperte²⁴¹ pronuntiasti. Nunc eum subito ad altiora subrigens²⁴² dicis quod modus diligendi Deum sit sine modo diligere.

^d Jo 5:17; for the passage from 'Aiunt philosophi...' Berengar has used Jer., *Ep.* 126.1.
^e Bern., *De dilig. deo*, prol. ^f This is not in Bernard. ^g Non inueni. ^h The identification of Rome with greed is a common satirical topos of the time; cf. Benzinger, *Invectiva in Romam*. ⁱ Bern., *De dilig. deo* 1.1.

²³⁰ ieiunii AC. ²³¹ E adds Reprehendit beatum Bernardum Berengarius de eo quod dicit Deum diligendum sine modo. ²³² me Aimerice] mea metrice AC: anime in marg. C². Not in Bern. ²³³ solebatis Bern. ²³⁴ hoc om. F. ²³⁵ extremis F. ²³⁶ grossius est F. ²³⁷ quidam A. ²³⁸ A adds Deum esse diligendum. ²³⁹ uocare (?) F. ²⁴⁰ nummum uel add. F. ²⁴¹ aperte diligendum E. ²⁴² dirigens in ras. C.

Qui quaesiuerat quid esset diligendum, de quo nec pauperculus Christianus quidem²⁴³ haesitaret, quomodo poterit hanc subtilitatem intelligere, quod modus diligendi Deum sit sine modo diligere? In quo impossibile quiddam spondere uideris. Cum enim stabile fixumque sit Deum ea magnificentia esse praeditum ut nequaquam nostra in illum dilectio eius dignitati aequipollenter respondere sufficiat, quomodo sine modo diligemus quem cum modo diligere non ualemus? Quomodo, inquam, porrigetur²⁴⁴ dilectio ultra modum, cum semper remaneat citra modum? Aut si sic intellexisti 'sine modo diligere', id est²⁴⁵ diligere quod non perueniatur ad congruum diligendi modum, ridiculam intelligentiam portendit somnium tuum. Dum itaque rhetoricari uoluisti et obscuritatem dedisti et quiddam inopinum²⁴⁶ atque impossibile confecisti, dum Deum sine modo diligendum docuisti,

quanto rectius hic, qui nil molitur inepte?^j

Iesus Christus scilicet, qui²⁴⁷ per Euangelium suum diligendi modum exprimens *diliges inquit Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota mente tua et ex omnibus uiribus tuis*.^{248 k} Hic nullus eloquentiae fucus sed mera tantum ueritas simplici et absoluto est expressa eloquio. Hic Romanus aurem accomodat. Hic superbiae strumam deponat camelus, quia Iesus hic nil impossibile pronuntiat. Iesus, inquam, sententiae lucem tenebris eloqui non inuoluit, ut Bernardus, qui rei uenerabilis²⁴⁹ maiestatem exquisito quodam obnubit uerborum adulterio. Vir sapiens, inquit Horatius,

non fumum ex fulgore, sed ex fumo dare lucem
cogitat.^l

Quod Bernardus male attendit, qui quod Iesus nudo patuloque dixerat ore, nube²⁵⁰ sermonis ab intelligentiae uia secludit.²⁵¹

Horum et his similium ludicrorum mensuram confertam et coagitatam^m in libellorum²⁵² tuorum, Bernarde, sinum dedisti quod reprehendere²⁵³ facile poterit quem oculatum eruditio reddidit. Quae si unguetenus persequi uellem, longitudo certe dictaminis lectorem etiam²⁵⁴ repelleret diligentem.

Cum itaque tantas trabes loquaris, cur Abaelardi festucas in trabes commutare moliris? Non est negotium misericordis culpam augere sed minuere. Vnde

^j Hor., *Ars* 140.

^k Mc 12:30.

^l Hor., *Ars* 143-44; Walther, *Sprichwörter* 17815.

^m Lc 6:38.

²⁴³ quidam *C*.

²⁴⁴ porrigetur *om. E*.

²⁴⁵ id est] id est ita *F*: et ita *E*.

²⁴⁶ inopinum *ut uid. F*: inopium *AC*.

²⁴⁷ qui scilicet *F*.

²⁴⁸ tuo ... tuis *om. F*.

²⁴⁹ uenerabilis rei *F*.

²⁵⁰ anibe *C*.

²⁵¹ precludit *F*.

²⁵² bellorum *AC*.

²⁵³ deprehendere *EF*.

²⁵⁴ etiam *om. E*.

psalmista cum dicturus esset *miserecordiam et iudicium cantabo tibi, Domine*,ⁿ commodè misericordiam praeponit iudicio, quasi diceret: immense Deus, scio quia misericors es²⁵⁵ et iustus; sed in altero mea saluatio, in altero mea damnatio, ideoque misericordiae²⁵⁶ canticum libentius²⁵⁷ uolo. Scriptum est²⁵⁸ in Isaia: *et conuertent gladios suos in uomeres*.^{259o} Gladii enim in uomeres conuertendi sunt,²⁶⁰ non uomeres in gladios, quia et mali ad tranquillitatis bonum trahendi sunt lenitate correctionis et boni ad discordiam commouendi non sunt asperitate inuentionis.²⁶¹

His et aliis delinitis exemplis, Petrum, si errore sauciatus esset, iumento tuo deberes imponere et sic ad stabulum uniuersalis fidei reuocare.²⁶² Plures Catholici quaedam culpanda dixerunt, nec tamen ob id²⁶³ haereticorum collegio sunt ascripti. Duo dixit Hilarius erroris expugnator, propugnator Ecclesiae, in quibus eum non audit²⁶⁴ sobrietas Ecclesiae. Primum, quod Christum nil²⁶⁵ in passione doloris sensisse asseruit. Contra quam²⁶⁶ sententiam Claudianus presbyter Lugdunensis, uir Christianissimus et tam subtilis ad disputandum quam artifex ad loquendum, sic personat: 'si²⁶⁷ Christus nihil in passione sensit doloris,²⁶⁸ non uere passus est; et si uere non passus est, nos non uere redempti sumus.'²⁶⁹ Alterum est²⁷⁰ quod nullum²⁷¹ incorporeum dixit esse creatum. 'Nec igitur' inquit Claudianus 'anima, cum sit incorporea, est creata.'²⁷² Quod si creata²⁷³ non est, nec creatura Dei est.' Sed non ob hoc, ut ait idem Claudianus, scientia doctoris perdit meritum confessoris, quia Ecclesia²⁷⁴ bono filio indulsit quod humana opinio minus caute disputauit.^p Procul dubio si haec Petrus dixisset, eum esse lapidandum rigoris tui seueritas sanxisset.

Beatus etiam²⁷⁵ Hieronymus in libro contra Iovinianum De nuptiis quaedam dura disserit,²⁷⁶ et praecipue illo loco ubi sententiam Apostoli²⁷⁷ inducit, quae in hunc modum se habet:²⁷⁸ *bonum est mulierem non tangere*.^q Cui Hieronymus subiungit: 'si bonum est mulierem non tangere, malum est ergo tangere. Nihil enim bono contrarium est praeter malum.'^r Argumentum hoc scit esse

ⁿ Ps 100:1. ^o Is 2:4. ^p Cf. Claudianus, *De stat. anim.* 2.9 (CSEL 11.135).
^q 1 Cor 7:1. ^r Jer., *Adv. Jov.* 1.7 (PL 23.228 ff.).

²⁵⁵ es om. C sed add. s.s. post iustus. ²⁵⁶ misericordiae om. C sed add. s.s. in marg.
²⁵⁷ libentius canticum F. ²⁵⁸ est et C. ²⁵⁹ scriptum ... uomeres] scribit Isa. conuertent gladios uo. F. ²⁶⁰ gladii ... sunt] gladii ideo in uomeres uertimur F. ²⁶¹ scriptum ... inuentionis om. E. ²⁶² quod catholici quedam culpanda dixerunt nec tamen ob id heretici censentur add. E. ²⁶³ id om. F. ²⁶⁴ non audit eum F. ²⁶⁵ nihil E. ²⁶⁶ quam om. A. ²⁶⁷ sic A. ²⁶⁸ in passione nihil sensit doloris EF. ²⁶⁹ uere om. F; nos ... sumus om. A. ²⁷⁰ alterum est om. A. ²⁷¹ est add. C sed canc. ²⁷² creata sed F. ²⁷³ quod ... creata om. C. ²⁷⁴ Ecclesia om. E. ²⁷⁵ etiam om. F. ²⁷⁶ dixerit A: dixit in ras. C. ²⁷⁷ apostoli sententiam F. ²⁷⁸ quae ... habet om. F.

friuolum²⁷⁹ quisquis disputandi disciplina se profitetur²⁸⁰ imbutum. Nam similiter bonum est carnem non comedere et uinum non bibere; nec ideo sequitur quod sit malum²⁸¹ carnem comedere et uinum bibere. Quod quidam asserentes inter haereticos recepti sunt.²⁸² Sed tamen²⁸³ paulisper concedatur ut malum sit, iuxta Hieronymum, mulierem tangere. Ex quo quanta sequatur absurditas, nexus ipse rationis ostendit. Nam si malum est mulierem tangere, malum est cum muliere coire. Neque enim fieri possit²⁸⁴ ut bonus sit coitus si malus est tactus, et si malum est cum muliere coire, male²⁸⁵ agit quisquis cum muliere coit. Peccant ergo coniugati legitime utendo coitu coniugali.²⁸⁶ Nam etiam coeundo mulierem tangunt. Aut igitur, ut male non agant mariti, feriantur ab uxoribus, aut, si necesse erit coire, ita coeant ut mulierem non tangerent. Sed hoc impossibile est fieri. Sequitur ergo coniugalis boni naufragium, quod ad remedium mortalis luxuriae superna industria praeparauit. Nam si coniugium coitum non excusat, eant mariti, certatim agant poenitentiam eo quod cum uxoribus suis aliquando coierunt. Alias in eodem libro Hieronymus inhumanus de nuptiis disputat super illud²⁸⁷ Apostoli locum:²⁸⁸ *melius est*²⁸⁹ *nubere quam uri*.^t 'Tolle' inquit Hieronymus "'uri'" et non dicet²⁹⁰ "melius est nubere".^u Ideo melius est nubere quoniam peius est uri.²⁹¹ Sed si bonum est nubere, quare malo comparatur? Nemo enim ratione malum bono²⁹² comparat. Uri certe malum est, et nubere huius mali respectu²⁹³ bonum est. Quod autem respectu mali bonum sit,²⁹⁴ simpliciter bonum non est. Ex his Hieronymi uerbis²⁹⁵ distincte colligimus nuptias non esse absolute bonas. Perit igitur nuptiale bonum. Nam nuptiale bonum secundum Hieronymum non est bonum, nisi quia²⁹⁶ uri est maius malum²⁹⁷ quam ipsum. Multos fideles uiros, inter quos et Pammachium senatorem, scandalizauit haec effera austeraque disputatio, doloremque suum scriptis super hoc²⁹⁸ epistolis eidem Hieronymo testati sunt.²⁹⁹ Quod si Petrus tam crudeliter contra nuptias declamasset,³⁰⁰ profecto Bernardus in eius exitium coniugatorum cohortes armasset.

Augustinus erroribus suis inimicus eos libris³⁰¹ Retractationum purgandos

^s Perhaps a reference to the Cathars in southern France. ^t 1 Cor 7:9. ^u Jer., *Adv. Jov.* 1.9 (PL 23.233). ^v Jer., *Epp.* 48 and 49; but it was not Pammachius who argued with Jerome about this.

²⁷⁹ falsum *E*. ²⁸⁰ scit *F*. ²⁸¹ malum *om. A*. ²⁸² sunt recepti *EF*.
²⁸³ tamen *om. E*. ²⁸⁴ potest fieri *AC*. ²⁸⁵ malum *AC*. ²⁸⁶ coniugali coitu *E*.
²⁸⁷ illum *A*. ²⁸⁸ ubi ait *add. F*. ²⁸⁹ est *om. A*. ²⁹⁰ dicet *E*: dici *F*; tolle ... dicet
om. C. ²⁹¹ tolle ... uri *om. A*. ²⁹² bonum malo *F*. ²⁹³ respectu mali huius *C*:
mali huius respectu *A*. ²⁹⁴ est *EF*. ²⁹⁵ uerbis Hieronymi *E*. ²⁹⁶ Here *B* begins
again. ²⁹⁷ malum maius *AC*. ²⁹⁸ super hoc *om. F*. ²⁹⁹ sunt testati *BEF*.
³⁰⁰ declinasset *C*. ³⁰¹ libris *B²C*: libros *ABE*.

committit. Lactantius, de quo ipse Augustinus asseuerat quod multo auro suffarcinatus exierit de Aegypto,^w cum ore fulmineo contra gentes Christum defendat, quaedam absona de dogmatibus Ecclesiae postea somniat.^x Longum est recensere ueterum syngrapha tractatorum,^y quae non sunt sic ad purum excocta ut non inueniantur in eis multa quae uirga correctionis essent dignissima. Verax namque est Iacobi apostoli sententia: *in multis inquit offendimus omnes. Si quis autem in uerbo non offenderit, hic perfectus est uir.*^z Itaque si Petrus in uerbo offenderat,³⁰² iudicandus a te misericordiae potius blandum deberet sentire tactum quam iracundiae incentiuum. Aequum erat te reminisci quod Habacuc propheta Deo decantat, dicens:³⁰³ *cum iratus fueris, misericordiae recordaberis.*^a Vide quid distet inter iram Dei et iram hominis. Cum homo³⁰⁴ irascitur, clementiae ab eius pectore mentio exulat.³⁰⁵ Cum autem Deus irascitur, per ingenitae bonitatis affluentiam misericordiae recordatur; recordatur uero³⁰⁶ sine obliuione, qui irascitur sine commotione, magnus Dominus noster, qui sic summa temperat³⁰⁷ ut curam inferiorum non negligat. Huius imaginem aemulari, huius te³⁰⁸ oportebat uestigia totis conatibus³⁰⁹ amplexari, ut calculo, quem forcipe tulerat angelus de altari, purgares uitium labiorum Petri.^b Nec ignorare ius erat te hominem esse, quem et culpae lubricum trahere ad poenam et medicans³¹⁰ gratia reparare posset ad ueniam.

His itaque³¹¹ decursis,³¹² silentium imperat prolixitas orationis. Et quoniam uox lassata³¹³ refrigerii portum iam expetit,³¹⁴ ob recreandum lectoris fastidium³¹⁵ debitus primo³¹⁶ uolumini terminus affigetur, ut ad ea quae promisimus enodanda secundi luctamen laboris officiosius accingatur.^{317c}

^w Aug., *De doctr. christ.* 2.40.61. ^x Jer., *Ep.* 58.10. ^y Cf. Jer., *In Eccles.* 12 (PL 23.1161). ^z Jac 3:2. ^a Abac 3:2. ^b Cf. Is 6:6. ^c He never wrote this book; see below, p. 136.

³⁰² offenderat in uerbo *F.* ³⁰³ quod ... dicens] illud Abaci *F.* ³⁰⁴ homo *om. F.*
³⁰⁵ exulat *in marg. C²; exultat AC.* ³⁰⁶ non *A: non leg. F.* ³⁰⁷ temperat summa *A.*
³⁰⁸ te huius *E.* ³⁰⁹ cognatibus *C.* ³¹⁰ medicus *A.* ³¹¹ ita *AB.* ³¹² decursus
A. ³¹³ laxata *C.* ³¹⁴ expedit *F.* ³¹⁵ ob ... fastidium *om. E.* ³¹⁶ primo *om.*
E. ³¹⁷ ut ... accingatur] ob lectoris fastidium recreandum *E*; Explicit liber primus, licet minus bene dicitur primus quia non sequitur secundus, quod patet ex epistola que sequitur ad episcopum Mimatensem directa *add. B.*

EPISTOLA BERENGARII CONTRA CARTUSIENSES¹

Fratribus² Cartusiae professionem³ iuratis⁴ Berengarius⁵ cum Lazaro, quondam paupere,^{6a} aeternam habere requiem.

Loquar ad dominos meos, cum sim pulvis et cinis.^b Sed ut iumentum factus sum apud uos,^c et tamen homines et iumenta saluabis, Domine.^d Multiplicauit Deus misericordiam suam,^e qui congregauit uos a quattuor uentis caeli^f ut⁷ recumbatis cum Abraham in regno Patris sui. Fidelis ille in tota domo Aegypti^{8g} de uestra uos extraxit Aegypto in manu potenti et brachio excelso,^h ut euomentes ollas carniū clamare possitis⁹ in deserto: *manhu? quid est hoc?*ⁱ Vox haec, uox deserti.¹⁰ Haec uox¹¹ pluuiam admiratur caelestis edulii, quam proferre non sustinet guttur Aegypti.¹² Igitur ne redoleretis alia Pharaonis, accessistis ad hysopum crucis et pro Aegypto gemitu caelesti aliti¹³ desiderio clamatis: 'quid est hoc?' A regione deserti uenit manna ad uiatores¹⁴ deserti, et mire¹⁵ dicitis:¹⁶ 'quid est hoc?' Quid, inquam, est¹⁷ quod famem repellit,¹⁸ quod desiderium satiat et satiendo accendit? Rapuit manus illa inexhaustae clementiae lutum de luto, et in diademate Salomonis, quo coronauit eum mater,^{19j} fecit uos aurum de luto. Sed nescio quo pacto nunc aurum rediit in lutum et in ferri uilitatem aurei saeculi moneta degenerat. Leuastis²⁰ corpora uestra in montes, sed mentes in uallibus remanserunt. Vnde ergo ueniet auxilium uobis?^k Sperabamus quod in cacuminibus montium pennas cuderetis, quae uos ueherent ad dexteram²¹ Patris. Seduxit uos opinio lubrica, et (quod ualde gemimus) alarum nudato²² remigio in plumis corporis grauitas uos²³ pessumdat. Putabamus²⁴ quod Deus esset montium tantum²⁵ Deus; sed et ualles abundabunt frumento.¹ Suscipere debuistis pacem populo montes^{26m} et linguae spicula uibrastis²⁷ non²⁸ in populum sed²⁹ in Deum.³⁰

^a Lc 16:20-24.^b Gen 18:27.^c Ps 72:23.^d Ps 35:7.^e Ps 35:8.^f Mc 13:27.^g Num 12:7.^h Dt 7:19, etc.ⁱ Ex 16:15.^j Cant 3:11.^k Ps 120:1.^l Ps 64:14.^m Ps 71:3.

¹ Contra Cartusienses AC; Epistola Berengarii ad fratres Cartusie de malis eorum iudicium D; no title BF. ² fratribus in D. ³ professione D. ⁴ iuratas A. ⁵ B. ABCF.

⁶ quondam paupere om. F. ⁷ et A. ⁸ Moysen dico add. D. ⁹ positus B; possetis D. ¹⁰ deserti est D. ¹¹ uox hec D. ¹² questio hec in scola heremi mari

transmenso reperta est quam nesciebat populus dum disciplina luti et lateris teneretur add. D ¹³ alti D. ¹⁴ uiates A. ¹⁵ mire C²F: iure ABCD. ¹⁶ quid ... dicitis om. F.

¹⁷ est hoc D. ¹⁸ expellit D. ¹⁹ mater sua D. ²⁰ leuastis enim D.

²¹ dexteram Dei D. ²² nudatos D. ²³ non ABC. ²⁴ putabatis D. ²⁵ montium esset tantum D: montium tantum esset F. ²⁶ montes pacem populo D. ²⁷ uibratis D.

²⁸ non solum D.²⁹ sed et D.³⁰ clerum BDF.

Cultus iustitiae teste propheta est³¹ *silentium*.ⁿ Quam graue³² trutinata in statera³³ Spiritus Sancti³⁴ sententia litium!³⁵ Nam³⁶ stultitia³⁷ et luxuria excidit³⁸ aut deficit,³⁹ ultra prosilit aut citra iacet, nisi freno silentii gubernetur. Huius freni rupistis iuncturas, clauos fregistis et languente auriga uelut⁴⁰ infrenes⁴¹ equi ante sentitis praecipitia⁴² quam brauium acquiratis. Ille quidem dixit: *cultus iustitiae silentium*.⁴³ Vos uero⁴⁴ aliter interpretantes dicitis: 'cultus iustitiae multiloquium'. Quae enim fora, quae praetoria tanto ardent litigio causarum ut montanae Cartusiae claustrum? Ibi non accusator obicit, non aduocatus obiecta detergit, et non de⁴⁵ uestra sententia fasque nefasque uniformiter damnat nec absoluit. Super nubes uolatis aquilae, et penna tandem remissiore⁴⁶ ad uestrum cadauer carpendum rostra⁴⁷ deponitis.⁴⁸ Abstinetis a carnibus⁴⁹ pecudum, et sine sale carnes hominum deuoratis. Aitis enim: 'haec mulier praegnans est, non a⁵⁰ semine sui mariti; illa colit multos amasios; canonici illi ter in die carnibus uentres⁵¹ confundunt; ille ructu pigmenti aera foedat; ille scutellam haurit⁵² usque ad uomitum.' Vacatis⁵³ otio et ideo⁵⁴ talia ructatis.⁵⁵ Vere *cultus iustitiae silentium*. Quod nondum mens finxit,⁵⁶ quod nondum uenit in linguam, apud uos iam constat esse patratum.⁵⁷ Dubietas nostra penes uos est iurata ueritas: *cultus iustitiae silentium*.⁵⁸ O clementes medicos, qui non aegros curationibus⁵⁹ curare sed eorum uulnera suscipere student, ut⁶⁰ cum eis pariter aegrotent! Quid prodest, fratres, exire in eremum et in eremo habere cor Aegyptium? Quid prodest Aegypti ranas uitare^o et obscenis detractionibus concrepare?⁶¹ En qui sub Pharaone languistis, sub manu Moysi exspirastis.⁶² Argumento nobis est fluuius⁶³ linguae uestrae, qui cum⁶⁴ fontem bibatis in secretario cellae uestrae,⁶⁵ detractio in cellis concipitur, in claustris⁶⁶ uomitur.

Non est Cartusia caelum, non est Cartusia paradisos. Adhuc est Cartusia inter flumina Babylonis.^p In caelo fuit⁶⁷ apostata, in paradiso praeuaricator.^q

ⁿ Is 32:17. ^o Ex 8, especially 1-16. ^p Ps 136:1. ^q Cf. R. Anstruther, ed., *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga...* (Brussels, 1846; rpt. New York, 1969), ep. 57: '... Adam in Paradiso praeuaricatus est mandatum Dei' (p. 97).

³¹ om. D. ³² grauius ne D. ³³ in statera om. B. ³⁴ sancti spiritus BF.
³⁵ litium om. D. ³⁶ enim BF. ³⁷ nam stultitia] lasciuit enim iusticia D. ³⁸ excedit D.
³⁹ deficit aut D. ⁴⁰ uelud DF: uelum ABC. ⁴¹ effrenes D: in frenos C.
⁴² precipitium D: precipia F. ⁴³ iustitiae silentium] iustum simul A. ⁴⁴ autem DF: non A.
⁴⁵ non de] tamen D. ⁴⁶ remissiore BC²DF: remissorie AC. ⁴⁷ rostra A.
⁴⁸ uere cultus iustitiae silentium add. D. ⁴⁹ carnalibus ABC. ⁵⁰ a om. D.
⁵¹ uentrem D. ⁵² exhaurit D. ⁵³ uocatis A. ⁵⁴ idcirco BDF. ⁵⁵ ructuatis F.
⁵⁶ sensit BF; quod ... finxit om. AC. ⁵⁷ paratum D. ⁵⁸ iustitiae silentium] iusti similiter AC.
⁵⁹ orationibus D. ⁶⁰ uel AF. ⁶¹ obscenis ... concrep.] in deserto murmuracione perire D.
⁶² exspiratis D. ⁶³ fumus AC. ⁶⁴ qui cum] que D.
⁶⁵ claustris D. ⁶⁶ claustris nam D. ⁶⁷ Babylonis om. A.

Quid facit in Cartusia detractor? Post scoriae⁶⁸ puritatem, post compunctionis lacrimas itur in forum⁶⁹ claustrum, et linguae ostium⁷⁰ non reseratur sed frangitur. Quisquis uero⁷¹ per illud ostium⁷² introierit, non palpatur⁷³ sed caeditur, non curatur sed iudicatur, non reficitur sed mactatur; et,⁷⁴ ut breuiter dicam, sine crimine nullus apud uos.⁷⁵ Cum sederit filius hominis in sede maiestatis suae ut iudicet mundum, ubi, quaeso, tunc sedebitis?^r Nam diem iudicii cotidianis iudiciis praeuenistis. Posuistis uobis tribunal in specula montis ut subiecta quaeque tanto inde liberius iudicetis quanto remotius. Redite, praeuaricatores, ad cor, loquimini ad cor uestrum et aduocate illud ne saltem compleatur malitia eius.^s Proposuistis omnia uestra dare ut margaritam euangelicam compararetis. Ecce dedistis aures, oculos, manus atque pedes. His enim ad salutis fructum utimini, necdum uenditorem decipere margaritae.^t Retinuistis uobis linguam. Reddite Deo linguam et accipite margaritam. Ne sitis exploratores terrae quorum debet deuotio caelum implorare. Non enim magis conuenit uobis omnes diiudicare quam feminis arma gestare. Vnde poeta:

bella uiri pacemque gerant quibus arma gerenda;
femina sed fusum pollice docta rotet.^u

Quis ferat aut satiricos anachoricas aut praelatos silentes? Officium uestrum est flere pro populo, non populum mordere; praestolari in silentio salutare Domini,^v non lingua per orbem uagari; cellicolas esse, non causidicos. Satiricus ingemens pro uobis qui aliorum uulnera non uestra spectatis, 'nemo' inquit 'in se temptat descendere; sed praecedentis spectatur mantica tergo'.^w Haec considerantes, carissimi, linguae uestrae fluxum siccate, quia (lege discernente) uir qui patitur fluxum seminis non est tangendus.^x Coegit lingua uestra linguam meam ut retunderet linguam uestram. Quod si uobis haec epistola placuerit, uera erit illa sapientis sententia: *argue iustum, et amabit te*.^y Si uero mihi succensueritis, e regione audiam: *ne arguas derisorem, ne forte oderit te*.^z

Valete et, si Deum diligitis, linguam Dei gladio amputate.

^r Mt 19:28. ^s Is 40:2. ^t Mt 13:45-46. ^u Virg., *Aen.* 7.444 for the hexameter. The pentameter is apparently Berengar's own composition. ^v Lam 3:26.
^w Persius, *Sat.* 4.23-24. ^x Lev 15:32. ^y Cf. Pr 9:8. ^z *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *theorie D.* ⁶⁹ *forma C.* ⁷⁰ *ostium iam D.* ⁷¹ *non C, canc.* ⁷² *ostium non BCF; reseratur ... ostium om. A.* ⁷³ *paplatur F.* ⁷⁴ *et om. D.* ⁷⁵ *Here ends the extract in ABCF.*

EPISTOLA BERENGARII AD EPISCOPUM MIMATENSEM¹

Patri et domino suo G(uillelmo) Mimatensi² episcopo, pleno dierum, Berengarius renouari ut aquilae iuuentutem suam.^a

In loco barbaro corpus meum a latronibus est liberrimum, sed spiritus meus apud uos in loco sancto periclitatur. Quapropter in totius orbis conspectu uobis baculum meae porrigo defensionis, ut sanctorum dentes mordere non audeant, quem uesci spiraculo uitae permittit truculentia gladiatorum. Sis igitur Vlixes meae causae, ut Circe, quamuis filia solis, ius meum magico murmure non audeat immutare, ut sidus meae conscientiae non possit inuidia denigrare. Minus certe dolerem si fauces lupi biberent meum sanguinem quam si ouium dentibus in frustra minuerer. Corrige igitur, pastor bone, tuas oues ne contra me balent, quia non sum lupo insidians sed canis³ protegens ouem. Fretus tandem uestro fauore sermoni uela leuabo, et inter oblatrantium linguarum Scyllas firmæ rationis remigio nauigabo.⁴

Imponit plurima dira meae personae religiosa manus,⁵ et sacro criminum diademate caput innocentis honorat. Aiunt quod lingua mea inquietum malum est et nimis in udo,^{6aa} quae⁷ aduersus abbatem Claraeuallis librum euomuit. Quippe tantæ sanctitatis uirum esse confirmant ut iam caelo propinquus hominum euaserit opiniones. Qui hoc dicunt, etsi religioso uellere albescent, tamen dum sine serpente cupiunt esse columbae, fatuitate linguam inficiunt.⁸ Nonne abbas homo est? Nonne nobiscum nauigat per hoc mare magnum et spatiosum manibus inter reptilia quorum non est numerus?^b Cuius nauis, etsi prosperiori feratur nauigio, tamen serenitas⁹ maris in dubio est. Nam nec auster adhuc ei fidem dedit, ne ratem eius concutiat; nec boream calcauit ipse sub pedibus, nec euri notique minas euasit; nec ab Aeolo rege uentorum extorsit indutias. Quod uinum potest habitare in pice¹⁰ et saporem eius non mutuare?¹¹ Vnde et Apostolus Paulus uinum suum a consortio picis remoueri optabat et in uas gloriæ transuersari, cum diceret: *infelix ego homo!*¹² *quis me liberabit de corpore mortis huius?*^{13c} Ac si apertius loqueretur:¹⁴ 'uinum Dei sum, et in pice

^a Ps 102:5.^{aa} Persius, *Sat.* 1. 105.^b Ps 103:25.^c Rom 7:24.

¹ Epistola ad episcopum Mimatensem *A*; In quadam epistola Berengarii quam scripsit G. Mimatensi episcopo reprehendet quibusdam ipsum redarguentibus de eo quod detraheret beato Bernardo eius doctrine et uite *E*; no title *BCF*. ² Mimatensis *A*. ³ canis *bis C*.

⁴ *Here begins E, with* Dicit sic; nauigabo remigio *F*. ⁵ dira religiosa manus mee persone *E*. ⁶ in udo *BEF*: inuidia *AC*: inuida *C*². ⁷ quo *C*. ⁸ efficiunt *E*. ⁹ seueritas *A*. ¹⁰ in pice habitare *B*. ¹¹ mutare *C*². ¹² sum *E*. ¹³ de ... huius *om. F*. ¹⁴ aperte diceret *F*.

sum; sed nisi picis sodalitium derelinquam, timeo ne picem sapiam Conditori.' Potest igitur abbas et ut ignis ad alta¹⁵ subuehi et ut terra deorsum cadere. Nondum sol est, nondum fixus est¹⁶ in firmamento; satis est si luna est. Neque aestimet me¹⁷ quisquam ad iniuriam eius stylum per ceram trahere, qui meo iudicio nostrorum temporum est Martinus. Simpliciter et sine uulpe candido pectori nostro loquor. Ego ita sentio de abbate quod sit lucerna ardens et lucens;¹⁸ sed tamen in testa est. Quod dedecus infligitur auro cum laudatur, si eius scoria improbetur? Laudatis abbatem, magis ego laudo. 'Cur igitur inquietius contra eum scribis, de quo tam bene sentis?' Porrigite patulas aures ut¹⁹ ebibant rationem.

Damnauerat Abaelardum praeceptorem meum, uirum fidei bucinam, legis armarium, in uia morum²⁰ pede regio gradientem.^d Damnauerat, inquam,²¹ Abaelardum, et uocem eius sine audientia strangulauerat. Eram ea tempestate adulescens, nondumque impuberes malas nubes lanuginis adumbrabat, eratque mihi uelut scholastico animus inficta crebro materia declamare.²² Porro ueri certaminis arridente uena, pectus appuli ut purgarem Abaelardum abbatibusque confutarem audaciam. 'Sed non' inquiunt 'a te tali talem argui oportebat. Tu enim bestia es, et montem tangere non debes.'^e Parcius ista, fratres. Mementote uos hoc obiicere uiro. In quo audet abbas? Audet in litteris, audeo et ego. Audet in theologicis, audeo et ego. Audet in fide, audeo et ego.²³ Audet in sanctitate, hic²⁴ non audeo ego.^{25f} Quid ergo peccaui, si fidelis fidelem, minor maiorem, saecularis religiosum redargui? Momordi, fateor, non contemplatium, sed philosophum; non confessorem, sed scriptorem; non mentem, sed linguam; non praecordia, sed stylum; non meditationes uiri, sed sonum. Legant eruditi uiri Apologeticum quem edidi, et si dominum abbatem iuste non argui, licenter me redarguant. Quaerite per totam seriem scripturarum ab ortu solis usque ad occasum,^g et uidebitis in campo philosophiae semper licuisse ut alter alterum iustis occasionibus reprehendat. Colotes loquacitate notabilis rodit Platonem principem philosophiae cum diuina uersans fabellas immiscuerit.^h Et certe Colotes ad Platonem mus est ad elephantem. Lucilius Ennium, Horatius Lucilium lacerat.ⁱ Omittam fumos Gentilium et membranulam hanc luminibus Ecclesiae uenustabo: Augustinus et Hieronymus, presbyter et episcopus,

^d Num 21:22. ^e Heb 12:20; Is 35:9. ^f 2 Cor 11:21. ^g Ps 49:1, 112:3.

^h Macr., *In somn. Scip.* 1.1.8-2.5. ⁱ Hor., *Serm.* 1.10.

¹⁵ ad alta BEF; de alto AC.
ardens E. ¹⁹ ut om. C.

¹⁶ est om. F.
²⁰ morum uia AC.

¹⁷ me aestimet F.
²¹ inquam om. F.

¹⁸ lucens et
²² declinare

A. ²³ audet ... ego om. F.

²⁴ hoc BC.

²⁵ audet ... ego om. C.

alterno rostro se carpunt. Fulgentius regem quendam Africae notat haereticum, non ueritus regiam potestatem dum diligit ueritatem.^j Iulianus Augustinum laedit audaciter. 'Ab infectione' inquit 'haeresis²⁶ nulla te purgabit herba fullonis.'^k Solus Ambrosius ab omni suspicionis infamia integer est, quem egregio praeconio coronauit Pelagius, quamuis haereticus, ita dicens: 'Ambrosius Latinorum scriptorum uelut quidam flos enituit, cuius purissimum in Scripturis sensum nec etiam inimicus audet reprehendere.'^l Si igitur abbas aliqua silenda descripsit, quid peccauit in ore meo ueritas, si exstirpanda notauit? Nec enim²⁷ ante faciem²⁸ gladii debet tremere iustitia,²⁹ nec ante potentem ueritas adulationis chlamyde se³⁰ induere. Vnde Seneca Caesarem alloquens: 'Caesar,' inquit 'qui³¹ contra te loqui audent³² magnitudinem tuam ignorant; qui uero³³ non audent, nesciunt te hominem esse.'^m Socrates quoque,³⁴ quem Apollinis oraculum³⁵ sapientissimum esse cecinit,ⁿ capitalis erat auctoritatis, et tamen Aristoteles egregie³⁶ ausus est dicere 'amicus est Socrates, sed magis amica est ueritas.'^o Cum Socrate oportet sollicitum esse, sed magis cum ueritate. Possum et simili uoce uti: 'amicus est Bernardus, sed magis amica est ueritas.'

'Sed cur' inquit 'expleto primo uolumine secundum, ut spoponderas, non texis?' Quia processu temporis meum sapere creuit, et in sententiam abbatis pedibus, ut dicitur, iui. Nolui esse patronus capitulorum obiectorum Abaelardo, quia, etsi sanum saperent, non sane sonabant. 'Postquam igitur' inquit³⁷ 'a secundo libro manus torpuit, quare primum non rasisti?' Fecissem hoc, inquam, nisi cassa³⁸ esset³⁹ industria. Remanent enim uiua exemplaria, quae iam per totam Franciam et Italiam cucurrerunt.⁴⁰ 'Si igitur' inquit 'Apologiam illam iugulare non potes, damna uel uiuam.'⁴¹ Characterem rei fronti eius infige, ut omnis qui legerit sciat te aetate, non malitia, peccasse.' Damnabo, inquam, tali conditione ut, si quid in personam hominis Dei dixi, ioco legatur, non serio.⁴²

'Non refutamus' inquit 'ratiocinia tua; satis caute asellum exoneras. Sed Cartusianos eremitas, genus electum, populum acquisitionis^p quare inquietasti?'

^j Fulgentius, *Ad Trasimundum* (PL 65.223-304).

^k Aug., *Contra Iul.* 6.21 (PL

45.1547-50). ^l Cf. Aug., *Contra Iul.* 1.2 (PL 45.1052), 6.21 (PL 45.1549) and 2.202 (PL 45.1228).

^m Sen., *Exc. controu.* 6.8, but there the speaker is given as Geminus.

ⁿ Val. Max., *Facta et dicta mem.* 4.6, ext. 1.

^o I cannot locate the source of this quotation; the nearest parallel is in Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* 1.6.1 (1096a16-17): 'Both [one's closest personal ties and truth] are dear to us, yet it is our duty to prefer truth.'

^p 1 Petr 2:9.

²⁶ heresis inquit F. ²⁷ autem C. ²⁸ facem A. ²⁹ si ... iustitia om. F.

³⁰ de A. ³¹ quid A. ³² audent loqui A. ³³ uero om. AC. ³⁴ uero C.

³⁵ oraculis A. ³⁶ egregie om. E. ³⁷ inquit om. E. ³⁸ cessa C. ³⁹ essent C.

⁴⁰ percucurrerunt F. ⁴¹ uiua C. ⁴² E ends here.

Quare inuentione perunxisti?⁴³ Cur a cellulis suis abstraxisti?⁴⁴ Hic placide purgationem meam audite. Improperat propheta eis qui congregant merces, et commendant eas sacco pertuso.⁴⁵ Congregabant sancti anachoritae Cartusiani merces iustitiae, sed sacculum pertusum⁴⁶ habebant. Curaui obstruere foramen sacculi, ne farina religionis patentibus rimis exiret. Volui rescare in eis immoderatam licentiam linguae, qua uelut quidam geometrae totum orbem mensurabant.⁴⁷ Cur hic mea pietas crudelitatis arguitur? Cur sedulus sartor dissipator appellatur? 'Hic' inquit 'firmae rationis columnae inniteris. Sed Massiliensem illum monachum cur uulnerasti usque ad animam?' Quia uulnerabat anulum sponsae Christi, et puritati antiquae fidei naufragium minabatur. Introducebat enim praeter Deum alium Creatorem, sicut epistola eius ad me scripta declarat. 'Sed quocumque' inquit 'te persequimur, arma defensionis opponis. Responde per membra uestra quare⁴⁸ linguae tuae toxicum effudisti?'⁴⁹ Quomodo, inquam, factum est uerbum istud? Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem uos, amici mei, quia humilitas tetigit me.^r Vbi laesi uos?⁵⁰ Vbi maiestatem uestram sauciaui?

'Tunc' inquit 'nos percussisti quando dixisti:⁵¹ "apud religiosos patella psalmus est, et pinguis refectio⁵² alleluia". Fratres, indulgete; nihil laesi uos. In incerto locutus sum; indeterminate garriui. Nullum specialiter flagellauimus.^s Vt Apollo cassum⁵³ oraculum emisi, quasi aerem uerberans. Sed, ut⁵⁴ uideo, quidquid dicam aut erit aut non. Cur alienam uobis sarcinam imposuistis? Cur iaculo non ad uos destinato munditiam uestram exulcerastis? Dixi: 'apud religiosos patella psalmus est, et pinguis⁵⁵ refectio alleluia.' Quid ad uos? Et Magalonenses religiosi sunt, et canonici beati Rufi religiosi.^t Apollo caelum contorsit in aera, et uos ne cadat incassum spontaneos uulneri uos offertis. Quis unquam uidit os aperire ut sagittam reciperet? Ego quidem, fratres, alias arcum intenderem, sed uos ferrum uolatile retinuistis. Renui, ferire⁵⁶ nolebam; sed uos caritate commoti uulnera eius in uestram⁵⁷ trahitis sanitatem. Credite mihi, non adeo fui plenus agaue⁵⁸ ut in uos emitterem filiam⁵⁹ pharetrae meae. Ergo

^q Ag 1:6. ^r Job 19:21. ^s Cf. Jer., Ep. 52.17. ^t The canons of the collegiate church of Saint-Ruf, Valence.

⁴³ punxisti BCF. ⁴⁴ abstraxisti A. ⁴⁵ percusso A. ⁴⁶ percussum A.
⁴⁷ mensurabunt B. ⁴⁸ quam A. ⁴⁹ quare ... effudisti] toxicum quasi linguae effudisti F.
⁵⁰ uos lesi F. ⁵¹ duxisti B; Hoc inuenitur (figurat A) in prologo cuiusdam tractatus quem fecit de incarnatione Christi ad Benedictum canonicum in marg. AB. ⁵² refectio est F.
⁵³ casum B. ⁵⁴ ut om. C. ⁵⁵ pignis B. ⁵⁶ ferre A. ⁵⁷ uestrarum C².
⁵⁸ agaue (id est furore s.s. B) ABF: angarie id est furore C, sed canc. id est furore.
⁵⁹ pila in ras. C.

ignoscite innocenti.⁶⁰ 'Est⁶¹ aliud' inquiunt: 'cur Cyclopos⁶² conduximus⁶³ ut fulmina fabricent in caput tuum?' Quid, quaeso? 'Tunc' inquiunt 'dixisti: "episcopus uester non Mimatensium sed mimorum est episcopus".' Libet exclamare cum Ieremia propheta: *uae tibi, mater mea, quare genuisti me uirum rixae et doloris in uniuersa terra?*^u Vbi et quando, quaeso, talia eructauisti? Tunc forsitan quando extra mundum nundinas celebraui,⁶⁴ tales blasphemias uestro episcopo imprimebam. Nam uere fateor, in nullo clero⁶⁵ talia delatraui. 'Aliud est' inquiunt: 'cur te nostro inebriemus aceto?' Quid illud? 'De nobis' inquiunt 'dixisti:⁶⁶ "senatus uester uulgius est".' Terretis me, fratres, nouitatibus uestris, et contra portenta quae fingitis frontem cruce signabo: in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Quid est quod dicitis?

Vltra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glaciale
Oceanum.^v

Vera est utique prophetia illa: 'fictio ueritatem in exilium⁶⁷ mittet'.^w Hoc, fratres, fingere potuistis? Sed ut maiori auctoritate in aures publicas prodeant, me talium facitis inuentorem. Iurem me non⁶⁸ dixisse?⁶⁹ Sed quasi⁷⁰ mons pariat murem,^x ridebitis.^y Recognoscam? Sed uirtutem crucis statim sentiam experimento. Quid igitur faciam? Veniam rogo innocens, et, si magis placet, ueniam postulo reus. Ad cumulum autem satisfactionis sextarium mei sanguinis⁷¹ offero uobis. Parcite igitur, fratres, parcite, et criminatione nostrae personulae ora uestra nolite foedare.⁷² Lingua enim mea⁷³ uestris laudibus militat, et ecclesiae uestrae pius sum praedicator ubique. Hanc humilitatem absens uobis praesenti pagina mitto, quam praesens uiua⁷⁴ uoce,⁷⁵ si uita comes fuerit, exhibebo.⁷⁶

University of Tasmania.

^u Jer 15:10. ^v Juv., *Sat.* 2.1-2. ^w *Non inueni.* ^x Hor., *Ars* 139. ^y Cf. Jer., *Ep.* 84.4: 'Quid igitur faciam? Negem me eiusdem dogmatis esse? Non credent. Iurem? Ridebunt...'

⁶⁰ ingnoscenti C. ⁶¹ et A. ⁶² Ciclopos B. ⁶³ conduxisti in ras. C.
⁶⁴ celebrabam F. ⁶⁵ deo A, deō C. ⁶⁶ dixisti om. C. ⁶⁷ exilio F. ⁶⁸ me
non CF: meum A: me B. ⁶⁹ dixisse non B. ⁷⁰ sed quasij si C. ⁷¹ sang. mei
sext. F. ⁷² fedare B²C²: federe BC: fedare A. ⁷³ mea om. A. ⁷⁴ una A:
uiuia (?) F. ⁷⁵ et add. AC, canc. C. ⁷⁶ exhibebo B²CF: exhibedo B: exhibeo A.

UN APOCRYPHE DE SÉNÈQUE MAL CONNU: LE *DE VERBORVM COPIA*

Jeannine Fohlen

Il est devenu banal de souligner que l'étude des florilèges est un élément indispensable dans les recherches sur la tradition manuscrite d'une œuvre donnée. En ce qui concerne les *Epistulae ad Lucilium* de Sénèque, notre attention a été attirée par la position toute privilégiée que l'un de ces florilèges occupe dans l'apocryphe intitulé *De uerborum copia*; cette appellation est tirée, comme la remarque en a été généralement faite, de la lettre 9 prétendument écrite par Sénèque à saint Paul ('Misi tibi librum de uerborum copia'), mais l'œuvre recouverte par ce titre a mis longtemps à se dégager de l'obscurité.¹

Le *De uerborum copia* était certes connu au Moyen Âge, mais très inégalement: au XIII^e siècle, il ne figure pas au nombre des œuvres de Sénèque citées par Vincent de Beauvais,² mais Richard de Fournival y fait allusion dans la *Biblionomia*;³ en 1302, par contre, Thomas d'Irlande l'inclut dans la liste des auteurs publiée en annexe au *Manipulus florum*: '*De copia uerborum siue de IIIor uirtutibus, principium: "Quatuor uirtutes", finis "que per negligenciam*

¹ Le présent travail, dont le point de départ a été le dépouillement aussi complet que possible des fichiers de l'I.R.H.T. (section latine et section de codicologie) et des catalogues de manuscrits, doit beaucoup aux encouragements de mes collègues et à l'amabilité des bibliothécaires qui m'ont fait parvenir, outre de nombreux renseignements, les microfilms ou photographies nécessaires: je voudrais tout particulièrement remercier B. C. Barker-Benfield (The Bodleian Library, Oxford), B. R. Crystal (Columbia University, Butler Library, New York), M. Kouřil (Státní archiv, Olomouc), M^{me} Maria Mairold (Universitätsbibliothek, Graz), M^{me} G. Piket (Koninklijke Bibliotheek, La Haye), le P. B. Schneider (Stift Zwettl), P. F. J. Obbema et J. van Groningen (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leyde). Je suis très reconnaissante envers les Bollandistes de Bruxelles, qui ont généreusement envoyé en prêt à l'I.R.H.T. le manuscrit 671 de leur bibliothèque, envers le P. B.-G. Guyot (Editori di San Tommaso, Grottaferrata-Rome) et le professeur P.-P. Corsetti (Université de Tunis) pour de précieux conseils, et surtout envers M. Pierre Petitmengin, bibliothécaire de l'École Normale Supérieure (Paris), dont les suggestions et critiques amicales ont grandement aidé l'élaboration et la rédaction de cet essai.

² Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* 8.102-106 (Douai, 1624), pp. 309-20.

³ Le manuscrit de Richard de Fournival, contenant la recension mixte, est aujourd'hui le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6631 (cf. plus loin p. 158 n. 69).

fit''';⁴ Walter Burley en fait peut-être mention dans le *De uita et moribus philosophorum*, si l'on considère que la référence *Ad Paulum uero de quatuor uirtutibus libr. unum*, donnée par certains manuscrits, pourrait renvoyer à la recension mixte;⁵ vers 1378, Henry de Kirkstede, qui s'inspire largement de Thomas d'Irlande, lui fait une place dans le *Catalogus de libris autenticis et apocrifis*, mais sans donner comme il le fait souvent pour d'autres textes d'*incipit*, d'*explicit* ou de référence à un manuscrit connu: *De copia uerborum ad Paulum lib. 1*;⁶ en 1433, dans le *De illustribus scriptoribus linguae latinae*, Sico Polenton y voit un traité destiné à parfaire la latinité de l'apôtre.⁷

La mention du *De uerborum copia* se rencontre aussi dans les listes d'œuvres que les possesseurs de certains manuscrits écrivaient sur les feuillets de garde ou sur les feuillets blancs de leurs volumes: le juriste Jean Bayle, au xv^e siècle, a noté sur son exemplaire des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, et probablement d'après un manuscrit qu'il avait sous les yeux car il indique le nombre de feuillets utilisés pour chaque texte, les traités de Sénèque: '*De copia uerborum*, occupat cartas 8';⁸ dans plusieurs manuscrits, on trouve la table des œuvres de Sénèque ne

⁴ Cité d'après le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 15785, xiv^e s., f. 213v. Il s'agit de la recension mixte (cf. plus loin pp. 155-58). Sur cette annexe souvent copiée à part, cf. R. H. Rouse, 'The List of the Authorities Appended to the "Manipulus Florum"', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge* 32 (1965) 243-50, qui identifie le manuscrit de Sénèque utilisé par Thomas d'Irlande avec le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 15730. Le passage relevant les œuvres de Sénèque, moins les *incipit* et les *explicit*, a été copié au xv^e s. sur la feuille de garde d'un volume du xiii^e s. contenant les *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11376, f. 1).

⁵ Éd. H. Knust, *Gualteri Burlaei Liber de uita et moribus philosophorum* (Tübingen, 1886), p. 360 n. 5.

⁶ Éd. R. H. Rouse, *Catalogus de libris autenticis et apocrifis* (Diss. Cornell, 1963), p. 252, n° 17. Le *Catalogus* fait bien la distinction entre le *De copia uerborum* et le *De quatuor uirtutibus* (n° 18).

⁷ 'Ad Paulum nanque apostolum, cuius amicitia et familiaritate in statu etiam maxime uteretur, de Copia Verborum librum I scripsit, quod dignitati rerum quas Galathis, Corinthiis et Achaicis scriberet uerborum cultum deesse putaret' (éd. B. L. Ullman, *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri XVIII* [Rome, 1928], p. 495); peut-être à cause de cette phrase dans la lettre 7 à saint Paul: 'Vellem itaque, cum res eximias proferas, ut maiestati earum cultus sermonis non desit' (éd. C. W. Barlow, *Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum et Pauli ad Senecam <quae uocantur>* [Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome 10; Rome, 1938], p. 129). En fait l'expression *uerborum copia* n'appartient pas au langage de la philosophie ou de la morale, mais à celui de la rhétorique; on la rencontre cinq fois au moins chez Quintilien, *Institutio oratoria*, dont le livre 10.1 est précisément intitulé *De copia uerborum*, et seize fois au moins chez Cicéron, notamment dans le *Brutus* et le *De oratore*; on ne la rencontre jamais chez Sénèque, où l'on compte seulement trente-cinq utilisations du mot *copia*, accompagné une fois sur deux d'un complément, tantôt concret, tantôt abstrait.

⁸ Jean Bayle, conseiller au Parlement du Dauphiné en 1445; cf. G. Gaillard, *Dictionnaire historique du Dauphiné* dans H. Gariel, *Bibliothèque historique et littéraire du Dauphiné* 2 (Grenoble, 1864), col. 106. Cette liste est copiée dans le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11376, f. 1, sous la liste indiquée plus haut (cf. n. 4). Jean Bayle possédait aussi le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 10196 (xv^e s.), qui contient aux ff. 171-199 le florilège *Turpissima... Maxima...*, sous le titre *De copia uerborum* (cf. plus loin pp. 168-69).

figurant pas dans le volume concerné et la mention du *De uerborum copia* s'y relève parfois, comme dans les MSS. Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. 76.38, Vatican, Pal. lat. 1541 et Ross. 559.⁹

Au xvi^e siècle, Érasme et Lefèvre d'Étaples reprennent l'opinion de Sicco Polenton: ils n'avaient apparemment pas eu de manuscrits en main car Érasme inclut le *De uerborum copia* dans la liste des ouvrages perdus de Sénèque.¹⁰ Au xvii^e siècle, Tomasini recense une œuvre de ce nom dans un manuscrit de Padoue, ce qui lui vaudra, à titre posthume, les sarcasmes de N. Antonio.¹¹ Au xviii^e siècle, Fabricius, en éditant les *Epistulae ad Paulum*, se range à l'avis d'Antonio tout en faisant observer que le même titre figure dans le catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés par Marquart Gude.¹²

Au milieu du xix^e siècle, F. Haase a publié conjointement les œuvres authentiques de Sénèque et les textes apocryphes, notamment la *Formula uitae honestae* de Martin de Braga, si souvent attribuée au philosophe pendant tout le Moyen Âge; les motifs sont obscurs qui l'ont amené à donner un triple titre à cet opuscule (*De quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus, De formula honestae uitae, De copia uerborum*) puisque, grâce à un manuscrit de Bamberg portant le dernier libellé, il a été le premier à discerner la véritable identité du *De uerborum copia*, c'est-à-dire un remaniement de la *Formula uitae honestae* (inc. 'Quisquis prudentiam sequi desideras...') suivi d'un florilège des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (inc. 'Primum argumentum compositae mentis...'); n'ayant pu examiner d'autres manuscrits, il a malheureusement borné là sa démonstration.¹³ Peu

⁹ Pour le manuscrit de Florence, cf. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae* 3 (Florence, 1776), col. 110; pour le manuscrit palatin, cf. B. L. Hijmans, jr., 'Two Seneca Manuscripts and a Commentary', *Mnemosyne* 21 (1968) 241 n. 2; voici la note du manuscrit Rossi: 'Deficiunt De copia uerborum, Tragedie, Satira siue ludus eiusdem, contra superstitiones Iudeorum'.

¹⁰ D. Érasme, *L. Annaei Senecae opera...* (Bâle, 1529), p. 679; J. Lefèvre d'Étaples, *Epistolae diui Pauli apostoli...* (Paris, 1531), fol. clxxviii. Notons au passage qu'Érasme a publié en 1514 à Strasbourg un traité intitulé *De duplici copia uerborum et rerum commentarii duo*, qui a fait l'objet de nombreuses rééditions et réimpressions pendant tout le xvi^e s., aussi bien à Anvers, Amsterdam, La Haye et Paris, qu'à Lyon, Leipzig, Londres et Cologne. Érasme a, en outre, publié les œuvres de Sénèque à Bâle en 1529.

¹¹ J. P. Tomasini, *Bibliotheca Patavinae manuscriptae publicae et privatae...* (Udine, 1639), p. 58; N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus* (Rome, 1696), p. 31. Le manuscrit concerné, Padoue, Bibl. Anton. I 9 (xiv^e s.), contient le florilège *Turpissima... Maxima...*, sous le titre *De copia uerborum* (cf. plus loin p. 168).

¹² J. A. Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, 2^e édition, 2 (Hambourg, 1719), p. 8999. Le manuscrit cité, aujourd'hui Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. Gud. lat. 4^o 280 (4585) (xv^e s.), contient la *Formula uitae honestae* sous le double titre *De copia uerborum, De quatuor uirtutibus* (cf. plus loin p. 165).

¹³ F. Haase, *L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt, Supplementum* (Leipzig, 1902), pp. ix-x (reprenant la préface de 1852). Il s'agit du MS. Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 19 (M.IV.4) (xiv^e s.), qui contient la recension régulière (cf. plus loin pp. 145-46).

après Haase, et vraisemblablement sans connaître ses positions, A. Fleury est arrivé à des conclusions beaucoup moins nettes: le *De copia uerborum*, repéré dans six manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, comprend la *Formula* de Martin de Braga, suivie d'un recueil de sentences identifiées soit avec le *Liber de moribus*, soit, sans plus de précision, avec des *Prouerbia*, d'où le titre *De copia uerborum* qui serait une erreur pour *De copia prouerbiorum*.¹⁴ L'examen de deux manuscrits conservés en Allemagne a permis à G. Schepss de reprendre la thèse de Haase en la complétant sur un point important: l'insertion du par. 9 de la *Formula* remaniée entre les par. 5 et 6.¹⁵ La démonstration de B. Hauréau, qui semble ignorer totalement les travaux de ses prédécesseurs, témoigne d'une démarche très singulière et ne correspond à aucune réalité scientifique bien qu'elle s'appuie sur trois manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale: le faussaire des *Epistulae ad Paulum* aurait fabriqué aussi un *De copia uerborum*, dont par souci de vraisemblance il aurait emprunté une partie aux *Epistulae ad Lucilium*; un deuxième faussaire aurait utilisé seulement les premiers chapitres (ceux qui correspondent à l'authentique *Formula*) en les remaniant et en ajoutant une préface; Martin de Braga aurait enfin mis sous son nom la nouvelle œuvre ainsi forgée.¹⁶

Les thèses de Haase et de Schepss ont prévalu néanmoins par la suite,¹⁷ mais la connaissance des manuscrits est restée stationnaire jusqu'à C. W. Barlow qui, utilisant deux des témoins les plus anciens, a développé et confirmé l'analyse des érudits allemands.¹⁸ Récemment, cependant, le père G. G. Meersseman,

¹⁴ A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque: recherches sur les rapports du philosophe avec l'apôtre et sur l'infiltration du christianisme naissant à travers le paganisme* 2 (Paris, 1853), pp. 267-75. Les manuscrits cités sont les suivants: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 1936 (xiv^e s.), lat. 6389 (xiii^e s.) et lat. 6630 (xiii^e s.), avec la recension régulière; lat. 6707 (xv^e s.), avec des extraits de la recension régulière; lat. 8545 (xiv^e s.), avec la recension mixte; lat. 8544 (xiv^e s.), avec la recension bâtarde C (cf. plus loin pp. 150, 151-52, 158, 160).

¹⁵ G. Schepss, *Sechs Mailinger Handschriften* (Dinkelsbühl, 1879), pp. 15-18. Les manuscrits étudiés, Harburg, Fürstl. Bibl. II 1 fol. 143 (xv^e s.) et Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 3523 (xiii^e s.), contiennent tous deux la recension régulière (cf. plus loin p. 148).

¹⁶ B. Hauréau, 'Notice sur le numéro 13468 des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Notices et extraits des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 33.1 (1890) 208-15. Outre ce manuscrit du xiii^e s. qui contient la recension régulière, Hauréau a brièvement indiqué les MSS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295 (xii^e s.), qui contient la recension régulière, et lat. 6766 A (xvi^e s.), qui contient le florilège *Primum argumentum* sous le titre *De copia uerborum* (cf. plus loin pp. 152-53, 166).

¹⁷ E. Bickel, 'Die Schrift des Martinus von Bracara Formula uitae honestae', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 60 (1905) 505-506 et 512-13; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* I (Munich, 1911), p. 111; L. Vouaux, *Les actes de Paul et ses lettres apocryphes* (Paris, 1913), pp. 340-41; M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 2 (Munich, 1936), pp. 718-19.

¹⁸ C. W. Barlow, *Epistolae Senecae*, p. 144 n. 1 et surtout *Martini episcopi Bracaraensis opera omnia* (New Haven, 1950), pp. 208-10; les manuscrits étudiés, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295 et

dans une remarquable étude sur les apocryphes de Sénèque, a proposé une autre solution, fondée sur l'examen de huit manuscrits: seule la deuxième partie de la compilation, c'est-à-dire le florilège *Primum argumentum*, mérite légitimement le nom de *De copia uerborum*, puisque dans certains exemplaires les deux parties ont chacune un titre particulier et que dans d'autres la première partie, ou *Formula* remaniée, est seule ou suivie d'un florilège différent.¹⁹

En résumé, et sans tenir compte des simples allusions de Tomasini et Fabricius, dix-huit manuscrits seulement ont été plus ou moins attentivement étudiés – les chercheurs allemands et américain s'étant montrés plus perspicaces que les autres – pour essayer de définir la nature du *De uerborum copia*. C'est peu; grâce en effet aux catalogues et fichiers de bibliothèques, nous avons pu réunir une centaine de témoins, allant du XI^e au XVI^e siècles et qui nous ont permis de débrouiller l'histoire d'un texte jusqu'ici très mal connu, faute d'un contact direct avec les manuscrits.²⁰

I

CLASSEMENT ET ANALYSE DES TÉMOINS

Pour dénombrer et classer les manuscrits du *De uerborum copia*, nous avons relevé d'une part ceux qui offraient ce titre, de l'autre ceux qui présentaient les *incipit* caractérisés par Haase et Barlow; la centaine de manuscrits ainsi rassemblés se répartit comme suit.

(1) Recension régulière

Cette recension comprend une *Formula uitae honestae* remaniée suivie sans séparation du florilège *Primum argumentum*. Les différences que présente cette version remaniée de la *Formula* par rapport à la version intégrale sont de deux sortes: la succession des paragraphes d'abord, la longueur du texte retenu

Vatican, Vat. lat. 4918, tous deux du XII^e s., contiennent la recension régulière (cf. plus loin pp. 152 et 154).

¹⁹ G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro di spiritualità nei suoi opuscoli apocrifi dal XII al XV secolo', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973), notamment 92-114. L'auteur utilise les MSS. Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 19 (M.IV.4) (XIV^e s.), Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.1134 (XIII^e s.), Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231) (XIV^e s.), Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295 (XII^e s.), Trèves, Bibl. des Priesterseminars R.II.11 (44) (XV^e s.) et Vatican, Vat. lat. 4918 (XII^e s.), contenant tous la recension régulière, sauf le manuscrit de Trèves qui renferme le florilège *Primum argumentum* sous le titre *De copia uerborum* (cf. plus loin, pp. 145-46, 148, 152, 166-67, 154); il cite en outre les MSS. Vatican, Reg. lat. 291 (XI^e s.), contenant la *Formula* remaniée suivie du florilège *Omnium cum amico*, et Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.1047 (XIII^e s.), contenant la *Formula* remaniée (cf. plus loin pp. 162 et 163).

²⁰ Cf. plus loin Annexe III: *Index des manuscrits recensés*.

ensuite. Le tableau ci-dessous met en parallèle à la fois l'ordre des paragraphes et les *incipit* ou *explicit*:

<i>Formula</i> intégrale	<i>Formula</i> remaniée
1 Non ignoro clementissime rex... .	(néant)
1a Quatuor uirtutum species... .	(néant)
2 Quisquis ergo prudentiam... ... eundum sit uel quousque.	1 Quisquis ergo prudentiam... ... qualibet placeas cogita.
3 Magnanimitas uero quae est... ... uitae conscientia mala.	2 même <i>incipit</i> même <i>explicit</i> .
4 Continentiam uero si diligis... ... tibi postula impertiri.	3 Si diligis continentiam... ... même <i>explicit</i> .
5 Iustitia post haec uirtus est... ... quietus extrema securus.	4 Iustitia est tacita naturae... ... même <i>explicit</i> .
6 His ergo institutionibus... ... aliquid nec uersutum.	5 Iustitia eo mediocritatis... ... humanae amabilitatis amittat.
7 Magnanimitas autem si se... ... esse hominem nec audacem.	6 Prudentia immoderata... ... même <i>explicit</i> .
8 Continentia deinde his terminis... ... sordidus aut obscurus existas.	7 Magnanimitas si se supra... ... même <i>explicit</i> .
9 Iustitia postremo eo mediocritate... ... humanae amabilitatis amittat.	8 Temperantia modus est... ... même <i>explicit</i> .
10 Si quis ergo uitam suam... .	(néant)

La version remaniée a laissé complètement de côté non seulement le par. 1, ce qui est compréhensible puisque dans les manuscrits où elle est attribuée à Sénèque (et c'était vraisemblablement le cas pour le modèle du *De uerborum copia*), la *Formula* ne contient jamais la lettre de dédicace au roi Miron, mais aussi les par. 1a et 10; les paragraphes sur la *Prudentia*, la *Magnanimitas*, la *Continentia* et la *Iustitia* sont dans l'ordre habituel (par. 2-5 de la *Formula* intégrale, par. 1-4 de la *Formula* remaniée); le paragraphe sur l'excès dans la *Iustitia* vient ensuite (par. 9 de la *Formula* intégrale, par. 5 de la *Formula* remaniée); le texte se termine par les paragraphes condamnant les excès dans la *Prudentia*, la *Magnanimitas* et la *Continentia* (par. 6-8 de la *Formula* intégrale comme de la *Formula* remaniée). L'omission des par. 1, 1a et 10 ainsi que l'insertion du par. 9 entre les par. 5 et 6 sont les deux critères externes qui permettent de reconnaître facilement la recension régulière, car les *incipit* et *explicit* de la *Formula* remaniée sont radicalement différents du texte complet:

	<i>Formula</i> intégrale	<i>Formula</i> remaniée
<i>incipit</i> :	Quatuor uirtutum species...	Quisquis ergo prudentiam...
<i>explicit</i> :	... contemnat ignauiam.	... aut obscurus existas.

En ce qui concerne le texte retenu, même avec un *incipit* et un *explicit* identiques, les divers paragraphes sont plus courts: le par. 2 est réduit de moitié environ, le par. 3 est réduit d'un quart, les par. 4, 5 et 7 d'un tiers, le par. 6 ne compte plus qu'une seule phrase, le par. 8 a conservé uniquement la moitié de la dernière phrase; seul le par. 9 n'a subi aucun changement.

Le florilège *Primum argumentum* utilise, dans le désordre et très inégalement, les *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 1-37, 39-46, 47 et 52, et avec une certaine prédilection pour les ep. 5, 11, 13, 18, 22, 28 et 47. Le père G. G. Meersseman a justement observé que les sentences extraites des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* n'étaient pas classées systématiquement selon les quatre vertus,²¹ mais nous pouvons ajouter que le compilateur avait fort bien senti les rapports entre la doctrine de Sénèque et la *Formula*, car certains passages choisis dans les *Epistulae* semblent faire écho aux préceptes de la *Formula*.²²

La recension régulière est contenue dans quarante-deux manuscrits:

BAMBERG, Staatsbibl. Class. 19 (M.IV.4), xiv^e s., ff. 27-31v²³

titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Senece de uerborum copia'.

²¹ G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 100.

²² Dans les exemples ci-dessous, aussi bien que dans la suite du texte et des notes, les références entre crochets carrés renvoient, pour la *Formula uitae honestae*, à C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi*, pp. 236-50 et, pour les *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, à L. D. Reynolds, *L. Annaei Senecae ad Lucilium epistulae morales* 1 (Oxford, 1965); les autres références renvoient à notre édition du *De uerborum copia* (cf. plus loin pp. 192-205). – 'Quia non omne quod uerisimile statim et uerum est' [*Formula* 2.14-15] et 'Vera enim modum suum habent. Verisimile est aliquid futurum mali: non statim uerum est' [*Epistulae ad Lucilium* 13.9-10] = *De uerborum copia* 1.12-13 et 16.37-38 – 'Prudens fallere non uult, falli non poterit' [*Form.* 2.26-27] et 'Nam quidam fallere docuerunt dum falli timent' [*Ep.* 3.3] = *De uerb. copia* 1.16 et 11.3-4 – 'Non semper in actu sis, sed interdum animo tuo requiem dato... Animum aliquando remissum habet, nunquam solutum' [*Form.* 2.41-45] et 'Dandum est animo aliquod interuallum, non ut resoluatur, sed ut remittatur' [*Ep.* 15.6] = *De uerb. copia* 1.25-28 et 15.13-14 – 'Cum magna fiducia uiues liber, intrepidus, alacer' [*Form.* 3.2] et 'Animus debet esse alacer et fidens et super omnia erectus' [*Ep.* 23.3] = *De uerb. copia* 2.1-2 et 19.36-37 – 'Si continens fueris, eo usque peruenies ut te ipso contentus sis. Qui sibi ipse satis est cum diuitiis natus est' [*Form.* 4.3-5] et 'Multum proficit qui sibi amicus est; nunquam erit solus... Ita sapiens se contentus est ut non uelit esse sine amico sed ut possit' [*Ep.* 6.7 et 5] = *De uerb. copia* 3.3-4 et 13.24-26 – 'Desideria tua paruo redime, quia hoc tantum curare debes, ut desinant' [*Form.* 4.11-12] et 'Redige te ad parua ex quibus cadere non possis' [*Ep.* 20.8] = *De uerb. copia* 3.9-10 et 10.28-29 – 'Vox sine clamore, incessus sine tumultu' [*Form.* 4.33-34] et 'Sicut sapienti uiro incessus modestior conuenit, ita oratio pressa, non audax' [*Ep.* 40.14] = *De uerb. copia* 3.20-21 et 20.18-19 – 'Nam nichil differt, si nemo uideat, cum ipse illos uideas' [*Form.* 4.53-54] et 'Si honesta sunt que facis, omnes sciant; si turpia, quid refert neminem scire cum tu scias' [*Ep.* 43.5] = *De uerb. copia* 3.34-35 et 20.31-32 – 'Cursus tui finem expectans prospicies tristitia huius mundi hilaris, tumultuosa quietus, extrema securus' [*Form.* 5.24-26] et 'Deinde expectare securum reliquam temporis sui partem' [*Ep.* 32.3] = *De uerb. copia* 4.13-14 et 19.77-78.

²³ F. Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg* 1/2.1 (Bamberg, 1895), pp. 19-23; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 48, 93 et 100-101.

- à la fin: 'Explicit de uerborum copia'.
 origine: allemande, écriture gothique régulière.
 possesseur: bibliothèque cathédrale de Bamberg (cote ancienne: J.1).
 BAMBERG, Staatsbibl. Patr. 77 (M.II.6), xv^e s., ff. 148v-155²⁴
 titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Senece de uerborum copia'.
 origine: allemande, écriture cursive; les ff. 109-215 sont une copie du manuscrit précédent.
 possesseur: abbaye de Michelsberg (dioc. de Bamberg).
 BRUXELLES, Bibl. des Bollandistes 671, xii^e s., ff. 43-65²⁵
 titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Annei Senece de uerborum copia'.
 au f. 48, après les mots 'obscurus existas', titre rubriqué ajouté: 'Finit. Incipiunt ex epistolis Senece'.
 origine: française, écriture régulière.
 possesseur: abbaye Saint-Pierre d'Orval (dioc. de Trèves).
 BRUXELLES, Bibl. Roy. II.1134, xiii^e s., ff. 135-144v²⁶
 titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum quem misit Paulo apostolo'.
 origine: belge, écriture régulière; le manuscrit a probablement été copié à l'abbaye d'Aulne (cf. possesseurs).
 possesseurs: abbaye d'Aulne (dioc. de Tournai), dont les ex-libris figurent une fois au f. 3: 'Liber Sancte Marie de Alna' et deux fois au f. 152: 'Liber Sancte Marie de Alna' (xiii^e s.); Sir Thomas Phillipps (cote ancienne: 4715).
 CAMBRIDGE, Peterhouse I.9.8 (194), xv^e s., ff. 6v-10²⁷
 (prol.) titre: 'Incipit prologus libri de uerborum copia'.
 (prol.) *inc.*: 'Nisi illud quod a Seneca...'.
 (prol.) *expl.*: '... stultitie declinare naufragium' (cf. aussi Escorial, Real Bibl. S.II.3 et Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231) – éd. G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 93-94 d'après le seul MS. Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231); rééd. cf. plus loin p. 184 n. 152).
 (texte) titre: 'Incipit liber Annei Lucii Senece de uerborum copia'.
 origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.
 possesseurs: aucune indication.
 CAMBRIDGE, Trinity Coll. 0.3.31 (1203), xiii^e s., ff. 38-42²⁸
 titre (addition): 'Seneca de IIII uirtutibus'.
 à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

²⁴ *ibid.* 1/1.3 (Bamberg, 1903), pp. 447-49.

²⁵ E. Van Balberghe et G. Zelis, 'Medieval Libraries of Belgium. A List of Surviving Manuscripts', *Scriptorium* 27 (1973) 103.

²⁶ J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* 2 (Bruxelles, 1902), pp. 28-29, n° 940; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 48 et 100.

²⁷ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 226-28.

²⁸ *idem*, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* 3 (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 215-16.

origine: française, petite écriture régulière.

possesseur: Roger Gale (1672-1744).

CESENA, Bibl. Malatest. S XX 1, xiv^e s., ff. 173-175v²⁹

titre: 'Lucii Annei Senece de copia uerborum ad Paulum liber incipit'.

à la fin: 'Explicit de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

CRACOVIE, Bibl. Jagiellońska 536, xv^e s., ff. 198-209³⁰

titre: 'Incipit liber Annei Senece Lucii de copia uerborum'.

au f. 205 l. 2, l'*explicit* normal est suivi d'un florilège: 'Si inuenimus qui bonos uiros dicat...' [*Epistulae ad Lucilium* 59.11] – '... Vbi decrescit amor decrescit amantis obsequium. Explicit liber Annei Lucii Senece de copia uerborum' (cf. aussi Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8542).

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: on lit sur un des feuillets de garde: 'Istum librum Iohannis de Lathosin ... Vniuersitate et pro studio Cracouiensi et quiscunque contrauerit aut contradixit anathema sit etc. Datum pro collegio maiori theologorum una cum libris ... receptum a doctore Michaelae Olsnensi... '.

ESCORIAL, Real Bibl. S.II.3, xiv^e s., ff. 121-126³¹

prologue, cf. supra Cambridge, Peterhouse I.9.8 (194).

titre: 'Incipit liber Annei Lutii Senece de uerborum copia ad beatum Paulum apostolum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Annei Lutii Senece de uerborum copia ad beatum Paulum apostolum'.

origine: italienne, écriture gothique; nombreuses annotations d'une main anglaise.

possesseur: Antonio Agustín, archevêque de Tarragone (†1586), qui a rapporté le manuscrit d'Angleterre.³²

²⁹ J. M. Muccioli, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Malatestianae Caesenatis Bibliothecae* 2 (Cesena, 1784), pp. 130-33; E. Pellegrin, 'Notes sur un commentaire médiéval des *Sententiae* de Publilius Syrus', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 6 (1976) 307-308.

³⁰ W. Wisłocki, *Katalog Rękopisów biblioteki Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 1 (Cracovie, 1877), pp. 166-67.

³¹ G. Antolín, *Catálogo de los códices latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial* 4 (Madrid, 1914), pp. 34-35.

³² En publiant le catalogue des manuscrits rassemblés par A. Agustín et rédigé en 1586, G. Antolín n'a pas toujours donné les identifications avec les cotes actuelles. Le MS. Escorial, Real Bibl. S.II.3 est aujourd'hui formé de deux parties: la première, dont il s'agit ici, correspond au n° 458 du catalogue (éd. G. Antolín, *Catálogo* 5 [Madrid, 1923], pp. 250-51); la seconde au n° 463 (ibid., p. 251). Le *De uerborum copia* signalé dans cette deuxième partie correspond très certainement au florilège *Numquid sed quemadmodum...* des ff. 270-282, mais le titre a disparu car les feuillets du volume ont été fortement rognés; l'on trouve ce florilège avec le titre *De copia uerborum* dans le MS. Vatican, Vat. lat. 2212, ff. 282v-284 (cf. plus loin p. 170). A. Agustín possédait un autre exemplaire du *De copia uerborum* que nous n'avons pu identifier (cf. Annexe I: *Les inventaires anciens de bibliothèques*).

GIESSEN, Universitätsbibl. 84, xv^e s., ff. 299-306³³

titre: 'Incipit libellus Senece de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Senece de uerborum copia et cetera'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseur: bibliothèque capitulaire de Saint-Marc de Butzbach, dont l'ex-libris est écrit au verso du plat antérieur: 'Gabriel Byel. Liber eccl. Cap. S. Marci Butzbach'.

GLASGOW, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231), xiv^e s., ff. 110-122³⁴

prologue, cf. supra Cambridge, Peterhouse I.9.8 (194).

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de uerborum copia ad beatum Paulum apostolum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber de uerborum copia'.

origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: Sir Thomas More (†1598), dont le monogramme autographe se lit au f. 11; Andrew Bridge (xvii^e s.), dont l'ex-libris est au f. II: 'Liber Andreae Bridge pertinet'.

HARBURG, Fürstlich Oettingen-Wallersteinsche Bibl. II 1 fol. 143, xv^e s., ff. 245-250³⁵

titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Senece de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Senece de uerborum copia'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseur: d'après P. Ruf (cf. n. 35), le manuscrit a été acheté en 1467 pour l'abbaye Saint-Magnus de Füssen (dioc. d'Augsbourg).

ISTAMBUL, Topkapi Serai 41, xiv^e s., ff. 114-125³⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem de uerborum copia quem misit Paulo apostolo'.

origine: française, écriture de type universitaire.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

MUNICH, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 3523, xiii^e s., ff. 26-31v³⁷

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem Lucii Annei Senece de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber primus de uerborum copia' (cf. aussi Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 536 et Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6389).

origine: paraît française, écriture régulière.

possesseur: abbaye Saint-Maurice de Niederaltaich (dioc. de Passau), dont l'ex-libris du xiv^e s. se lit au f. 26: 'Iste liber est sancti Mauritii in Altha inferiori quondam domini Iacobi'.

³³ J. V. Adrian, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Academiae Gissensis* (Francfort/Main, 1840), pp. 27-30.

³⁴ J. Young et P. Henderson-Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), pp. 176-83; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 48 et 101.

³⁵ G. Schepss, *Sechs Maihinger Handschriften*, pp. 15-18; P. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 3.1 (Munich, 1932), p. 113.

³⁶ A. Deissman, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), p. 79.

³⁷ G. Schepss, *Sechs Maihinger Handschriften*, p. 15 et n. 3; *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis* 1.2 (Munich, 1894), pp. 101-102, n° 638.

NEW HAVEN, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib. 155, xv^e s., ff. 216-222v³⁸

titre: 'Seneca de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit Seneca de uerborum copia'.

origine: française, écriture très cursive.

possesseurs: le collège des Jésuites d'Agen, dont l'ex-libris du xvii^e s. se lit au f. 1:

'Collegii Agen. Societ. Iesu Catal. Inscr. 1156'; Sir Thomas Phillipps (cote ancienne: 9072).

NEW YORK, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115, xv^e s., ff. 1-8v³⁹

titre: 'Incipit epistole (sic) Seneca de copia uerborum missa ad Paulum apostolum'

(cf. aussi Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346, Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469), Vatican, Vat. lat. 8078, Vienne, Nationalbibl. 257).

expl. mutilé: '... Hec ante omnia fac // ' (19.36).

origine: italienne, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

NUREMBERG, Stadtbibl. C.III.60, xv^e s., ff. 73v-79v

titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Seneca de uerborum copia et cetera'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Seneca de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique semi-cursive.

possesseur: l'abbaye Saint-Sébalde de Nuremberg.

OLMOUC, Státní archiv CO 536, xiv^e s., ff. 76v-78⁴⁰

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem Lucii amici (sic) Seneca (sic) de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber primus de uerborum copia' (cf. aussi Munich, Bayer.

Staatsbibl. Clm 3523 et Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6389).

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: chapitre d'Olomouc.

OXFORD, Bodleian Lib. Marshall 86 (SC 5297), xv^e s., ff. 56-72v⁴¹

pas de titre.

expl. mutilé: '... aut ex condicione que nunc // ' (20.55).

origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseur: au xvi^e s., Thomas Pagge, à qui le manuscrit a été donné par un cousin, d'après l'annotation marginale du f. 68v: 'Ryght trusti and welbeloved frend and cosin Thomas Pagge trusting in God that you be in good health and merie this shalbe to let you understand that I have for you'.

³⁸ O. Rossbach, 'De Senecae philosophi librorum recensione et emendatione, De epistulis moralibus recensendis', *Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* 2.3 (1888) 34 n. 5 (sous la cote Phillipps 9072); S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* 2 (New York, 1937), p. 1720; C. U. Faye et W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 36.

³⁹ S. De Ricci, *ibid.*, p. 1773; C. U. Faye et W. H. Bond, *ibid.*, p. 407.

⁴⁰ J. Bistrický, F. Drkal et M. Kouřil, *Státní archiv v Opavě, 3: Pobočka v Olomouci* (Prague, 1961), p. 149.

⁴¹ F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* 2 (Oxford, 1937), pp. 1001-1008, n° 5297.

OXFORD, Merton Coll. 297, XIV^e s., ff. 192-197v⁴²

titre pour le rubricateur: 'Seneca de uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

origine: anglaise, écriture gothique régulière.

possesseurs: Simon Yslep, archevêque de Cantorbéry (†1366), puis Guillaume Reade, évêque de Chichester (†1385), d'après l'ex-libris du f. Iv: 'Liber mei Willelmi Reedi episcopi Cicestrensis quem emit de executoribus uenerabilis patris domini Simonis Yslep (*ce mot ajouté en interligne*) Dei gratia archiepiscopi Cantuariensis. Oretis igitur pro utroque', suivi de la table du contenu; Merton College, dont l'ex-libris se lit également au f. Iv: 'Liber domus de Mertone in Oxonii in communi libraria eiusdem et ad usum communem magistrorum et sociorum ibidem studentium catenatus. Ex dono uenerabilis patris domini Willelmi Redi episcopi Cicestrensis. Oretis igitur pro eodem et pro benefactoribus eiusdem ac fidelium animabus a purgatorio liberandis'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 1936, XIV^e s., ff. 346-348v⁴³

titre: 'Lucii Annei Seneca de uerborum copia liber incipit'.

le texte passe de '... aut moneat aut consoletur' (l. 19-20 – f. 346rb, dernière ligne) à 'Ait quidam philosophus...' (l. 1 – f. 346va, première ligne).

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Seneca de uerborum copia'.

origine: française, écriture de type universitaire.

possesseur: Philippe de Béthune (†1649), dont les armes sont dorées sur la reliure.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346, XIV^e s., ff. 30-33v⁴⁴

titre en marge pour le rubricateur: 'Epistola Seneca de copia uerborum ad Paulum apostolum' (cf. aussi New York, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115, Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469), Vatican, Vat. lat. 8078, Vienne, Nationalbibl. 257).

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: aux ff. 1 et 21 armes non identifiées: de gueules à la bande d'argent; famille Visconti (correspond au n° 778 de la *Consignatio librorum* de 1426 d'après E. Pellegrin [cf. n. 44]); Louis XII (au f. 33v: 'de Payve au Roy Loys XII').

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6385, XIV^e s., ff. 80-86v⁴⁵

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem de uerborum copia quem misit Paulo apostolo de quatuor uirtutibus'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: Hervé Autrand (XVI^e s.), dont l'ex-libris se lit au f. VI:

⁴² H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus codicum MSS. qui in collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur* 1.3 (Oxford, 1852), p. 118.

⁴³ A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque* 2.269 (simple mention); *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (Paris, 1940), pp. 250-51.

⁴⁴ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3.4 (Paris, 1774), p. 232; E. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza* (Paris, 1955), pp. 244-45.

⁴⁵ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.237.

Que se present liure trovera a moy
 ERICI AUTRAND le rande car ensins
 Dieu le commande enfus ano asolute
 1582 et die mensis 15 Juni vel Maii:

Nicolas Le Febvre (†1612), précepteur de Louis XIII; Jacques-Auguste de Thou (†1617), dont l'ex-libris se lit au f. I: 'Iac. Aug. Thuani'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6389, XIII^e s., ff. 4-9⁴⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem Lucii Annei Senece de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber primus de uerborum copia' (cf. aussi Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 5523 et Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 536).

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: un religieux italien, frère Denis, qui l'a acheté à l'évêque de Faenza, d'après l'ex-libris (en partie gratté et lu aux rayons) du plat supérieur: 'Iste liber est fratris Dionisii (...) professoris quem emit de episcopo Faentino'; le dominicain Nicolaus de Gubbio, dont l'ex-libris en partie gratté se lit au verso du plat inférieur: 'Nicholai de Eugubio (...) ordinis fratrum Predicatorum'; Michele de Gubbio, dont l'ex-libris gratté se lit au f. 66: 'Est Michaelis de Eugubio familiaris domine Padue', au f. 66v: 'Est Michaelis de Eugubio' et au verso du plat inférieur: 'Iste liber est Michaelis de Eugubio'; famille Visconti (correspond au n° 646 de la *Consignatio librorum* de 1426 d'après E. Pellegrin [cf. n. 46]); Louis XII.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6394, XIV^e s., ff. 4v-11⁴⁷

titre: 'Incipit liber Annei Lucii Senece de copia uerborum ad beatum Paulum apostolum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Annei Lucii Senece de copia uerborum ad beatum Paulum apostolum'.

origine: italienne, écriture gothique 'bononiensis'.

possesseur: collège de Foix, à Toulouse.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6630, XIII^e s., ff. 5-13⁴⁸

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem Lucii Annei Senece de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Finit liber Senece de uerborum copia'.

origine: française, écriture très régulière.

possesseurs: abbaye des Célestins de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-de-Châtre (dioc. de Soissons), dont l'ex-libris du XIII^e s. se lit aux ff. 2 et 109v: 'Celestinorum de Castris'; Jean Cheneteau (XVI^e s.), dont l'ex-libris se lit au f. 109v: 'Liber iste michi subsignato Iohanni spectat domini domini nostri regis prothonotario et eius Parlamenti graphyario. Cheneteau'; Jean Le Féron (1504-vers 1570),

⁴⁶ *ibid.*; A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque* 2.269 (simple mention); E. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, pp. 215-16 (qui le date du XIV^e s.).

⁴⁷ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.238; L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale* 1 (Paris, 1868), p. 508.

⁴⁸ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.263; A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque* 2.269 (simple mention); L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 251, 354 et 377.

avocat au Parlement de Paris, d'après les ex-libris des ff. Ilv: 'Seneca pro magistro Iohanne Le Feron in utroque iure licenciato', 110: 'Iohannes Le Feron natione gallus de Compendio ortus' et 110v: 'Dum prospero non confundas. Le Feron'; Jacques-Auguste de Thou (†1617), dont l'ex-libris se lit au f. 2: 'Iac. Aug. Thuani'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 8542, xiii^e s., ff. 138v et 154-160v⁴⁹

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca ad apostolum Paulum de multiplicitate seu de uerborum copia'.

au f. 157rb l'*explicit* normal est suivi d'un florilège: 'Si inuenimus qui nos bonos uiros dicat...' [*Epistulae ad Lucilium* 59.11] – '... perdens operam et fructum quem expectat' (cf. aussi Cracovie, Bibl. Jagiellońska 536).

origine: française, peut-être du Nord-Est, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: aucune indication pour les ff. 123-161, qui font partie d'un recueil factice réuni par Jacques-Auguste de Thou (†1617).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 11855, xiv^e s., ff. 128-129v⁵⁰

pas de titre.

expl. inachevé: 'pro quo possim mori' (13.34).

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: un dominicain, Ugolinus, dont le long ex-libris se lit au f. 281v: 'Iste liber est fratrum ordinis predicatorum concessus fratri Vgolino (*plusieurs mots grattés*) eiusdem ordinis...' (éd. J. Fohlen, 'Trois manuscrits parisiens', 86); Charles du Cambout de Coislin, évêque de Metz (1697-1732); abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (cote du xviii^e s. au f. 1: n. 78).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295, xii^e s., ff. 153v-161⁵¹

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de uerborum copia quem misit Paulo apostolo'.

origine: française, le manuscrit a été copié à Corbie et le nom du scribe se lit en réunissant les lettres placées en haut du dernier feuillet de chaque cahier: 'HVGO DE CASTRIS ARMARIVS ME FECIT'.

possesseurs: abbaye de Corbie (dioc. d'Amiens – correspond au n° 108 du catalogue du xiii^e s., cf. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2.435); abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés (cote du xvii^e s.: 586 – cote du xviii^e s.: n. 308).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 13468, xiii^e s., ff. 72-77bis⁵²

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum'.

⁴⁹ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.468-69; E. Pellegrin, 'Membra disiecta', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 107 (1947-48) 74-76.

⁵⁰ A. C. Megas, *Le cercle préhumanistique de Padoue (Lovato Lovati - Albertino Mussato) et les tragédies de L. A. Seneca* (en grec) (Thessalonique, 1967), voir pp. 197-98 n. 36; J. Fohlen, 'Trois manuscrits parisiens des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* de Sénèque (Paris, Bibl. nat., mss. lat. 12325, 13948 et 11855)', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971) 83-91; R. J. Tarrant, *Seneca Agamemnon* (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 28-29.

⁵¹ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2.116; C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi*, p. 209; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 98 et 101.

⁵² B. Hauréau, 'Notice sur le numéro 13468' (cf. ci-dessus, n. 16), 203-25 (notamment 208-15).

à la fin: 'Explicit Senece (*sic*) de copia uerborum'.

origine: française, petite écriture.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 14988, XIII^e s., ff. 319-323⁵³

titre: 'In Seneca'.

origine: française, petite écriture.

possesseur: abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris, dont l'ex-libris figure au f. 342: 'Iste liber est sancti Victoris Parisiensis. Quicumque eum fuerit furatus uel celauerit uel titulum istum deleuerit anathema sit'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 16207, XIII^e s., ff. 99-104⁵⁴

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de uerborum copia quem misit Paulo apostolo'.

origine: française, petite écriture régulière.

possesseurs: Gérard Bruine, dit de Reims (†c. 1282), qui le légua à la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, d'après la mention du f. 47v: 'Iste liber est pauperum magistrorum de Serbonia in theologia Parisius studentium, ex legato magistri G. de Remis. Pretium XX sol. Folia scripta 161' (correspond au n° LVI, 20 du catalogue de la Sorbonne rédigé en 1290, cf. n. 54).

PRAGUE, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469), XV^e s., ff. 181v-185⁵⁵

titre: 'Hic incipitur epistula Senece de copia uerborum et sequitur' (cf. aussi New York, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346, Vatican, Vat. lat. 8078, Vienne, Nationalbibl. 257).

origine: allemande, écriture gothique cursive; invocation de copiste au f. 185: 'Finis adest operis, mercedem posco laboris'.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

UPSAL, Universitetsbibl. C.920, XIII^e s., ff. 114v-121⁵⁶

titre: 'Seneca de uerborum copia', accompagné de deux additions: 'De quatuor uirtutibus' et 'Ab epistolis Senece ad Lucilium notabiliter extracta. R.'.

origine: française, écriture irrégulière.

possesseurs: aux XIV^e-XV^e s. le manuscrit était encore dans la région de Beauvais, comme le prouve une charte collée au verso du plat inférieur; donné en 1802 par P. F. Aurivillius, bibliothécaire et professeur à l'université d'Uppsala.

⁵³ D'après les indications notées sur leurs feuilles de garde, les MSS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 14987, lat. 14988 et lat. 14989 correspondent au n° 000.19 du catalogue rédigé en 1514 par Claude de Grandrue, mais le libellé de ce catalogue est très général: 'Plures boni tractatus' (MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 14767, f. 234v).

⁵⁴ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 3 (Paris, 1881), p. 67; A. Vernet, 'Un remaniement de la philosophie de Guillaume de Conches', *Scriptorium* 1 (1946-47) 257 n. 38; M. Mabille, 'Les manuscrits de Gérard Bruine, dit de Reims, conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 121 (1973) 199-200 et 204-205.

⁵⁵ J. Truhlář, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum latinorum qui ... Bibliotheca ... Universitatis Pragensis asservantur* 1 (Prague, 1905), pp. 469-71, n° 469.

⁵⁶ E. Pellegrin, 'Manuscrits d'auteurs latins de l'époque classique conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Suède', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* 5 (1955) 22.

VATICAN, Ross. 786, xv^e s. (a. 1459), ff. 61-66

pas de titre au début, à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Annei Senece de uerborum copia'.

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique cursive; note datée de copiste au f. 33v: 'Scriptum sub anno Domini 1459'.

possesseur: abbaye cistercienne de Viktring en Carinthie, dont l'ex-libris du xvii^e s. se lit au f. 2: 'B.V. Mariae in Victoria Sacri Cist. Ord. Cathalogo inscriptus'.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 4918, xii^e s., ff. 128-130 et 117-124⁵⁷

inc. mutilé: ' // dicentis auctoritas...' (1.28-29).

plusieurs titres ajoutés au f. 127v: 'Incipit liber Senece de quatuor uirtutibus...', 'Incipit liber Senece de formula uite' et au f. 117v: 'Explicit Senece de IIIIor uirtutibus', 'Seneca de amicitia'.

expl. mutilé: '... Peiores morimur // ' (19.31).

origine: française, écriture très irrégulière; le manuscrit est palimpseste, mais l'écriture inférieure n'est pas une bénéventaine, comme avaient cru pouvoir le suggérer Mercati et Lowe ('A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts', 238), mais plutôt une précaroline; plusieurs annotations d'une main semi-cursive italienne du xiv^e s., le f. I de garde est en bénéventaine (ix^e s.), le f. 131 de garde est en humanistique cursive (xv^e s.).

possesseurs: le cardinal Sirleto (†1585), d'après la cote ancienne du f. 1: 497, et une note du xvii^e s. au même feuillet: 'Emptus ex libris Cardinalis Sirleti'; le cardinal Ascanio Colonna (†1608); Giovanni Angelo, duc d'Altaemps (†1620).

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 5941, xiii^e-xiv^e s., ff. 49v-57v

titre: 'Seneca de prudentia'.

au f. 51v, avant le florilège, autre titre: 'Seneca de prouerbiis'.

origine: italienne, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 8078, xv^e s. (a. 1493), ff. 18-24v⁵⁸

titre: 'Epistola Senece de copia uerborum ad apostolum Paulum' (cf. aussi New York, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346, Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469), Vienne, Nationalbibl. 257).

à la fin: 'Explicit epistola Senece de copia uerborum ad Paulum'.

⁵⁷ E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script* (Oxford, 1914), p. 363; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo xvi* (Studi e Testi 75; Vatican, 1938), pp. 127 et 265; C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi*, p. 209; E. A. Lowe, 'A New List of Beneventan Manuscripts' dans *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem Anselmi M. Card. Albareda a Bibliotheca Apostolica edita* (Studi e Testi 220; Vatican, 1962), p. 238; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 49, 94, 98 et 101. Les renseignements concernant l'origine précaroline de l'écriture inférieure nous ont été très aimablement communiqués par le professeur V. Brown.

⁵⁸ M. Vattasso, *I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Studi e Testi 20; Rome, 1908), p. 71, n° 73 (brève description).

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique cursive; le copiste signe et date au f. 81: 'manu mei Francisci de Zuccho quondam ser Adalpretii die 12 Iulii 1493'.
possesseurs: aucune indication.

VIENNE, Nationalbibl. 257, xv^e s., ff. 63v-70v

titre ajouté: 'Epistola Seneca de copia uerborum missa ad apostolum Paulum' (cf. aussi New York, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346, Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469), Vatican, Vat. lat. 8078).

expl. incomplet: '... utique necessarium est (20.48). Expliciunt auctoritates Aristotelis. Deo gracias'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

VIENNE, Nationalbibl. 3150, xv^e s. (a. 1419), ff. 218-225v

pas de titre au début, à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Annei Seneca de uerborum copia et cetera'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive; note datée de copiste au f. 258: 'Anno 1419 8^{uo} die nouembris in Mellico'.

possesseur: abbaye de Melk (cf. origine).⁵⁹

WORCESTER, Cath. Lib. F.152, xiv^e s., ff. 33-36⁶⁰

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum quem misit apostolo Paulo'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Seneca de copia uerborum'.

origine: anglaise, écriture très cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

WORCESTER, Cath. Lib. F.154, xv^e s., ff. 22v-24v⁶¹

titre: 'Liber Seneca de IIII uirtutibus cardinalibus uel de uerborum copia'.

à la fin: 'Explicit de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus uel de uerborum copia'.

origine: anglaise, écriture très cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

(2) Recension mixte

Cette recension comprend une *Formula uitae honestae* intégrale suivie sans séparation du florilège *Primum argumentum* identique à celui de la recension régulière. La recension mixte est contenue dans les douze manuscrits suivants:

BRUXELLES, Bibl. Roy. 2772-89, xii^e-xiii^e s., ff. 140-146⁶²

titre ajouté: 'DE QVATVOR PRINCIPALIBVS VIRTVTIBVS MARTINVS PAPA' (ce dernier mot barré au xv^e s. et remplacé par 'Episcopus Dumensis').

⁵⁹ D'après H. Paulhart, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs 5: Oberösterreich* (Vienne, 1971), pp. 81-82, le manuscrit aurait appartenu à la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Mondsee (cf. Annexe I: *Les inventaires anciens de bibliothèques*).

⁶⁰ J. K. Foyer et S. G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral* (Oxford, 1906), p. 81.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶² P. Thomas, *Catalogue des manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles* (Gand, 1896), n^{os} 21-21A; J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue* 2.310-11, n^o 1381.

à la fin de la *Formula*, note du xv^e s.: 'Hucusque Seneca de 4 uirtutibus'.

expl. incomplet: '... fatigatis estuantibus solet' (16.11-12).

origine: belge, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: abbaye de Rouge-Cloître (dioc. de Malines), dont les ex-libris se lisent sur une étiquette insérée entre les ff. 5 et 6: 'Liber monasterii Rubee Vallis' et au f. 149v: 'Liber monasterii sancti Pauli in Zonia siue Rubee Vallis'; bibliothèque de Bourgogne (cachets aux ff. 4v, 5 et 149v); bibliothèque nationale de Paris (tampons aux ff. 5 et 149v).

BRUXELLES, Bibl. Roy. 9608-19, xv^e s., ff. 150v-155⁶³

titre: 'Liber Senece de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus quem misit beato Paulo apostolo'.

origine: française, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: Goswin de Beka, chanoine de Courtrai, en fit don à la Chartreuse de Bois-Saint-Martin (dioc. de Malines), d'après les ex-libris des ff. 2 et 249v: 'Liber domus Silue Sancti Martini ordinis Carthusiensis prope Geraldimontem ex donatione fratris Gossuini de Beka huius domus monachi professi condam canonici Curtracensis'; collège des Jésuites de Louvain, dont les ex-libris du xvii^e s. figurent au f. III: 'Collegii Societatis Iesu Lovanii 1623 ab anno' et au f. 2: 'Nunc Collegii Societatis Iesu Lovanii' (cote ancienne au f. III: Y.2); bibliothèque nationale de Paris (timbres aux ff. 2 et 250v).

BRUXELLES, Bibl. Roy. II.971, xiv^e s., ff. 154-161v⁶⁴

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus', suivi de cette addition: 'ad Paulum apostolum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus'.

origine: belge, le manuscrit a probablement été copié à l'abbaye de Cambron.

possesseurs: abbaye de Cambron (dioc. de Cambrai), dont les ex-libris se lisent au f. 1: 'Liber sancte Marie de Camberone' et au f. 168: 'Liber beate Virginis Marie Cambronensis Ecclesie, quem qui abstulerit anathema sit' et, plus bas: 'Liber sancte Marie de Camberone'; collection Lammens (note au f. Iv: Lammens 1824); Sir Thomas Phillipps (cote ancienne: 1278).

EXETER, Cath. Lib. 3549 B, xiii^e s., ff. 252v-256⁶⁵

titre: 'Incipit eiusdem de copia uerborum siue de IIII uirtutibus', suivi de cette addition: 'ad Paulum'.

⁶³ P. Thomas, *ibid.*, n^{os} 100-100A; J. Van den Gheyn, *ibid.*, pp. 391-94, n^o 1498.

⁶⁴ O. Rossbach, 'De Senecae philosophi librorum recensione et emendatione', 33 n. 5 (sous la cote Phillipps 1278); P. Thomas, *ibid.*, n^{os} 322-330; R. Plancke, *Les catalogues de manuscrits de l'ancienne abbaye de Cambron* (Mons, 1938), p. 52.

⁶⁵ C. J. Herington, 'A Thirteenth-Century Manuscript of the *Octavia praetexta* in Exeter', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 101 (1958) 375-77; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2^e édition (Londres, 1964), p. 262; R. H. Rouse, 'The *A* Text of Seneca's Tragedies in the Thirteenth Century', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 1 (1971) 97-98.

au début du florilège, autre titre ajouté: 'Incipit liber de copia uerborum'.
origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseur: Jean Grandisson, évêque d'Exeter (1327-69).

GLASGOW, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.1.9 (205), XIV^e s., ff. 81-83v⁶⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de quatuor uirtutibus'.

expl. incomplet: '... pro quo mori possim' (13.34).

origine: probablement française.

possesseur: Thomas Feye, prieur de l'abbaye de Ter Doest (dioc. de Tournai), qui a
signé au f. I: 'Thomas Feye prior'.

KLOSTERNEUBOURG, Stiftsbibl. 538, XV^e s. (a. 1417), ff. 135-137v

pas de titre.

expl. incomplet: '... non posse pati diuitias (13.14-15). Expliciunt quatuor epistole
Seneca' (ces quatre mots ont été barrés).

origine: allemande, écriture cursive; le copiste des ff. 122v-240 signe et date au
f. 207v: 'Conclusus codex nomine dietas anno domini mille CCCC° 17 per
manus Iohannis Patauae existentis et cetera' et au f. 240: 'Explicit lieber per
manus et non per pedes etc etc anno domini 1417 etc'.

possesseur: abbaye de Klosterneubourg (dioc. de Passau – cote du XV^e s.: O.12; cote
du XVIII^e s.: N.8).

LEYDE, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. B.P.L. 43 A, XV^e s., ff. 272-276v⁶⁷

pas de titre.

expl. mutilé: '... festum diem. Contentus esto // ' (10.20).

origine: probablement belge, écriture un peu arrondie.

possesseurs: abbaye des Dunes (dioc. de Théroutanne), dont l'ex-libris est inscrit au
début: 'Bibliothecae Dunensis'; J. Fabritius (1691-1714); puis la bibliothèque
universitaire de Leyde, d'après la note: 'Ex Bibliotheca Unigeniti filii
Iohannis I.U.D. Bibliothecae Lugd. Batauae donauit Fr. Fabritius Theolo-
giae Professor pater moerens'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6392, XIV^e s., ff. 1-9⁶⁸

titre: 'Liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus quem misit Paulo
apostolo'.

au début du florilège, f. 4, note du XVI^e s.: 'Excerptae hinc inde sparsim quaedam
sententiae ex primis epistolis Senecae, saltuatim, et nullo ordine usque ad
paginam undecimam'.

⁶⁶ J. Young et P. Henderson-Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum*, pp. 147-48. Ce possesseur a été identifié par rapprochement avec le colophon du MS. Leyde, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. B.P.L. 45 A (Seneca, *Tragoediae*): 'Hunc tragediarum Seneca librum inchoauit frater Thomas Feye prior huius loci et fere usque ad medium septime continuauit preuentusque morte diem clausit extremum. Residuum uero usque ad finem conscripsit Cornelius Heyns monachus ac frater Iacobus Egidii monachus glossauit eundem. Acta sunt hec anno M° CCCC° LXXVII°. Oretis' (éd. J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 bibliothecae Lugduno-Batauae accesserunt* [Leyde, 1852], p. 373).

⁶⁷ J. Geel, *ibid.*, pp. 142-43, n° 460.

⁶⁸ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.238.

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6631, XIII^e s., ff. 5-13v⁶⁹

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Seneca de copia uerborum'.

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: d'après R. H. Rouse (cf. n. 69), le manuscrit a successivement appartenu à Richard de Fournival, puis à Géraud d'Abbeville et enfin à la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 8545, XIV^e s., ff. 65-70⁷⁰

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus alias de formula uite'.

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseur: Claude Dupuy (†1594), qui a signé au bas du f. 1: 'Cl. Puteani'.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 15377, XIV^e s., ff. 211-214

titre: 'Liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus quem misit Paulo apostolo'.

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 15730, XIII^e s., ff. 144-149⁷¹

titre ajouté en interligne: 'Incipit liber de uerborum copia uel de quatuor uirtutibus Seneca'.

origine: française, écriture régulière.

possesseurs: Simon Widelin, chantre de l'église d'Arras, donna le manuscrit à la Sorbonne en 1285, d'après l'ex-libris du f. 155: 'Istum librum Seneca cum quodam tractatu de trinitate erogauit dominus Simon Wydelins cantor Atrebatensis magistris de domo magistri Roberti de Sorbonia tali condicione qua de cetero non uendatur, sed remaneat dicto domo ad usum doctorum magistrorum et dictus cantor rogat dictos magistros ut orent pro ipso adhuc uiuo et post mortem eius pro anima ipsius similiter orent deum. Datum anno domini M^o CC^o octogesimo quinto die beati Mathie apostoli' (au f. 1v, deux longues notes rappellent la donation et recensent le contenu du manuscrit).

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 263; R. H. Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 265-66, qui identifie ce manuscrit avec le n^o VII.83 de la *Biblionomia* et avec le n^o Xo du catalogue méthodique de la Sorbonne rédigé vers 1320.

⁷⁰ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.469; A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque* 2.269 et 274 (simples mentions).

⁷¹ L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2.174 et 183-84 et 3.77 et 87, qui identifie ce manuscrit avec le n^o Xn du catalogue méthodique de la Sorbonne rédigé vers 1320; R. H. Rouse, 'List of the Authorities' (cf. ci-dessus, n. 4), 247.

(3) *Recensions bâtarde*

Les recensions bâtarde donnent en première partie une *Formula uitae honestae* tantôt intégrale tantôt remaniée selon les paragraphes et en deuxième partie le florilège *Primum argumentum* identique à celui de la recension régulière. Il existe trois types de recensions bâtarde.

La recension bâtarde A, qui a un seul représentant, a repris à la *Formula* intégrale non seulement le par. 1a, mais aussi plusieurs mots ou membres de phrases, notamment dans les par. 2, 3, 5 et 6;⁷² incomplète, elle est suivie d'une postface expliquant le titre de la compilation⁷³ et de tableaux énumérant les qualités requises pour chaque vertu.

ROUEN, Bibl. mun. 671 (A. 454), XIII^e-XIV^e s., ff. 311-314v⁷⁴

titre: 'Seneca in libro de uerborum copia de IIII uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

expl. incomplet: '... agendum est et agenti quiescendum est' (12.6).

origine: française, écriture gothique irrégulière.

possesseurs: abbaye de Saint-Évroul, d'après G. Nortier (cf. n. 74); abbaye Saint-

Ouen de Rouen, dont l'ex-libris: 'De l'abbaye de S. Ouen' et la cote ancienne:

A. 536, figurent au f. 1.

La recension bâtarde B, qui a aussi un seul représentant, donne selon la *Formula* intégrale les par. 1a, 2 à 6, l. 13 jusqu'à '... uiuendi fine seruaueris', avec cependant une bonne vingtaine d'omissions dans le par. 4; à partir de 'Iustitia eo mediocritatis...' (5.1), elle est conforme à la recension régulière mais elle est incomplète.

VATICAN, Ross. 604, XIV^e s., ff. 72v-78⁷⁵

titre au f. 72: 'Incipit liber Annei Senece de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

⁷² Il y a en tout quatre reprises: en 1.23 après *presta* ('si prudens es ... dispensetur animus tuus': *Formula* 2.37), en 2.3 après *fieri* ('de amico dices ... putabis uindicare potuisse': cf. *Formula* 3.5-7), en 4.9 après *tractatur* ('nam etsi iureiurando deus ... iustitie transeas legem': *Formula* 5.16-18, avec une longue interpolation que nous n'avons pu identifier) et en 6.1 après *immoderata* ('si terminos suos ... ostenderis': *Formula* 6.4-6).

⁷³ Dont voici le texte: 'Cum IIIor sunt uirtutes cardinales, prudentia, fortitudo, iustitia et temperantia, de prudentia primo hic agit, deinde de aliis; inde autem intitulatur liber iste de copia uerborum quia omnis sermo honestus et laudabilis ex aliqua uirtute trahitur; hic autem satis plane agitur de usu et officio omnium uirtutum, quia omnis uirtus est cardinalis aut nascitur ex aliqua cardinalium. Quicumque autem eorum que hic author docet notitiam habuerit, in omni sermone suo copiosus esse possit'.

⁷⁴ *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements 1 (Rouen 1)* (Paris, 1886), pp. 178-81; G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), p. 122.

⁷⁵ H. Tietze, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Rossiana in Wien-Lainz 5* (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 91-92, n° 144.

expl. incomplet: '... non conuersari cum dissimilibus (19.75-76). Deo gracias. Amen'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseur: le cardinal Domenico Capranica (†1458), dont l'ex-libris est estampé sur le dos de la reliure: 'EX BIBL. CARD. FIRM.'.

La recension bâtarde *C* donne selon la *Formula* intégrale les par. 2 à 5, l. 11 jusqu'à '... alieni abstinentia', mais avec une bonne quinzaine d'omissions, notamment dans le par. 4, et une demi-douzaine d'additions, notamment dans le par. 2; à partir de 'Ex nulla uocis...' (4.6-7), elle est conforme à la recension régulière; elle est contenue dans quatre manuscrits:

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 8544, XIV^e s. (a. 1389), ff. 126-129⁷⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum ad Paulum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture gothique avec *a* cursif; les ff. 126-155 du manuscrit ont été copiés par Iohannes Vorboch, qui signe au f. 155v: 'Explicit tabula ... super libris moralibus Senece ... quam ego Iohannes Vorboch Theotonicus scripsi'.

possesseurs: Agostino de Fazardis, qui a signé au f. 155 la table des matières du manuscrit: 'Iste liber est mei Augustini de Fazardis in huius libri uolumine continentur...'; famille Visconti (correspond au n° 843 de la *Consignatio librorum* de 1426 d'après E. Pellegrin [cf. n. 76]).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 8717, XIV^e s., ff. 311-314v⁷⁷

inc. mutilé: ' // hos quoque cum dignitate...' [par. 4.30 de la *Formula* intégrale].

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture gothico-humanistique.

possesseur: Jacques-Auguste de Thou (†1617), dont l'ex-libris se lit au f. 1: 'Iac. Aug. Thuani'.

TOURS, Bibl. mun. 693, XV^e s., ff. 387-392⁷⁸

titre: 'Annei Luci (*sic*) Senece de copia uerborum liber incipit quem Seneca misit beato Paulo apostolo'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: française, écriture gothique cursive; le manuscrit est une copie du MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8717 (cf. plus haut).

possesseurs: le cardinal de La Balue (1421-91), dont la bibliothèque fut confisquée en 1469 par Louis XI; restitué au cardinal, le manuscrit resta à Tours et fut donné en 1513 à la cathédrale de Tours par un nommé Évrard (la longue

⁷⁶ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.469; A. Fleury, *Saint Paul et Sénèque* 2.269 et 274 n. 1 (simples mentions); E. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, pp. 260-61.

⁷⁷ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.485-86.

⁷⁸ *Catalogue général* 37 (Tours) (Paris, 1900), pp. 552-56.

note explicative du f. 552 a été éditée par L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 3.342).

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 2212, XIV^e s., ff. 287v-292v⁷⁹

pas de titre au début, à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: Iohannes de Crespis, pour lequel le manuscrit a été exécuté et dont les armes peintes aux ff. 1 et 111 ont été grattées (on distingue par transparence un fascé de ... et de ... de quatre pièces); armes non identifiées recouvrant les précédentes: de gueules à la croix d'argent.

(4) *Recensions particulières*

Au nombre de quatre et représentées chacune par un seul témoin, elles sont différentes les unes des autres, mais ont pour dénominateur commun la présence d'une *Formula* plus ou moins remaniée accompagnée d'un florilège variable.

KYNŽVART, Zámecká knihovna 22.D.2 (80), XIII^e s., ff. 216v-217⁸⁰

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam sequi desideras...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... altitudo coronat summa' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 29.9]. Explicit tractatus Ciceronis de prudencia et aliis uirtutibus'.

origine: peut-être française.

possesseur: le manuscrit a été acheté à la fin du xv^e s. par l'abbaye bénédictine d'Ochsenhausen (dioc. de Constance) pour un de ses religieux, dont le nom figure au revers du plat supérieur: 'Pro Vdalrico Durner VI. flor.', au f. 283: 'Liber iste pro Vdalrico Durner de Wangen cambio comparatus' et au revers du plat inférieur: 'Pro Vdalrico Durner'; le prince Clément de Metternich (1773-1859).

Ce manuscrit donne en première partie une *Formula* remaniée comme pour le *De uerborum copia*, mais incomplète et différemment ordonnée: le par. 2 (*Prudentia*) est suivi du par. 6 (excès dans la *Prudentia*), le par. 3 (*Magnanimitas*) est suivi des par. 7 (excès dans la *Magnanimitas*) et 8 (excès dans la *Continentia*), le par. 4 (*Continentia*) termine ce remaniement auquel il manque les par. 5 et 9 (*Iustitia* et excès dans la *Iustitia*). En deuxième partie on trouve un florilège assez court des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*: inc. 'Omnia cum amico delibera...' [3.2]; expl. '... altitudo coronat summa' [29.9]; on retrouve ce même florilège dans le MS. Vatican, Reg. lat. 291 (cf. plus loin).

⁷⁹ E. Pellegrin, 'Notes sur un commentaire', 309-10.

⁸⁰ F. Čáda, *Rukopisy knihovny státního zámku v Kynžvartě* (Prague, 1965), pp. 28, 125-26; le nom d'Udalric Durner se retrouve également sur les MSS. Kynžvarte, 18.C.1 (26), f. 75v: 'Pro Vdalrico Durner liber iste //', 20.E.21 (45), revers du plat antérieur: 'Pro Vdalrico Durner de Biberako' et f. 29v: 'Orthographie Casperini X gros. pro Vdalrico Durner'.

LA HAYE, Koninkl. Bibl. 75 E 21, xv^e s., ff. 1-4

titre ajouté: 'Cuiusdam sancti Christiani de quattuor uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam sequi desideras...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... est preparatio gracia ipse effectus' (Augustinus, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* 10).

origine: peut-être italienne, écriture ronde assez négligée.

possesseurs: P. Bondam (1727-1800); A. Bogaers (1795-1870).

Ce témoin contient une *Formula* remaniée comme pour la recension régulière suivie d'un florilège d'inspiration chrétienne, *inc.* 'Contra rationem nemo sobrius, contra scripturam nemo christianus, contra ecclesiam nemo pacificus sentit...', *expl.* '... Inde Augustinus: Predestinatio gratie est preparatio; gracia ipse effectus'.

VATICAN, Reg. lat. 291, xi^e s., ff. 101v-103⁸¹

pas de titre.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudenciam sequi desideras...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... altitudo coronat summa' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 29.9].

origine: française, écriture très régulière; d'après F. Avril (cf. n. 81), le manuscrit est originaire de Saint-Ouen de Rouen.

possesseurs: abbaye Saint-Ouen de Rouen (cote ancienne au f. 1: 'prima a parte sinistra K.VI'); Paul Petau (†1614), dont l'ex-libris figure au bas du f. 42: 'Pa. Petauius'; Alexandre Petau (†1672); Christine de Suède (†1689), dont la cote ancienne 1473 est restituée grâce au catalogue de Montfaucon.

Cet exemplaire contient une *Formula* remaniée comme pour la recension régulière suivie du florilège 'Omnia cum amico delibera...' (éd. d'après ce manuscrit G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 96-97).

VIENNE, Nationalbibl. 1019, xii^e s., ff. 39-45v⁸²

titre: 'Seneca'.

inc.: 'Primum argumentum composite mentis...' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 2.1].

expl.: '... obscurus existas' [*Formula* 8, fin], suivi de plusieurs lignes non identifiées ('Temperantia est tocius uite modus ... suaui et leuia dum diligenti').

origine: anglaise, écriture arrondie; le manuscrit a été copié en partie à Cantorbéry, puis annoté et complété par Robert Grosseteste (†1253).

possesseur: Robert Grosseteste (cf. origine).

⁸¹ A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses latini* 2 (Vatican, 1945), pp. 114-15; F. Avril, 'Notes sur quelques manuscrits bénédictins normands du xi^e et du xii^e siècle', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 77 (1965) 222-26; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 96; E. Pellegrin *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 2.1 (Paris, 1977), pp. 57-58.

⁸² S. H. Thomson, 'An Unnoticed Autograph of Grosseteste', *Medievalia et humanistica* 14 (1962) 58-60.

Dans ce manuscrit, l'ordre des facteurs a été renversé; le florilège *Primum argumentum*, qui a subi d'importantes transpositions de phrases, précède une *Formula* ordonnée de la façon suivante: le par. 4 (*Continentia*) vient d'abord, avec aussi quelques transpositions; les par. 2 (*Prudentia*), 3 (*Magnanimitas*) et 5 (*Iustitia*) sont respectivement suivis des par. 6 (excès dans la *Prudentia*), 7 (excès dans la *Magnanimitas*) et 9 (excès dans la *Iustitia*); le par. 8 (excès dans la *Continentia*) termine la recension, suivi comme nous l'avons dit d'un complément de quelques lignes non identifiées.

(5) *Formula remaniée seule*

La première partie de la recension régulière se rencontre seule, à notre connaissance, dans un unique témoin:

BRUXELLES, Bibl. Roy. II.1047, XIII^e s., ff. 98-101⁸³

titre ajouté au XIV^e s.: 'Incipit liber Senece de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam sequi desideras...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... sordidus aut obscurus existas' [*Formula* 8, fin].

origine: belge, écriture régulière; le manuscrit a probablement été copié à l'abbaye d'Aulne.

possesseurs: abbaye d'Aulne, dont les ex-libris du XIII^e s. se lisent au f. 1v: 'Liber sancte Marie de Alna' et au f. 176v: 'Hic liber est Alne monachorum uirginis Alme'; Sir Thomas Phillipps (cote ancienne: 4624).

(6) *Formula intégrale*

Le manuscrits offrant la *Formula* intégrale avec les deux titres *De uerborum copia*, *De quatuor uirtutibus* sont au nombre de huit:

CAMBRIDGE, St. John's Coll. E.12 (115), XIV^e-XV^e s., ff. 150v-154v⁸⁴

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus qui dicitur formula uiuendi ad Paulum' (cf. aussi Eton, Eton Coll. 89).

origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseur: Thomas Wristhelsly, earl of Southampton (†1635).

ESCORIAL, Real Bibl. S.II.4, XIV^e s., ff. 114v-118⁸⁵

titre: 'Nota hic librum Senece de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus transmissum beato Paulo per eundem Senecam cupientem informari ab eo et secum esse'.

⁸³ J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue* 5 (Bruxelles, 1905), pp. 282-83, n° 3298; G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 96 (qui n'a pas remarqué que le titre était postérieur).

⁸⁴ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 148-49.

⁸⁵ G. Antolín, *Catálogo* 4.37-39.

origine: italienne, grosse écriture gothique.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

ETON, Eton Coll. 89, XIII^e s., ff. 176-178⁸⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus qui dicitur formula uiuendi ad Paulum' (ces deux derniers mots ajoutés – cf. aussi Cambridge, St. John's Coll. E.12 [115]).

origine: peut-être anglaise, écriture régulière.

possesseur: Henry Temple, viscount Palmerston (†1750).

OXFORD, Brasenose Coll. 13, XIII^e s., ff. 46v-48⁸⁷

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus quem misit Paulo apostolo Rome' (cf. aussi Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 625).

origine: probablement anglaise, écriture assez irrégulière.

possesseurs: abbaye de Droitwich (Worcestershire), dont l'ex-libris gratté du f. IIIv a été partiellement lu aux rayons: 'Iste liber est (fratrum) Iohannis (Dentonis senioris et iunioris ordinis) sancti Augustini conuentus (Wichie)'; William Smith (c. 1460-1514), qui l'a donné à Brasenose College, d'après l'ex-libris du f. 2: 'Liber Aule Regie et Collegii de Brasenose. Ex dono Guil. Smith...'

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6830 M, xv^e s., ff. 248-250⁸⁸

titre: 'Incipit liber de copia uerborum Seneca quem scripsit Paulo et Petro de IIIor uirtutibus cardinalibus scilicet prudentia, fortitudine siue magnanimitate, temperantia et iustitia'.

expl. incomplet: '... sed potius excusabis quia ubi honesta' [Formula 5.20-21].

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 625, XIV^e s., ff. 99v-101v

titre: 'Incipit liber Seneca de copia uerborum siue de IIII quatuor uirtutibus quem misit Paulo apostolo Rome' (cf. aussi Oxford, Brasenose Coll. 13).

origine: peut-être anglaise, écriture cursive: le manuscrit est composé de plusieurs parties, dont une au moins d'origine sûrement anglaise (ff. 10-71) et porte au f. 2v une table des matières d'une main anglaise (xv^e s.).

possesseurs: Sir Gregory Page-Turner (1785-1843) de Battlesden (Bedfordshire); Sir Thomas Phillipps, qui a racheté plusieurs MSS. de ce collectionneur (cote ancienne au f. 2: '3122', et note d'acquisition au f. 2v: 'Ex Bibl. Battlesden Martii 1827').

REIN, Stiftsbibl. 205, xv^e s., ff. 212v-215v⁸⁹

titre: 'Seneca de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus'.

⁸⁶ M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Eton College* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 31.

⁸⁷ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus* 2.3 (Oxford, 1852), p. 45; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, pp. 59 et 386. M. B. C. Barker-Benfield, conservateur à la Bodleian Library, a eu l'amabilité, dont nous le remercions ici, de nous envoyer une description de ce manuscrit.

⁸⁸ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.282.

⁸⁹ A. Weis, 'Handschriften-Verzeichniss der Stifts-Bibliothek zu Reun', *Xenia bernardina* 1 (Vienne, 1891), pp. 77-78.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive; d'après A. Weis (cf. n. 89), le manuscrit a probablement été copié à l'abbaye de Rein (dioc. de Seckau).

possesseur: abbaye de Rein (cf. origine).

WOLFENBÜTTEL, Herzog-August-Bibl. Gud. lat. 4° 280 (4585), xv^e s., ff. 8-14v⁹⁰

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum siue de quatuor uirtutibus'.

origine: française, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

(7) Formula incomplète

Bien qu'ils ne portent pas le titre *De uerborum copia*, ces trois manuscrits ont été retenus parce qu'ils ont le même *incipit* que la *Formula* remaniée:

EICHSTÄTT, Staats- und Seminarbibl. 417, xv^e s., ff. 50-54v⁹¹

titre: 'Excerpta ... Seneca de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam...' [*Formula* 2].

expl. incomplet: '... humane amittat amabilitatis' [*Formula* 9, fin].

origine: allemande.

possesseur: la bibliothèque des princes-évêques d'Eichstätt, dont l'ex-libris figure au f. 2: 'Ad Bibliothecam Aulicam Eychstettensem'.

LEYDE, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. Lips. 37, xv^e s., ff. 47v-50v⁹²

titre: 'De IIIIor uirtutibus cardinalibus'.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... humane amabilitatis amictat' [*Formula* 9, fin].

origine: hollandaise, écriture 'textualis libraria'.

possesseur: Juste Lipse (1547-1606).

OXFORD, Jesus Coll. 42, xiii^e s., ff. 77v-78v⁹³

titre: 'Incipit breuis tractatus et utilis de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus per beatum Augustinum editus'.

inc.: 'Quisquis prudentiam...' [*Formula* 2].

expl.: '... aut deficientem contempnet ignauiam' [*Formula* 10, fin].

origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseur: abbaye Saint-Pierre de Gloucester.

⁹⁰ G. Milschak, *Die [Gudischen] lateinischen Handschriften*, dans O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel* 4 (Wolfenbüttel, 1913), pp. 228-29, n° 4585.

⁹¹ A. Sottili, 'I codici del Petrarca nella Germania occidentale I.', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 10 (1967) 483.

⁹² J. Geel, *Catalogus*, p. 144, n° 462; G. I. Liefstinck, 'Les manuscrits de Juste Lipse conservés à la Bibliothèque Universitaire de Leyde', *Scriptorium* 16 (1962) 383. Renseignements communiqués par M. P. F. J. Obbema.

⁹³ H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus* 2/1.15-16; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 92.

(8) *Florilège Primum argumentum*

Le florilège qui constitue la deuxième partie de la recension régulière se rencontre indépendant, et presque toujours avec le titre *De copia uerborum*, dans une dizaine de témoins:

ETON, Eton Coll. 89, XIII^e s., ff. 182-187⁹⁴

titre ajouté: 'Excerpta de epistolis Seneca'.

origine et possesseur: cf. plus haut, p. 164.

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 3722, XIII^e-XIV^e s., f. 55⁹⁵

titre: 'Ex dictis Enei Seneca de uerborum copia'.

le manuscrit contient seulement des extraits.

expl. incomplet: '... propositum nostrum est secundum naturam uiuere' (13.9-10).

origine: anglaise, écriture régulière.

possesseur: Colbert (cote ancienne: 6841).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 6766 A, XVI^e s., ff. 42-62v⁹⁶

titre: 'Incipit liber Lucii Annei Seneca de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Lucii Annei Seneca de copia uerborum ad Paulum'.

origine: française, écriture très cursive; le manuscrit a été copié pour son usage personnel par Jean Budé (1463-1522).

possesseur: Jean Budé (cf. origine).

STUTTGART, Württemberg. Landesbibl. HB I 187, XV^e s. (a. 1465), ff. 184v-189v⁹⁷

titre: 'Liber Seneca de copia uerborum'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive; note datée de copiste au f. 189v: 'Sit laus Deo 1465'.

possesseur: abbaye de Weingarten (dioc. de Constance), dont l'ex-libris du XVII^e s. se lit en haut du f. 1: 'Monasterii Weingartensis A° 1630'.

TRÈVES, Bibl. des Priesterseminars R.II.11 (44), XV^e s., ff. 96v-104⁹⁸

titre: 'Eiusdem liber de copia uerborum'.

origine: flamande, écriture bâtarde.

possesseurs: les diverses parties de ce recueil factice ont été réunies par l'humaniste Jean de Veris (cf. G. G. Meersseman, 'La raccolta'); abbaye Saint-Mathias de

⁹⁴ Cf. plus haut n. 86.

⁹⁵ *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 6 (Paris, 1975), pp. 566-69.

⁹⁶ *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae* 3/4.527. Sur les rapports entre ce manuscrit et une traduction française du florilège, cf. Annexe II: *Le liure de la copie des parolles*.

⁹⁷ V. E. Fiala et H. Hauke, *Die Handschriften der Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* 2/1.2 (Wiesbaden, 1970), pp. 66-69.

⁹⁸ J. Marx, *Handschriftenverzeichnis der Seminarbibliothek zu Trier* (Trèves, 1912), pp. 39-41, n° 44; G. G. Meersseman, 'La raccolta dell'umanista fiammingo Giovanni de Veris *De arte epistolandi*', *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 15 (1972) 215-81 (description très détaillée); idem, 'Seneca maestro', 101.

Trèves (dioc. de Trèves), d'après l'ex-libris du f. Iv: 'Codex monasterii sancti Mathie apostoli extra Muros Treueren<ses> ordinis sancti Benedicti'.

UPSAL, Universitetsbibl. C.63, xv^e s., ff. 192v-203⁹⁹

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseur: abbaye de Vadstena (dioc. de Linköping).

UPSAL, Universitetsbibl. C.614, xiv^e s., ff. 107-109v¹⁰⁰

titre: 'Seneca de quatuor uirtutibus cardinalibus cum Tulio de officiis'.

expl.: '... que per negligentiam fit', suivi de quelques phrases reprises plus haut: 'Si uis omnia tibi subdicere te ipsum subdice rationi. Multos enim reges si ratio te rexit. Hec abstracta sunt de libro Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: française, écriture gothique régulière.

possesseur: le couvent des dominicains de Stockholm, d'après les ex-libris inscrits au verso du plat supérieur (xiv^e s.): 'Iste liber quondam fuit fratris Gozcelli Falckedala de regno S<uecie> Da<cie> Et ipse dedit eum fratri Benedicto Ringstadensi eciam de prouincia Da<cie>' et au f. Iv (xv^e s.): 'Liber conuentus Stockholmensis quem recepi a manibus uenerabilis lectoris fratris Symonis concessiue ex quo actu habet clauas librarie'.

VIENNE, Nationalbibl. 4287, xv^e s., ff. 123v-131v

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: d'après la cote ancienne 'O.4414', inscrite au f. 160v, le manuscrit est entré à la Hofbibliothek de Vienne avant 1574.¹⁰¹

VIENNE, Schottenkloster 50.c.11 (30), xv^e s., ff. 129-132¹⁰²

titre: 'Seneca de copia uerborum'.

origine: allemande, écriture cursive.

possesseur: Iohannes de Ochsenhausen, abbé de Schottenkloster (1428-46), d'après la note inscrite sur le feuillet de garde: 'Presentem librum retinebo in proprietate mea loco V. flor. ung. a Reuerendo Mag. Iohanne Bedew de Helpogen ego Iohannes abbas Scotorum Wienne'.

⁹⁹ T. Nyberg, 'Skritföldjer och lägg undersökningar: C. Handskriften i Uppsala Universitetsbibliotheka', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Boch- und Bibliotheksväsen* 57 (1970) 129-46; M. Andersson-Schmitt, *Manuscripta mediewalia Upsaliensia* (Upsal, 1970), p. 54.

¹⁰⁰ E. Jørgensen, 'Studier over dansk middelalderlige Bogsammlinger', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 29 (1912) 51-52; I. Collijn, 'Smärre bidrag till de svenska Klosterbibliotekens historia II: Tva handskriften fran Stockholms Dominikanerkloster', *Nordisk Tidskrift för Boch- und Bibliotheksväsen* 4 (1917) 69-71; E. Pellegrin, 'Manuscripts d'auteurs latins de l'époque classique conservés dans les bibliothèques de Suède', *Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes* 5 (1955) 10.

¹⁰¹ Renseignement aimablement communiqué par M^{lle} Eva Irblich, conservateur au département des manuscrits de l'Österreichische Nationalbibliothek à Vienne.

¹⁰² A. Hübl, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum ... monasterii B.M.V. ad Scotos Vindobonae* (Vienne-Leipzig, 1839), pp. 28-31, n° 30.

ZWETTL, Stiftsbibl. 269, XIII^e-XIV^e s., ff. 201-203¹⁰³

titre: 'Conclusiones de copia uerborum'.

l'*explicit* régulier est suivi de plusieurs sentences reprises au florilège: 'Non puto pauperem esse... Multos reges si ratio rexerit', avec cette addition: 'Hec sumpsi de libro Senece de copia uerborum et sunt meliora'.

origine: allemande, grosse écriture irrégulière.

possesseur: Otto Gnembherl (†1349), plébain de l'église Sainte-Marie im Gestade à Vienne, et dont le monogramme figure aux ff. 138, 160 et 201.

(9) *Florilège Turpissima ... Maxima*

Ce florilège est extrait des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 1-88: inc. 'Turpissima est iactura que per negligentiam fit. Maxima pars uite elabitur...' [l. 1] – *expl.* '... Iam ut longissime fines suos proferat circa carmina' [88.3]; il remonte au moins au XII^e s. avec le MS. Berne, Bürgerbibl. 519, ff. 161-195v et il porte le titre *De copia uerborum* dans les neuf manuscrits suivants:

CESENA, Bibl. Malatest. S XXVI 5, XIV^e s., ff. 93v-95v¹⁰⁴

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum. Rubrica'.

expl. inachevé: '... oratio pressa non audax, tardiloquium te esse iubeo' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 40.14].

origine: italienne, écriture gothico-humanistique.

possesseur: ex-libris du XV^e s., complètement gratté, au f. [97].

FRIBOURG-EN-BRISGAU, Universitätsbibl. 353, XV^e s., ff. 31v-86

pas de titre au début, à la fin: 'Explicit liber de copia uerborum Senece Cordubiensis non credam sed alius Seneca'.

origine: italienne, écriture cursive peu soignée.

possesseurs: aucune indication.

PADOUE, Bibl. Anton. I 9, XIV^e s., ff. 330-340¹⁰⁵

titre: 'Lucii Anicii (*sic*) Senece Cordubensis Fotini stoici discipuli liber de copia uerborum ad beatum Paulum'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseur: couvent Saint-Antoine de Padoue (cotes anciennes: D.XXIX et A.7).

PARIS, Bibl. nat. lat. 10196, XV^e s., ff. 171-199

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber de copia uerborum'.

origine: française, écriture cursive; le copiste des ff. 170-199 et 230-233v signe au f. 233v: 'Scriptum per me h. benazie'.

¹⁰³ S. Rössler, 'Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Bibliothek des Stiftes Zwettl', *Xenia bernardina* 1 (Vienne, 1891), pp. 391-92.

¹⁰⁴ J. M. Muccioli, *Catalogus* 2.173.

¹⁰⁵ G. Abate et G. Luisetto, *Codici e manoscritti della Biblioteca Antoniana* 1 (Padoue, 1975), pp. 13-14.

possesseurs: Jean Bayle, conseiller au parlement du Dauphiné;¹⁰⁶ Nicolas Chorier, avocat à Grenoble (†1692), dont l'ex-libris figure en haut du f. 1: 'Ex libris Nic. Chor. Vienne. I.C. 1676'; François Marcelier (xviii^e s.), qui a signé en bas du f. 1: 'Ex libris F. Marcelier'.

VATICAN, Arch. S. Pietro C 121, xiv^e s., ff. 313v-323v¹⁰⁷

titre: 'Incipit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Explicit liber de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture de type 'bononiensis'.

possesseurs: ex-libris en partie gratté en haut du f. IIv: 'S(...) d(...) domini Iacobi de Florentia'; les armes peintes au bas du f. 1, et dont on distingue encore 4 fasces onnées d'argent, ont été recouvertes par celles du cardinal Giordano Orsini (†1438).

VATICAN, Pal. lat. 1539, xiii^e-xiv^e s., ff. 158-167¹⁰⁸

titre: 'Incipit liber de copia uerborum'.

origine: italienne, écriture gothique 'libraria'.

possesseurs: armes en parties grattées au bas du f. 3v et non identifiées: coupé au 1 d'azur à deux croix d'or, au 2 d'or (?); selon diverses notes de prêt en hébreu, le manuscrit a successivement appartenu à Francesco di Gabriele (entre 1400 et 1411), à son frère Bartolomeo de Mantoue (entre 1412 et 1428), à Stefano degli Dottori (en 1435) et à Gerardino Antonio (en 1445); Ulrich Fugger (1526-84), dont la cote figure au f. 1v: '182 seors.'; bibliothèque palatine de Heidelberg (cote du transfert à Rome au f. I: C.44/1539).

VATICAN, Pal. lat. 1553, xv^e s., ff. 55-56v¹⁰⁹

titre: 'Lucii Annei Senece Cordubensis Fotini stoici discipuli liber de copia uerborum ad beatum Paulum'.

expl. mutilé: '... sapientie ut illam inclusam teneam // ' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 6.4].

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique ronde.

possesseurs: Giannozzo Manetti (1396-1459); Ulrich Fugger (cote ancienne incomplète au f. Iv: '44 <Mane>'); bibliothèque palatine de Heidelberg (cote du transfert à Rome au f. I: C.71/1563).

VATICAN, Urb. lat. 340, xv^e s., ff. 126-128v¹¹⁰

titre: 'ANNEI LVCIJ SENECE CORDVBENSIS DE VERBORVM COPIA AD PAVLV M LIBER DE VERBORVM COPIA (*sic*) FELICITER INCIPIT'.

¹⁰⁶ Sur Jean Bayle cf. plus haut p. 140 n. 8.

¹⁰⁷ *Les manuscrits classiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane* 1 (Paris, 1975), p. 34; E. Pellegrin, 'Notes sur un commentaire', 306-307.

¹⁰⁸ P. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken* 2 (Tübingen, 1960), pp. 124 et 517.

¹⁰⁹ G. M. Cagni, 'I codici Vaticani Palatino-Latini appartenuti alla biblioteca di Giannozzo Manetti', *La bibliofilia* 62 (1960) 40, n° 156 et n. 7; P. Lehmann, *ibid.*, pp. 124, 518.

¹¹⁰ C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates latini* 1 (Rome, 1902), pp. 315-16; le manuscrit correspond au n° 237 du catalogue rédigé en 1482 (éd. C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates graeci* [Rome, 1895], p. xcii, qui n'a pas identifié la cote actuelle).

expl. incomplet: '... sapientie ut illam inclusam teneam [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 6.4].
ANNEI LVCHII SENECE CORDVBENSIS FOTINI STOICI DISCIPVLI DE VERBORVM COPIA
LIBER EXPLICIT FELICITER'.

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique ronde.

possesseur: Frédéric II, duc d'Urbino (†1482), dont les armes encadrées des initiales 'C.F.' sont peintes au bas du f. 2: bandé d'or et d'argent à l'aigle de sable.

VATICAN, Urb. lat. 544, xv^e s., ff. 200-202v¹¹¹

titre: 'ANNEI LVCHII SENECE CORDVBENSIS DE VERBORVM COPIA AD PAVLVM LIBER INCIPIT FELICITER'.

expl. incomplet: '... sapientie ut illam inclusam teneam' [*Epist. ad Lucilium* 6.4].

origine: italienne, écriture humanistique ronde.

possesseur: Frédéric II, duc d'Urbino, dont les armes et les emblèmes sont peints dans les bordures du f. 1.

(10) *Florilège Numquid sed quemadmodum*

Ce florilège est extrait des *Dialogi* et du *De clementia* de Sénèque: *inc.* 'Numquid (ou Non quid) sed quemadmodum feras interest...' (*De prouid.* 2.4) – *expl.* '... reddunt rationem quibus hic diutius propositum est' (*De clem.* 2.7.1); il remonte au moins au xiii^e s. avec les MSS. Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. 76.38, ff. 141v-144 et Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6379, ff. 155v-158; généralement copié après les *Sententiae* de Publilius Syrus, sans séparation ou avec un titre particulier, il se rencontre quelquefois isolé; un seul manuscrit porte, à notre connaissance, le titre *De copia uerborum*:

VATICAN, Vat. lat. 2212, xiv^e s., ff. 282v-284

titre ajouté au xvi^e-xvii^e s.: 'Sequitur de copia uerborum'.

origine et possesseur: cf. plus haut, p. 161.

(11) *Florilège Auida est periculi*

Cette collection de sentences classées par ordre alphabétique est extraite de trois *Dialogi* de Sénèque (*De prouidentia*, *De ira*, *De constantia sapientis*), *inc.* 'Auida est periculi uirtus et quo tenditur...' (*De prouid.* 4.4) – *expl.* '... Vltionis contumeliosum genus est non esse uisum dignum ex quo petatur ultio' (*De ira* 2.32.3); elle remonte au moins au xii^e s. avec les MSS. Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.9.21, ff. 187v-189 et Londres, Brit. Lib. Harley 2659, ff. 3-4v et se rencontre

¹¹¹ C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales latini* 2 (Rome, 1912), pp. 39-41; le manuscrit correspond au n° 270 du catalogue de 1482 (éd. C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinales graeci* [Rome, 1895], p. xciv, qui n'a pas identifié la cote actuelle).

tantôt avant tantôt après les *Sententiae* de Publilius Syrus, le plus souvent sans titre particulier;¹¹² un seul manuscrit, à notre connaissance, porte le titre *De copia uerborum*, donnant le florilège d'abord, les *Sententiae* après:

ÉDIMBOURG, Univ. Lib. D.b.IV.11 (80), xiv^e s., ff. 1-8¹¹³

pas de titre au début, à la fin des *Sententiae*: 'Explicit liber Senece de copia uerborum'.

origine: anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseur: abbaye cistercienne de Sainte-Marie de Kynlos (cté de Murray), dont l'ex-libris du xv^e s. se lit au f. 1: 'Liber Sancte Marie de Kynlos'.

(12) *Les Sententiae de Publilius Syrus*

Cette œuvre est communément attribuée à Sénèque avec le titre *Prouerbia*; mais le titre *De copia uerborum* est porté par deux manuscrits: dans l'un, les *Sententiae* sont suivies sans séparation du florilège *Numquid sed quemadmodum*, dans l'autre il y a seulement des extraits:

LEYDE, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. Lips. 24, xv^e s., ff. 112-116¹¹⁴

titre: 'Incipit liber eiusdem de copia uerborum'.

à la fin: 'Expliciunt prouerbia Annei Lucii Senece'.

origine: probablement anglaise, écriture cursive.

possesseurs: Pembroke College, Cambridge, dont l'ex-libris figure au f. Iv: 'Liber aule Valence Marie Cantabrig(iensis)'; Juste Lipse (1547-1606).

VATICAN, ROSS. 1132, xv^e s., ff. 207-208

titre: 'Excerpta ualde bona de libro Senece qui dicitur copia uerborum'.

inc.: 'Amor animi arbitrio sumitur non sinitur...' (*Sent.* 5).

expl.: '... Zelum de Deo habeas non contra hominem' (*Prouerb.* 148).

origine: peut-être allemande, écriture cursive serrée.

possesseur: le cardinal Domenico Capranica, qui a acheté le manuscrit à Bâle pendant le Concile, d'après la note autographe du f. 208v: 'Istum librum habui post mortem bone memorie Gilberti deuotissimi quidem iuuenis et familiaris mei et solui pro ipso et uno quasi simili uolumine fl<orens> R<e>n<enses> VII pro anima sua. D. Cardinalis Firmanus manu propria Basilie tempore Concilii anno Domini 1434 mensis septembris', ce dernier mot biffé et corrigé en 'Augusti'.

¹¹² Éd. G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 72-77, d'après le manuscrit de Trèves.

¹¹³ C. R. Borland, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Mediaeval Manuscripts in Edinburgh University Library* (Édimbourg, 1916), p. 34, n° 80.

¹¹⁴ J. Geel, *Catalogus*, p. 141, n° 138; M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1902), p. xxxi; N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 27. Renseignements communiqués par M. P. F. J. Obbema.

L'examen d'une centaine de témoins a permis de clarifier une tradition complexe et d'aboutir aux résultats suivants: sous le titre *De uerborum copia*, quarante-deux manuscrits contiennent la recension régulière, celle qu'avaient si justement définie Haase, Schepss et Barlow (*Formula uitae honestae* remaniée suivie sans séparation du florilège *Primum argumentum*); douze témoins offrent la recension mixte (*Formula* intégrale suivie sans séparation du florilège *Primum argumentum*); six autres présentent diverses recensions bâtarde (*Formula* de types variés suivie sans séparation du florilège *Primum argumentum*). Mis à part les quatre exemplaires contenant des recensions particulières, qui ont toujours, ou presque, un rapport avec la *Formula* et avec les *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, la trentaine de manuscrits restant se divise à peu près également en trois groupes, offrant soit l'une ou l'autre des parties isolées (onze témoins), soit une *Formula uitae honestae* intégrale ou incomplète (onze fois), soit divers florilèges ou textes (treize fois). Le témoignage des manuscrits peut être considéré comme irréfutable: le *De uerborum copia* est une compilation bien définie en deux parties, sous trois recensions différentes, et c'est de celles-ci désormais que nous nous occuperons exclusivement.

II

LES TROIS RECENSIONS DU *DE VERBORUM COPIA*

Les manuscrits de la recension régulière se divisent en trois grandes familles X, Y et Z; les familles X et Y, que nous étudierons d'abord, se distinguent l'une de l'autre par les variantes fondamentales suivantes:

	X	Y
1.2	et dignitatem	ut dignitatem
1.26	ipsa plena sit	ipsa sit plena
2.4	ne geras	nec geras
3.5	occultam uoluptatem animi	occultam animi uoluptatem
3.36	scientiam te habere	te scientiam habere
9.5	multa hospitia habent	hospitia habent multa
9.9	ubi uaria sunt et diuersa	ubi uaria et diuersa sunt
11.4-5	in amicitiam recipiendus sit	recipiendus sit in amicitiam
13.11	sed agnoscant	sed magis agnoscant
14.8	allinit	illinit
15.4	potentium iras prouocabit	iras prouocabit potentium
15.7	diuitiis fruitur	fruitur diuitiis
16.14	magis in iuuenibus	in iuuenibus magis
16.27	opus aliquo ad quem	opus aliquod elige ad quod
16.40	molliter ruina	ruina molliter

19.10	et ideo nulli loco	et ideo nulli
19.28-29	non fugere debet	fugere non debet
19.32	intrauit	intrauerit
19.55	consiste	resiste
19.79	viro captare	viros captare

Les témoins de la famille *X*, au nombre de vingt-deux, se répartissent en deux groupes α et β , le second s'opposant au premier dans les leçons suivantes:

omissions – 1. 12 *non omne quod* α : *non omne* β ; 1. 26-27 *studiis et cogitationibus* α : *studiis cogitationibus* β ; 4.12 *hec si* α : *si* β ; 14.3 *usum* α : om. β .

additions – 1.8 *rerum uarietas* α : *rerum ac temporis uarietas* β .

variantes – 3.29 *corrector* α : *correptor* β ; 4.8-9 *de uirtute tractatur* α : *de ueritate tractabitur* β ; 9.9 *ex pluribus ergo* α : *ex pluribus enim* β ; 16.11 *quam* α : *ut* β ; 19.59 *fortiorem eum* α : *eum fortiorem* β .

Le groupe α comprend les dix manuscrits suivants:

Bo:	Bruxelles, Bibl. des Bolland. 671
Ct:	Cambridge, Trinity Coll. O.3.31 (1203)
Nh:	New Haven, Yale Univ., Beinecke Lib. 155
Ox:	Oxford, Merton Coll. 297
P.07:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 16207
P.30:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6630
P.88:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 14988
V.18:	Vatican, Vat. lat. 4918
V.41:	Vatican, Vat. lat. 5941
Wo:	Worcester, Cath. Lib. F.154.

On compte dans ce groupe une majorité d'exemplaires anciens et d'origine française: pour le ^{xii}e s. V.18 qui, nous le verrons ci-dessous, est probablement normand et Bo qui a appartenu à l'abbaye d'Orval; pour le ^{xiii}e s. Ct, P.07 légué par Gérard Bruine à la bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, P.30 copié pour les Célestins de Saint-Pierre-au-Mont-de-Châtre et P.88 qui porte l'ex-libris de Saint-Victor de Paris; écrit au ^{xiii}e-xiv^e s. V.41 a le privilège d'être le plus ancien exemplaire italien de notre texte;¹¹⁵ Ox, copié au ^{xiv}e s. en Angleterre, a appartenu successivement à Simon Yslep, archevêque de Cantorbéry (†1366) et Guillaume Reade, évêque de Chichester (†1385), avant de parvenir à la bibliothèque de Merton College; les deux manuscrits restants sont du ^{xv}e s.,

¹¹⁵ Les autres copies italiennes, qui appartiennent au groupe β de la famille *X* (Nu et V.86) ou à la famille *Y* (P.85, P.55 et Es) sont originaires du Nord de la péninsule, ce qui explique peut-être cette note écrite par une main contemporaine en marge de l'*Epistula ad Paulum* 9 dans le MS. Naples, Bibl. Naz. IV G 50 (xiv^e s.), f. 1, col. 2: 'Hunc librum de copia uerborum non memini quemquam uidisse'.

mais Nh est français tandis que Wo est anglais. Dans ce groupe, le *De uerborum copia* est tantôt avec des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs (Bo, Ox, P.07 et P.30), tantôt seul avec des œuvres de Sénèque (Ct, Nh et V.41), tantôt isolé au milieu d'autres auteurs (P.88, V.18 et Wo).

À cause des leçons particulières qu'ils présentent, ni Bo ni V.18 ne peuvent être considérés comme le parent du groupe α et, à plus forte raison, de la famille X. Bo est le moins fautif, avec deux omissions et une dizaine de variantes;¹¹⁶ V.18 offre en commun avec le MS. Vienne, Nationalbibl. 1019, qui a été écrit en Angleterre au XII^e s., qui contient l'une des recensions particulières¹¹⁷ et qui rejoint la famille X pour les variantes fondamentales, une douzaine de leçons très caractéristiques: quatre additions, toutes reprises aux *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, et huit variantes;¹¹⁸ mais V.18, avec seulement trois omissions, une addition et une variante supplémentaire, est plus correct que le manuscrit de Vienne, qui compte en propre une dizaine d'omissions, une dizaine d'additions et une bonne soixantaine de variantes, sans oublier la permutation des deux parties et les nombreuses transpositions que nous avons signalées. Il y a de fortes chances, cependant, pour que leur modèle commun soit un manuscrit normand – le plus ancien exemplaire connu de la *Formula* remaniée, contenu dans le MS. Vatican, Reg. lat. 291¹¹⁹ et dont Bo et V.18 sont très voisins, a été écrit en Normandie – dont les descendants ont émigré soit en Angleterre, et c'est peut-être le cas pour le manuscrit de Vienne ou son parent, soit en Italie, et c'est sûrement le cas pour V.18, dont la reliure a été renforcée avec des languettes et un feuillet de garde en écriture bénéventaine du IX^e s., un autre feuillet de garde en écriture semi-cursive du XV^e s. et dans les marges duquel un annotateur italien du XIV^e s. a transcrit quelques-uns des passages de la *Formula* omis dans la recension régulière;¹²⁰ mutilé au début et à la fin, V.18 commence à ' // dicentis auctoritas...' (l. 28-29) et s'achève sur '... peiores morimur //' (19.31).

Copie très négligée, V.41 compte environ une trentaine d'omissions, une vingtaine d'additions et près de 150 variantes ou erreurs de transcription;

¹¹⁶ Omissions: 5.2 *de magnis*; 18.1 *exitus* – Variantes: 10.13 *miseriarum*] *mesticiarum*; 13.11 *esse nos sciat qui*] *nos esse sciat si*; 13.16 *uilibus uti*] *uti uilibus*; 15.6 *aduersarios*] *aduersario*; 16.19 *ac*] *aut*; 19.73 *consonans*] *consotians*; 20.11 *uitam non eripit*] *uitam et eripit*.

¹¹⁷ Cf. plus haut pp. 162-63.

¹¹⁸ Additions: 10.23 *seuerus sit*] *seuerus sit et sagum*; 10.31 *lucem*] *lucem iussus est*; 13.3 *mors aut*] *mors aut non*; 15.19 *sequaris*] *sequaris hoc feras casum* – Variantes: 10.31 *lacte es*] *lacte esse*; 11.4-5 *aliquis in amicitiam*] *in amicitiam aliquis*; 11.9 *amicitiam*] *inimicitiam*; 12.2 *est non*] *non est*; 12.3 *requies*] *quies*; 13.21 *senum habemus*] *habemus senum*; 16.27 *erigant*] *corrigan*; 16.31-32 *quam iuueni ante oculos debet esse*] *ante oculos debet esse quam iuueni*.

¹¹⁹ Cf. plus haut p. 162.

¹²⁰ Ce sont les passages suivants: *id quere ... uel quousque* [*Formula* 2.50-56]; *de inimico ... posse iudicare* [3.5-7]; *non tibi ... uelis* [4.16-17]; *odibilem quoque ... tanquam uilem* [4.27-31]; *nam etsi ... iustitie legem* [5.16-18]; *atque illa ... segura tranquillitas* [5.22-23].

comme V.18, il porte en marge certains passages de la *Formula* omis dans la recension régulière.¹²¹ De tels exemplaires complétés partiellement pour la *Formula* sont très vraisemblablement à l'origine des recensions bâtarde *B* et *C* ou de la famille *Z*,¹²² qui sont toutes trois italiennes.

Ct, P.07, P.30, P.88 et Wo ont une parenté certaine, révélée par une erreur caractéristique en 18.1 *Inmodica*] *An* (*In* corr. P.30) *modica* P.30 Ct P.07, *At modica* Wo, (blanc) *modica* P.88; toutefois la contamination et les variantes individuelles empêchent un classement rigoureux, sauf peut-être pour Ct, P.07 et Wo, qui ont en commun une bonne quinzaine de leçons particulières,¹²³ dont certaines ont peut-être été reprises à la recension bâtarde *A*;¹²⁴ le seul exemplaire de cette recension, copié en Normandie au XIII^e-XIV^e s., le MS. Rouen, Bibl. mun. 671 (A.454), s'accorde avec la famille *X* pour les variantes fondamentales (sauf en 3.5 où il rejoint la famille *Y* avec *occultam animi uoluptatem*) et présente en propre une douzaine d'omissions, une vingtaine d'additions et une cinquantaine de variantes.

En dépit de leur date tardive, Nh et Ox sont assez corrects et présentent seulement des variantes insignifiantes.

Le groupe β comprend les douze manuscrits suivants:

Ba:	Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 19 (M.IV.4)
Bg:	Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Patr. 77 (M.II.6)
Gi:	Giessen, Universitätsbibl. 84
Ha:	Harburg, Fürstl. Bibl. II 1 fol. 143
Mu:	Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 3523
Nu:	Nuremberg, Stadtbibl. C.III.60
Ol:	Olomouc, Státní archiv CO 536
P.36:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 1936
P.89:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6389
Up:	Upsal, Universitetsbibl. C.920

¹²¹ Ces additions sont de trois mains: (1) *nam qui prudens ... sit noxium* [*Formula* 2.22-26]; *quibus si animum ... tristis remanebis* [2.28-29]; *magnanimi hominis ... intrepidus expectare* [cf. 3.2-4] – (2) *si prudens ... dispensetur* [2.37]; *nam qui nihil ... ultim* [2.38-39]; *proponas in animo ... moderari* [2.40-41] – (3) *de inimico ... uindicare potuisse* [3.5-7].

¹²² Cf. plus loin pp. 184-85 (recension bâtarde *B*), 182 (recension bâtarde *C*) et 185-88 (famille *Z*).

¹²³ Par exemple omissions: 16.41 *tibi*; 19.78 *sui* – Addition.: 19.16 *omnia ista que colis*] *omnia ista que tu colis* P.07, *ista omnia que tu colis* Ct Wo; 19.26 *aliud loqui*] *aliud loqui et* – Variantes: 4.2 *diuina lex*] *lex diuina*; 13.5 *contingere*] *pertingere* Ct P.07, *perstringere* Wo; 19.22 *recepisti*] *suscepisti*. Il est fort possible, en outre, que Ct ait servi de modèle à Wo car ils présentent en commun une omission, deux additions et un doublon en 20.68 *et domi*] *et domi et domi*.

¹²⁴ Par exemple en 1.13 *uidebatur*] *uidebatur primo* Wo A; 2.2 *intrepidus alacer*] *alacer intrepidus* Ct P.07 Wo A; 10.13 *mutatio*] *mutatio qui pauper est in una miseria est et diues in alta* Wo A; 10.29 *magnus*] *magnus quidem* Ct Wo A; 11.8 *sed de ipso*] *de ipso* Wo A.

- V.86: Vatican, Ross. 786
 Vi: Vienne, Nationalbibl. 3150.

Ce groupe comprend trois manuscrits du ^{xiii}^e s., tous français: Mu, P.89 et Up; trois manuscrits du ^{xiv}^e s., un français: P.36, et deux allemands: Ba et Ol; six manuscrits du ^{xv}^e s., dont quatre allemands (Bg, Gi, Ha et Vi) et deux italiens (Nu et V.86). La diffusion en zone germanique est due très probablement à Mu qui a passé dès le ^{xiv}^e s. en Autriche, à l'abbaye Saint-Maurice de Niederaltaich; sauf trois exceptions en effet (Cr dans la famille Y, Pr et Vn dans la famille Z), tous les manuscrits d'origine allemande appartiennent au groupe β , dont ils constituent la moitié des exemplaires. Le *De uerborum copia* s'y rencontre généralement avec des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs, sauf dans Mu, qui contient seulement des œuvres de Sénèque, et dans Ha, Nu et V.86, qui contiennent seulement des textes d'autres auteurs; on peut rapprocher P.89 et Up, ainsi qu'un témoin du groupe α (P.30), car ils contiennent, dans un ordre parfois différent, les mêmes œuvres de Sénèque (*Epistulae ad Paulum*, *De clementia*, *De beneficiis*, *Ludus de morte Claudii*), les *Sententiae* de Publilius Syrus attribuées à Sénèque, la *Vita Senecae* de Jérôme, l'*Epitaphium Senecae*, l'*Epitaphium Caesaris* et les pièces 392, 393, 660 et 709 de l'*Anthologia latina*; on peut aussi rapprocher Ba, Bg et Vi: le premier a servi de modèle au second et le troisième contient une partie des textes communs aux deux autres (extraits de Calcidius, Valère Maxime, Macrobe, Publilius Syrus et Ausone).

Aucun des trois manuscrits du ^{xiii}^e s. ne peut être considéré comme le parent du groupe: le plus correct est Up, avec seulement trois omissions, deux additions et une quinzaine de variantes; viennent ensuite P.89, avec trois omissions, deux additions et une vingtaine de variantes, et Mu, avec quatre omissions, deux additions et une trentaine de variantes. Ol, qui compte en propre dix omissions et une trentaine de variantes ou d'erreurs, offre, à la fin, le même libellé que P.89 et Mu: 'Explicit liber primus de uerborum copia', mais il est plus proche du second avec lequel il partage une douzaine de leçons; P.36 a quelques affinités avec Up, d'autres avec Ol, mais présente surtout une grande lacune dans le texte, qui passe de '... aut moneat aut consoletur' (1.19-20) à 'Ait quidam philosophus...' (14.1), et offre sept omissions, deux additions et une bonne soixantaine de variantes, d'erreurs ou de négligences; Vi et V.86 pourraient aussi descendre d'un intermédiaire commun, car ils partagent une série de leçons,¹²⁵ mais Vi est plus correct, avec trois omissions, trois additions

¹²⁵ Omissions: 3.41 *bone*; 20.34 *philosophia* – Variantes: 1.2 *perpenses*] *penses*; 1.6 *aliena*] *alienum*; 10.23 *grabatus illi*] *grabatus tibi*; 10.28 *ex quibus*] *de auibus*; 16.31 *mortem*] *cor*.

et une quinzaine de variantes personnelles, que V.86, qui compte en propre une quinzaine d'omissions, sept additions et plus de quatre-vingt erreurs ou variantes. Les cinq derniers témoins, Ba, Bg, Gi, Ha et Nu, se distinguent nettement des autres, avec cinq omissions, une addition et une quinzaine de variantes ou d'erreurs,¹²⁶ mais un certain nombre de fautes ou de mauvaises lectures montrent clairement que Bg, Gi, Ha et Nu, malgré quelques leçons supplémentaires en commun, ont été copiés indépendamment les uns des autres sur Ba.¹²⁷

Pour en terminer avec la famille X, signalons que les manuscrits donnent généralement dans leur titre le libellé *De uerborum copia*, auquel P.07 joint la mention de saint Paul et Wo la formule *De quatuor uirtutibus* (probablement reprise à Ct, qui est le seul par ailleurs à donner la forme *De copia uerborum*); V.18 est mutilé au début et à la fin, V.41 a pour titre *Seneca de prudentia*, P.88 donne seulement *In Seneca* et Ox a une mention pour le rubricateur dans la marge supérieure: *Seneca de uirtutibus cardinalibus*. Le florilège *Primum argumentum* est divisé dans Bo, Mu et P.30 (ainsi que dans un témoin de la famille Y: P.68) en douze paragraphes dont voici les *incipit*:

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Primum argumentum | (7) Sapientie seruias oportet |
| (2) Aliquid cotidie | (8) Hoc exigit philosophia |
| (3) Ita uiue ut nichil | (9) Stultitia semper incipit |
| (4) Sic utrosque reprehendas | (10) Inmodica ira gignit |
| (5) Cum rerum natura | (11) Satis multum temporis |
| (6) Ait quidam philosophus | (12) Initium est salutis |

La famille Y compte treize manuscrits, qui se répartissent en deux groupes γ et δ , le second se distinguant du premier par plusieurs leçons, entre autres:

omissions – 16.15 *quibus et X* γ : *quibus* δ .

variantes – 4.8 *an firmes X* γ : *an affirmes* δ ; 13.25 *amicum esse omnibus X* γ : *esse amicum omnibus* δ ; 16.36 *conficere bellum solet fama X* γ : *solet conficere bellum fama* δ ; 19.2-3 *quo loco te mors X* γ : *quo te loco mors* δ ; 19.34 *securus X* γ : *secure* δ ; 19.78 *temporis sui X* γ : *sui temporis* δ ; 20.52 *pro domino X* γ : *pro dominis* δ .

¹²⁶ Omissions: 3.41 *tue*; 4.7 *uocis*; 10.25 *hoc enim*; 20.76 *retro* – Addition: 1.13 *continuo]* *continuo sed* – Variantes: 1.14 *prospectum]* *profecto*; 10.2-3 *non est ... habet sed]* *non est leta nam qui parum habet non est pauper sed*; 10.9 *fieri]* *fidet*; 11.4 *fallere]* *facere*; 16.4 *prende]* *pretende*; 16.36 *conficere]* *conspicere*; 20.8 *in rosa]* *uiciosa*; 20.33 *reicit]* *deicit*; 20.53 *iactatur]* *tractatur*.

¹²⁷ Par exemple 1.25 *in omnia]* *in omnia* Ba Bg, *inde omnia* Gi Ha Nu; 3.1 *diligis continentiam* Bg: *diligas conscientiam* Nu: *diligas contēntiam* Ba: *diligas contientiam* (*continentiam* corr. Ha) Gi Ha; 6.2 *uersipellem]* *ūsipellem* Ba Bg: *nisi si pellem* Ha Nu: *spatium vacuum reliquit* Gi; 15.9 *ac laiera firmandi* in marg. Ba, in textu Bg: om. Gi Ha Nu; 20.19 *oratio pressa non]* *oratio non* Ba Bg Ha Nu: *oratio omnino* Gi.

Le groupe γ comprend six manuscrits:¹²⁸

Br:	Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.1134
Is:	Istanbul, Topkapi Serai 41
P.68:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 13468
P.85:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6385
P.95:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295
Wr:	Worcester, Cath. Lib. F.152.

Ce groupe rassemble une grande majorité de manuscrits français ou belges: P.95 a été écrit à l'abbaye de Corbie au XII^e s., P.68 et Br sont du XIII^e s. et le second a été copié à l'abbaye d'Aulne, Is est du XIV^e s.; c'est au XIV^e s. également que P.85 a été écrit en Italie et Wr en Angleterre. Le *De uerborum copia* s'y rencontre généralement, comme dans le groupe β , avec des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs, sauf dans Is où il n'y a que des œuvres de Sénèque et dans P.68 où il est isolé au milieu d'autres auteurs.

Malgré son ancienneté, P.95 ne peut pas être considéré comme le parent du groupe γ (et à plus forte raison de la famille Y) à cause de trois omissions, trois additions et une douzaine de leçons particulières.¹²⁹ Les autres manuscrits sont tous indépendants: Br, qui porte la trace d'une vingtaine de corrections marginales et interlinéaires, présente à côté de trois omissions et d'une demi-douzaine d'erreurs deux transpositions assez importantes;¹³⁰ P.68 contient davantage d'erreurs (cinq omissions, trois additions et une trentaine de variantes); Wr est plein de négligences et d'étourderies (une quarantaine d'omissions, une dizaine d'additions et une cinquantaine de variantes); P.85 est encore plus corrompu avec une quarantaine d'omissions, sept additions et plus de quatre-vingt variantes, mais c'est le seul manuscrit de ce groupe qui soit italien et il paraît avoir eu une certaine influence sur la recension bâtarde C avec laquelle il partage plusieurs variantes.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Il a été impossible de faire faire un microfilm de Is, qui est très endommagé; cependant la photographie du f. 114 effectuée en 1939 pour l'I.R.H.T. permet de classer avec beaucoup de vraisemblance Is dans la famille Y, à cause de la mention de saint Paul dans le titre et de la variante fondamentale en 1.2 *ut dignitatem*.

¹²⁹ Omissions: 1.5-6 *nec magnum ... caducum est*; 13.9 *nostri* - Additions: 3.2 *et quantum*] *et non quantum*; 3.29 *ita ut*] *ita ut et*; 9.6 *eque sanitatem*] *eque tam sanitatem* - Variantes: 1.1 *uiues si*] *uiues sic*; 1.7 *si prudentiam*] *sed prudentiam*; 1.21 *quam immoderata*] *ut immoderata*; 5.5 *rursus rigiditatis et asperitatis*] *rursus nimia rigiditate et asperitate*; 5.7 *nimia disciplina*] *negligentia nimia*; 10.21-22 *animus ad difficilia*] *ad difficilia animus*; 10.27-28 *est deo dignus*] *dignus est deo*; 13.33 *amicum paro*] *paro amicum*; 19.41 *uiuere incipiunt*] *incipiunt uiuere*; 19.47-48 *loco est bona*] *bona est loco*; 20.66 *depressit*] *adpressit*.

¹³⁰ En 10.29 *multum ... contubernio* après *magnus ille ... pauper est* et en 20.9-10 *esse debet ... incommodum* après *mors quam ... non eripit*.

¹³¹ Notamment en 7.1 *supra modum*] *supra se*; 8.2 *aut obscurus*] *ut obscurus*; 9.6 *accedit*] *adheret*; 10.15 *colloques*] *ponas*; 11.7 *tantumdem*] *tantum*; 11.7 *non satis*] *nondum satis*; 15.10-11 *a*

Le groupe γ est très vraisemblablement à l'origine de la recension mixte *M*, qui est contenue dans les douze manuscrits suivants:

B.08:	Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. 9608-19
B.71:	Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.971
B.72:	Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. 2772-89
Ex:	Exeter, Cath. Lib. 3549 B
Gg:	Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.1.9 (205)
Kl:	Klosterneubourg, Stiftsbibl. 538
Ld:	Leyde, Bibl. der Rijksuniv. B.P.L. 43 A
Pa:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6392
Pf:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6631
Pl:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8545
Ps:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 15377
Pw:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 15730.

Il suffit en effet de confronter l'histoire des divers témoins: nous avons vu plus haut que P.95 a été copié à Corbie au xii^e s. et Br à l'abbaye d'Aulne au $xiii^e$ s.; or, sauf Kl écrit en Allemagne au xv^e s., tous les exemplaires de *M* sont français ou belges;¹³² B.72, le plus ancien (xii^e - $xiii^e$ s.), appartenait à l'abbaye de Rouge-Cloître; du $xiii^e$ s. datent Ex, qui a été probablement copié entre Paris et Corbie, Pf qui a appartenu à Richard de Fournival dont on connaît les attaches avec Amiens, Pw qui a appartenu à Simon Widelin d'Arras; au xiv^e s. on a B.71

corpore ad animum redi] redi a corpore ad animum; 19.13 ac lupi] aut lupi; 19.64 cogitationem mortis] mortis cogitationem; 20.22 protinus om. Pour la recension C, cf. plus loin p. 182.

¹³² La rareté des copies allemandes et l'absence des copies anglaises de cette recension s'expliquent parce que les deux parties en ont été dissociées d'assez bonne heure: la première partie (*Formula intégrale*) a été copiée seule, sous le titre *De copia uerborum* toujours associé au libellé *De quatuor uirtutibus*, en Angleterre surtout, avec les MSS. Eton, Eton Coll. 89 et Oxford, Brasenose Coll. 13 (tous deux du $xiii^e$ s.), Cambridge, St. John's Coll. E.12 (115) et Paris, Bibl. nat. nouv. acq. lat. 625 (tous deux du xv^e s.), mais aussi en Allemagne, avec les MSS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6830 M et Rein, Stiftsbibl. 205 (tous deux du xv^e s.), et en France (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibl. Gud. lat. 4^o 280 (4585), du xv^e s.); la deuxième partie (florilège *Primum argumentum*) a circulé, sous le titre simple *De copia uerborum*, en Allemagne surtout avec les MSS. Zwettl, Stiftsbibl. 209 ($xiii^e$ - xiv^e s.), Upsal, Universitetsbibl. C.63 (xiv^e s.), Stuttgart, Württemberg. Landesbibl. HB I 187 (xv^e s.), Vienne, Nationalbibl. 4287 (xv^e s.) et Vienne, Schottenkloster 50.c.11 (xv^e s.), mais aussi en Flandre (Trèves, Bibl. des Priesterseminars R.II.11 (44) (xv^e s.) et en France (Upsal, Universitetsbibl. C.614, du xiv^e s., et Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6766 A, du xvi^e s.). L'Italie ne connaît pas non plus la recension mixte ni les copies indépendantes du florilège *Primum argumentum*; le titre *De copia uerborum* y désigne parfois la *Formula intégrale* (Escorial, Real. Bibl. S.II.4, du xiv^e s.), plus souvent le florilège *Turpissima... Maxima*, dont huit exemplaires, sur les neuf que nous avons recensés, ont été copiés dans la péninsule: Vatican, Pal. lat. 1539 ($xiii^e$ - xiv^e s.), Cesena, Bibl. Malatest. S XXVI 5, Padoue, Bibl. Anton. I 9 et Vatican, Arch. S. Pietro C 121 (tous du xiv^e s.), Fribourg-en-Brisgau, Universitätsbibl. 353, Vatican, Pal. lat. 1553, Urb. lat. 340 et Urb. lat. 544 (tous du xv^e s.).

peut-être écrit à Cambron, Gg qui était encore au xv^e s. à l'abbaye de Ter Doest, Pa, Pl et Ps, sur lesquels on n'a pas beaucoup d'informations; au xv^e s. ont été copiés B.08 qui appartenait à Goswin de Beka, chanoine de Courtrai, et Ld qui a appartenu à l'abbaye des Dunes. Le *De uerborum copia* y figure généralement en la seule compagnie des œuvres de Sénèque, sauf dans B.08, B.72 et Kl où il est isolé, et dans Ex et Pw où il est avec des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs.

La comparaison entre γ et *M* n'est possible que pour le florilège *Primum argumentum*: *M* s'accorde avec *Y* dans les variantes fondamentales¹³³ et rejoint le groupe γ , notamment P.95 et Br, dans une demi-douzaine d'autres occurrences,¹³⁴ le nombre de leçons particulières est peu élevé.¹³⁵ Le modèle de *M* a probablement disparu aujourd'hui et le premier témoin dans l'ordre chronologique, B.72, qui est mutilé de la fin et s'achève sur '... estuantibus solet' (16.11-12), se distingue des autres copies par une dizaine d'omissions et une trentaine de variantes concernant surtout l'ordre des mots;¹³⁶ assez correct avec une seule addition et une quinzaine de variantes, Ex est le seul à avoir préservé quatre leçons de la recension régulière, les autres y compris B.72 donnant une lecture différente: le premier cas est un nouvel exemple de l'influence exercée par γ , le second et le quatrième corrigent deux erreurs de la recension régulière par rapport au texte des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* établi par les éditeurs.¹³⁷

Pw, Pf et Pl ont en commun une vingtaine de leçons: trois omissions, deux additions et une quinzaine de variantes;¹³⁸ les nombreuses corrections dont Pw a été l'objet permettent d'établir qu'il a successivement servi de modèle à Pf et à

¹³³ En 9.9 (*uaria sunt et diuersa*) B.72 et Pw se rangent du côté de la famille X; en 15.4 (*prouocabit iras potentum*) B.72 offre une leçon particulière.

¹³⁴ Par exemple en 13.12 *suppelectilem*] *suppelectilem nostram* P.95 M; 17.6 *cum omnino*] *que omnino* Br P.95 M; 19.35 *quod gaudeat*] *quo* (corr. ex *quod* P.95) *gaudeat* P.95 M; 19.38-39 *est et incertus sui*] *et incertus sui est* γ M; 19.69 *te ipse*] *te ipsum* γ M; 19.73 *mali existimant*] *mali male existimant* Br M.

¹³⁵ Omission: 13.12 *in domum*] *domum* – Variantes: 13.34 *possim mori*] *mori possim*; 16.22 *assistit*] *assistat*; 16.29 *corrige*] *corrigis*; 19.3 *expectat*] *expectet*; 19.96 *merguni*] *immergunt*.

¹³⁶ Par exemple omissions: [4.52] *si continens es*; [7.1-2] *faciet uirum*; 11.9 *iudicandum* – Variantes: [2.17] *mendacium facie ueritatis*] *facie ueritatis mendacium*; [4.55] *si nemo uideat cum tu ipse illos*] *si illos nemo uideat cum tu ipse*; 10.7 *transmittit*] *dimittit*; 12.6 *quiescenti ... quiescendum*] *quiescendum est agenti et agendum quiescenti*; 15.12 *uetustate fit melius*] *melius uetustate fit*.

¹³⁷ En 19.26-27 *aliud loqui aliud sentire*] *loqui aliud aliud sentire* γ Ex; 19.41 *indicare*] *inchoare* (= éd. Reynolds); 19.66 *firmamentum*] *firmitum*; 19.76 *te tutum*] *te in tutum* (= éd. Reynolds).

¹³⁸ Par exemple en [3.7] *uindicare potuisse*] *potuisse uindicare*; [4.31] *quasi*] *tanquam*; [7.1] *extra*] *ultra*; [10.3] *temporum locorum*] *locorum temporum*; 11.3 *cogitationes*] *cogitationes tuas*; 13.13 *ille es*] *est ille*; 19.78 *temporis*] *corporis* (abrégé Pw Pf, en toutes lettres Pl); 20.13-14 *si securus si beatus*] *si beatus si securus*.

Pl: certaines fautes ont été corrigées entre la transcription de Pf, au ^{xiii}^e s., et celle de Pl, au ^{xiv}^e s., d'autres au contraire après la transcription de Pl.¹³⁹ En dehors de ces corrections, Pw n'a pratiquement pas de fautes (trois omissions et une dizaine de variantes peu significatives), Pf offre en propre quatre omissions et une vingtaine de variantes, Pl est plus négligé avec une vingtaine d'omissions, une dizaine d'additions et plus de cinquante variantes ou erreurs. B.71, Pw et Pf ont la même division en dix paragraphes pour le florilège¹⁴⁰ et quelques leçons (en 15.7 *expectat*] *excitat*; 19.3 *mori didicit*] *mori non didicit*; 19.75 *auditurus sis*] *auditurus sim*, corrigeant ainsi une erreur de la recension régulière par rapport au texte édité des *Epistulae*), mais B.71 semble beaucoup plus proche du modèle *M* avec seulement six variantes concernant l'ordre des mots.

Pa, Ps, B.08 et Kl présentent une dizaine de leçons communes, notamment dans la *Formula* intégrale;¹⁴¹ Pa, Ps et B.08 ont la même division en onze paragraphes pour le florilège,¹⁴² mais Ps est le moins fautif, avec quatre omissions et trois variantes, tandis que Pa offre une quinzaine de variantes et B.08 une douzaine d'omissions, cinq additions et une trentaine de variantes ou d'erreurs; Kl, qui va seulement jusqu'à '*... pati diuitias*' (13.14-15), est très négligé avec une vingtaine d'omissions et une quarantaine de variantes. Les deux derniers exemplaires de *M*, Gg et Ld, ont en commun trois omissions, trois additions et plus d'une vingtaine de variantes,¹⁴³ mais Gg qui finit par '*... pro quo mori possim*' (13.34) est moins incorrect, avec une dizaine de variantes supplémentaires, que Ld, qui s'achève par '*... contentus esto //*' (10.20) et présente une addition et une quinzaine de variantes personnelles.

¹³⁹ Dans le premier cas en 14.2 *scit* (corr. ex *sit* Pw) Pw Pl, *sit* Pf; 19.20 *semel* (corr. ex *semper* Pw) *cadere* Pw Pl, *semper cadere* Pf; 20.42 *captus* (*cauptus* in marg., corr. ex *carus* Pw) Pw Pl, *carus* Pf. – Dans le second cas en 19.18 *educendum esse te*] *te educendum* (corr. ex *eductum*) *esse* Pw, *te eductum esse* Pf Pl; 20.70 *malitia* (corr. ex *materia*) Pw, *materia* Pf Pl.

¹⁴⁰ '*Primum argumentum...*' (9.1); '*Aliquid cotidie...*' (10.1); '*Sic utrosque...*' (12.1); '*Cum rerum natura...*' (13.1); '*Ait quidam philosophus...*' (14.1); '*Inimica est multorum...*' (14.7); '*Sapientie seruias oportet...*' (15.1); '*Hoc exigit philosophia...*' (16.1); '*Stultitia semper incipit...*' (17.1); '*Satis multum temporis...*' (19.1).

¹⁴¹ Par exemple en [4.56-57] *superbiendo contempnas*] *contempnas superbiendo*; [4.71] *nescis*] *non nosti*; [5.1] *opus est*] *uirtus est* Pa Ps B.08, *est uirtus* Kl; [10.17] *puniat*] *contempnat*; 10.10 *paupertas uoluntaria*] *uoluntaria paupertas*; 10.17 *paupertate*] *paupertate sit aut*.

¹⁴² '*Primum argumentum...*' (9.1); '*Aliquid cotidie...*' (10.1); '*Ita uiue...*' (11.1); '*Sic utrosque...*' (12.1); '*Cum rerum natura...*' (13.1); '*Ait quidam philosophus...*' (14.1); '*Inimica est multorum...*' (14.7); '*Sapientie seruias oportet...*' (15.1); '*Stultitia semper incipit...*' (17.1); '*Inmodica ira...*' (18.1); '*Satis multum temporis...*' (19.1).

¹⁴³ Par exemple omissions: [2.21] *cuncta*; [6.5] *eris* – Additions: [2.55] *quo eundum*] *quo tibi eundum*; 10.3 *pauper*] *pauper cui cum paupertate bene conuenit diues es* [Ep. ad Lucilium 4.11] – Variantes: [4.9] *uictus*] *nichil*; [4.62-63] *credulus*] *inuidus*; [4.63] *simplicitatis*] *credulitatis* Gg, *crudelitatis* Ld; [5.12] *raptores*] *aliosque*; 9.2 *secum*] *posse*; 10.13 *mutatio*] *inuitatio*; 10.17 *malum illum*] *illum malum*.

C'est également au groupe γ , et plus particulièrement à P.85, qu'il faut rattacher la recension bâtarde *C*, contenue dans quatre manuscrits:

- P.17: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8717
 P.44: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8544
 To: Tours, Bibl. mun. 693
 V.12: Vatican, Vat. lat. 2212.

Tous ces manuscrits ont été écrits en Italie au xiv^e s., sauf To, copié en France au xv^e s. sur P.17; ils contiennent pratiquement toutes les œuvres qui circulaient sous le nom de Sénèque; P.17 et To y joignent les *Argumenta* sur les Tragédies dûs à Albertinus Mussatus et un index des matières rédigé par Iuncta de San Gimignano. La recension bâtarde *C* s'accorde pour les variantes fondamentales avec la famille *Y*, sauf en 14.8 (*allinit*) où elle rejoint la famille *X*; elle partage avec P.85 plusieurs variantes caractéristiques,¹⁴⁴ mais on y retrouve aussi quelques leçons de V.41, témoin italien de la famille *X* et dont nous avons signalé plus haut le rôle qu'il avait pu jouer.¹⁴⁵ Isolé en face de V.12, P.17 et To, qui présentent une vingtaine de leçons communes,¹⁴⁶ P.44 n'est pas moins exempt d'erreurs, puisqu'il offre six omissions, une addition et sept variantes; V.12 s'oppose à son tour dans quelques cas à P.17 et To;¹⁴⁷ P.17 a servi de modèle à To, comme le montre amplement non seulement l'identité des erreurs, mais aussi les corrections portées par le copiste de To sur les feuillets de P.17;¹⁴⁸ ce dernier, mutilé au début, commence par les mots ' // hos quoque cum dignitate...' [4.30].

Le groupe δ comprend sept manuscrits:

- Cp: Cambridge, Peterhouse I.9.8 (194)
 Cr: Cracovie, Bibl. Jagiell. 536
 Es: Escorial, Real Bibl. S.II.3
 Gl: Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231)

¹⁴⁴ Cf. plus haut n. 131.

¹⁴⁵ En 14.16 *sunt michi*] *nichi sunt*; 16.16 *timendi sunt*] *timidi sunt*; 19.82-83 *nunc amas*] *non amas*.

¹⁴⁶ Entre autres [4.65] *firmus*] *fortis*; 16.12 *quibusdam* ... *dicturis* om.; 19.48 *sanari*] *curari*; 19.95 *libidine*] *turbidine* P.17 To, *turbine* V.12.

¹⁴⁷ Par exemple en [4.15] *sed domum a domino* om. To (P.17 deficit) et 13.1 *natura* om.

¹⁴⁸ Erreurs communes en 11.3 *fidelem*] *fideliter*; 13.12 *miretur*] *admiret*; 15.7 *is maxime*] *id maxime*; 15.12 *imminere*] (blanc); 20.66 *caue*] *cauce* (sic) – Corrections en 13.27 *substituēt* (corr. ex *substinet* P.17) P.17 To; 14.11 *subducendus* (corr. ex *subdendus* P.17) P.17 To; 15.1 *seruias oportet* (*oportet* in marg. P.17) P.17 To; 20.1 *nescit*] *noscit* (corr. ex *nescit* P.17) P.17 To. – En outre deux corrections de P.17 ont mal été interprétées par To, la première en 10.2 *non est leta si pauper*] *non est leta* ^{c est} ^{b a} ^{tas} *si pauper*, lue *non est lecta estos si pauper* au lieu de *non est paupertas si leta est*; la seconde en 16.1 *quisque uiuat ne*] *quis ueniat nec* P.44 V.12, '*ueniat* '*quis nec* P.17, *ueniat quis nec* To.

Ob: Oxford, Bodleian Lib. Marshall 86
 P.42: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8542
 P.55: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 11855.

Ce groupe se divise à son tour en deux branches, $\delta 1$ et $\delta 2$, s'accordant tantôt l'une tantôt l'autre avec le groupe γ , par exemple:

3.26 *si merito obiurgauerit* X $\delta 1$: *si merito te obiurgauerit* γ $\delta 2$; 10.29 *diuitiarum* X $\delta 2$: *uitiorum* γ $\delta 1$; 11.6 *audaciter* X $\delta 2$: *audacter* γ $\delta 1$; 13.16 *munditias* X $\delta 2$: *mundi diuitias* γ $\delta 1$.

La branche $\delta 1$ comprend Cr, P.42 et P.55 et se caractérise par une douzaine d'omissions, une quinzaine d'additions et une quarantaine de variantes ou d'erreurs.¹⁴⁹ Manuscrit français du XIII^e s., P.42 est très probablement le parent de $\delta 1$, car il n'a pas de fautes très graves, sauf trois exceptions peu caractéristiques et faciles à corriger; P.55, écrit en Italie du Nord au XIV^e s., est incomplet et s'achève sur '*... pro quo possim mori*' (13.34) et, pour la partie de texte qu'il contient, présente seulement une demi-douzaine de variantes peu importantes; Cr, copié en Allemagne au XV^e s., est beaucoup plus incorrect avec huit omissions, une addition et une quinzaine de variantes. P.55 contient seulement des œuvres de Sénèque tandis que P.42 et Cr, qui offrent le *De uerborum copia* avec des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs, le font suivre sans séparation d'un long complément où se succèdent des extraits des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, des extraits du *De beneficiis* et des sentences morales.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Par exemple omissions: 1.3 *scire debes quia*; 1.27 *aliquando*; 10.19 *sue* – Additions: 16.31 *habere*] *habere morte nil certius hora mortis nil incertius*; 20.57 *auaritie*] *auaritie seruit* – Variantes (ou erreurs): 3.17 *temperatos*] *tamen paratos*; 12.5 *turbido*] *tenebras*; 13.28 *medicamento sine herba*] *herba sine medicamento*; 16.31 *seni quam iuueni*] *iuueni quam seni*; 19.78 *fortiter aliquid*] *aliquid fortiter*; 20.25-26 *agunt in insaniam*] *in insaniam agunt*.

¹⁵⁰ Choisis dans l'ordre, ce qui n'est pas le cas, rappelons-le, du florilège *Primum argumentum*, les extraits proviennent des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 59, 60, 63, 66, 68-70, 72-76, 78, 81-85, 87 et 88; *inc.* 'Si inuenimus qui nos bonos uiros dicat...' [*Ep.* 59.11]; *expl.* '... Plus scire uelle quam sit satis nempe intemperantie genus est' [*Ep.* 88.36]; ce florilège supplémentaire de P.42 et Cr aurait-il comme modèle un exemplaire où les *Epistulae* 59-88 étaient nettement séparées des autres? Nous connaissons au moins un volume de ce type, manuscrit démembré du XIII^e s. (Vatican, Pal. lat. 1549 + Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 3358), qui contient la *Vita* de Jérôme, les *Epistulae* 1-58, une deuxième copie de la *Vita*, les *Epistulae ad Paulum* et les *Epistulae* 59-80.21 (le manuscrit est mutilé de la fin), et qui se rattache à la famille β - δ (cf. J. Fohlen, 'Manuscrits démembrés des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* de Sénèque', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 [1973] 250-51). – Les extraits du *De beneficiis* commencent par 'Quis nostrum contentus fuit...' (1.1.5) et finissent par '... Hoc est magni animi perdere et dare' (7, fin). – Le dernier complément, qui commence par 'Non est tutum uiro inhermi se credere uie quam hostis armatus obsedit...' (non identifié), continue par quelques sentences de Publilius Syrus, parfois remaniées (éd. Wölfflin, n^{os} 189, 192, 198, 200, 204, 209, 210, 212, 220, 233-236, 245, 294, 295, 297 et 311) et s'achève par une longue suite d'aphorismes que nous n'avons pu identifier: le texte en est plus court dans Cr (*expl.* '... Vbi crescit amor decrescit amantis obsequium' = P.42, f. 159v, col. 2, ligne 1) que dans P.42 (*expl.* '... perdens operam et fructum quem expectat').

La branche $\delta 2$, qui comprend Cp, Es, Gl et Ob, présente une demi-douzaine d'omissions, une demi-douzaine d'additions et plus d'une vingtaine de variantes.¹⁵¹ Le parent de cette branche est certainement Es, écrit en Italie au xiv^e s., contenant uniquement des œuvres de Sénèque, mais parvenu assez tôt en Angleterre, où il a été abondamment annoté et où il a servi de modèle aux trois autres témoins, tous anglais: offrant à la fois des œuvres de Sénèque et d'autres auteurs, Gl a été copié au xiv^e s. et Cp au xv^e s., tandis que Ob, du xv^e s., présente le *De uerborum copia* isolé au milieu d'autres auteurs. En tête du texte, Es, Gl et Cp donnent un prologue de quelques lignes, en partie gratté dans Es mais néanmoins très reconnaissable, et qui a été publié d'après Gl par G. G. Meersseman.¹⁵² Dans les variantes du groupe ces trois manuscrits sont souvent d'accord contre Ob;¹⁵³ Gl et Cp présentent une addition reprise aux *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (en 13.33 après *amicitiam*: 'si aliquid in illa placet'; cf. *Ep.* 9.9, fin); Gl a fait l'objet de nombreuses corrections, soigneusement relevées par G. G. Meersseman dans son édition du florilège, tandis que Cp offre en propre quatre omissions, une addition et une demi-douzaine de variantes; Ob, mutilé, s'achève sur les mots '... aut ex condicione que nunc // ' (20.55), on y compte une vingtaine de leçons particulières (six omissions, quatre additions et une dizaine de variantes ou d'erreurs).

Le seul exemplaire de la recension bâtarde *B*, Vatican, Ross. 604, a été copié en Italie au xiv^e s.; *B* s'accorde en général avec la famille *X* pour les variantes fondamentales (probablement par l'intermédiaire de V.41, qui est italien, et de P.89, qui est arrivé en Italie au xiv^e s.) sauf en 15.4 où l'on trouve une leçon particulière (*non prouocabit unquam iras potentum*), mais l'influence de la

¹⁵¹ Par exemple omissions: 3.24 *malas*; 4.4. *omnibus*; 13.33-34 *ut habeam*; 15.1 *oportet*; 20.37 *compositus* – Additions: 19.94 *est in immensum*] *est ut in immensum*; 20.5 *tristem*] *tristem esse*; 20.57 *non sit*] *non sit securus* – Variantes: 3.25 *non arrogans*] *neque arrogans*; 3.33 *discedas*] *commoueas*; 3.34 *nichil differi*] *differit nichil*; 12.3 *concuratio*] *inconstancia*; 20.19 *iubeo*] *uolo*; 20.51 *de dominis*] *pro dominis*.

¹⁵² G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 93-94. Nous en redonnons le texte d'après Gl et Cp: 'Nisi illud quod a Seneca ad Paulum "Misi (enim *add. Cp*) tibi librum de uerborum copia" scriptum esse legitur me moneret, hunc librum inter ipsius uolumina ponere superfluum arbitrarer. Liquido enim patet quod de suis scriptis illum assumpsit, non de nouo composuit, ut eiusdem auctoritatis eiusdemque (eiusque *Cp*) sentencie (fidem *Cp*) in nullo penitus discrepantis probat testimonium. Verum sublimis dignitas sublimis hominis ad quem mittitur ipsum sic penitus autorizat quod non sinit a uoluminum Senece cathalogo segregari, et dicto in libro persuasiones acceptae laudateque, non contempte, existimentur a Paulo. In cunctis suis scriptis ad Senecam laus amica (cuncta *Cp*) patet. Persuadet namque in hoc libro mentis cultum, mundi contemptum et stulticie declinare naufragium.'

¹⁵³ Ainsi en 2.3 *tibi contumeliam fieri*] *tibi iniuriam fieri* Es Gl Cp, *tibi fieri iniurias* Ob; 4.6 *alieni abstinentia*] *abstinentia alieni* Es Gl Cp, *abstinentia alicui* Ob; 16.2 *uita unus omnium actionum sit color*] *uita omnia unus actionis color sit* Es Gl Cp, *uita omnia unus actionum color sit* Ob.

famille Y, et plus exactement de Es, est très sensible, notamment en 2.3 *contumeliam* X γ δ1: *iniuriam* δ2 B; 3.5 *trahunt reice* X γ δ1: *trahunt eice* δ2 B; 4.6 *alieni abstinentia* X γ δ1: *abstinentia alieni* δ2 B; 10.1 *auxilii* X γ δ1: om. δ2 B; 13.16 *certis* X γ δ1: *tetris* δ2 B.

Les titres de la famille Y et de la recension bâtarde C sont caractérisés par la mention de saint Paul (Br, Es, Gl, Is, P.42, P.85, P.95 et Wr dans le premier cas, P.17, P.44 et To dans le second); ils offrent plus souvent le libellé *De uerborum copia* (Br, Cp, Es, Gl, Is, P.42, P.85 et P.95) que le libellé *De copia uerborum* (Cr, P.68 et Wr pour la famille Y; P.17, P.44, To et V.12 pour la recension C); Ob et P.55 n'ont pas de titres. Les manuscrits de la recension mixte M ont généralement un double titre: *De copia uerborum*, *De quatuor uirtutibus* (B.08, B.71, Ex, Pa, Pf, Pl et Ps), la mention de saint Paul se rencontre dans B.08, Pa et Ps, elle a été rajoutée dans B.71 et Ex, elle ne figure ni dans Pf ni dans Pl; Gg donne seulement *De quatuor uirtutibus*, Ld n'a pas de titre, B.72 et Pw ont reçu un titre après coup (*De quatuor uirtutibus* dans le premier cas, *De uerborum copia* et *De quatuor uirtutibus* dans le second). La recension bâtarde B a un titre simple: *De quatuor uirtutibus*.

La famille Z compte sept manuscrits:

Ce:	Cesena, Bibl. Malatest. S XX 1
Ny:	New York, Columbia Univ., Butler Lib. Plimpton 115
P.46:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6346
P.94:	Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6394
Pr:	Prague, Státní knihovna ČSR III.D.17 (469)
V.78:	Vatican, Vat. lat. 8078
Vn:	Vienne, Nationalbibl. 257.

En ce qui concerne les variantes fondamentales, ces manuscrits s'accordent tantôt avec la famille X, tantôt avec la famille Y, ou se partagent entre X et Y, ou bien encore donnent une leçon particulière.¹⁵⁴ Les accords avec la famille Y sont en majorité, puisqu'on en compte sept, contre cinq accords avec la famille X, cinq variantes partagées et trois variantes propres; l'influence de Y et notamment de la branche δ2 se fait encore sentir dans plusieurs leçons,¹⁵⁵ tandis

¹⁵⁴ Accords avec X: 1.2 *et dignitatem*; 11.4-5 *in amicitiam recipiendus sit*; 19.32 *intrauit*; 19.55 *consiste*. – Accords avec Y: 2.4 *nec geras*; 9.5 *hospitia habent multa*; 15.7 *fruitur diuitiis*; 16.27 *opus aliquod elige ad quod*; 16.40 *ruina molliter*; 19.28-29 *fugere non debet*; 19.79 *viros captare*. – Variantes particulières: 3.36 *te habere scientiam*; 9.9 *ut uaria et diuersa sunt*; 15.4 *iras potentum prouocabit*. – Variantes partagées: 1.26 *ipsa plena sit* X θ2: *ipsa sit plena* Y η θ1; 3.5 *occultam uoluptatem animi* X η: *occultam animi uoluptatem* Y θ; 13.11 *sed agnoscant* X η θ1: *sed magis agnoscant* Y θ2; 19.10 *et ideo nulli loco* X θ2: *et ideo nulli* Y η θ1 (Vn deficit).

¹⁵⁵ Par exemple 1.12 *uerisimile* X γ δ1: *uerisimile est* δ2 Z; 1.26 *et requies* X γ δ1: *et semper requies* δ2 Z; 3.25 *non arrogans* X γ δ1: *neque arrogans* δ2 Z; 4.7 *nectas* X γ δ1: *nectes* δ2 Z; 4.8

que l'influence de X , par l'intermédiaire du groupe β , est beaucoup plus restreinte.¹⁵⁶ on peut en conclure que la famille Z , née en Italie au xiv^e s., représente une tradition contaminée, dans la genèse de laquelle le groupe δ de la famille Y (et l'on pense aux deux témoins italiens: P.55 de la branche $\delta 1$, et surtout Es de la branche $\delta 2$) a joué un très grand rôle, le groupe β de la famille X (P.89 est arrivé en Italie au xiv^e s.) un rôle moins important.

La famille Z présente en outre une quarantaine de leçons personnelles: cinq omissions peu importantes, douze additions et une bonne vingtaine de variantes qui affectent le plus souvent l'ordre des mots, mais qui sont parfois des fautes de lecture évidentes, par exemple:

additions – 3.11 *abducere*] *abducere si continentia studes* [Formula 4.14]; 4.2 *humane*] *humane in hac non est quod estimemus quid expediat expediet quicquid illa decreuerit* [Formula 5.4-5]; 4.3 *ama*] *ama deum*; 4.5 *nocere*] *obesse et tunc te uirum iustum omnes appellabunt et obsequuntur et uenerabuntur et diligent* [Formula 5.8-9]; 15.2 *seruire*] *seruire uera*; 20.24 *per quam*] *per quam homo*.

variantes – 4.5 *nocere*] *obesse*; 7.4 *bestiarius*] *hostiarius*; 16.38 *non expectata*] *non suspectata*. 16.39 *iuuat dolori occurrere suo*] *iuuat inde occurrere dolori suo*; 18.1 *inmodica ira gignit insaniam*] *indomita ira insaniam gignit*; 19.99 *esse remedio locus*] *locus esse remedio*; 20.25 *nobis uidentur*] *nobis nostra*.

La famille Z compte trois manuscrits du xiv^e s., tous italiens: Ce, P.46 et P.94; quatre manuscrits du xv^e s., deux italiens, Ny et V.78, et deux allemands, Pr et Vn. Le *De uerborum copia* se trouve avec les seules œuvres de Sénèque dans Ce et P.94, isolé au milieu d'autres auteurs dans P.46, Pr et V.78, avec Sénèque et d'autres auteurs dans Vn; Ny contient seulement un fragment de texte. Le partage des manuscrits dans les variantes fondamentales ainsi que plusieurs erreurs conjonctives permettent de diviser les manuscrits en deux groupes, η avec Ce, Ny et P.94, θ avec P.46, Pr, V.78 et Vn: 2.4 *conflictum*] *constitutum* η , *institutum* θ ; 7.1 *extollat faciet uirum minacem*] *extollat minacem faciet uirum contumacem* η , *extollat faciet uirum contumacem* θ ; 9.2 *egri animi est ista*] *igitur causa est ista* η , *igitur animi est ista* θ .

Le groupe η compte en outre une omission, quatre additions et une dizaine de variantes;¹⁵⁷ P.94 en est le représentant le plus correct, avec seulement deux

firmes $X \gamma$: *affirmes* δZ ; 13.25 *amicum esse omnibus* $X \gamma$: *esse amicum omnibus* δZ ; 19.78 *fortiter aliquid* $X \gamma \delta 2$: *aliquid fortiter* $\delta 1 Z$; 20.20 *stultius est quam* $X \gamma \delta 1$: *stultius quam* $\delta 2 Z$.

¹⁵⁶ Par exemple 2.6 *nec appetas* αY : *non appetas* βZ ; 4.8-9 *de uirtute tractatur* αY : *de ueritate tractabitur* βZ ; 11.5 *toto illum* αY : *illum toto* βZ ; 16.11 *quam fatigatis* αY : *ut fatigatis* βZ ; 19.59 *fortiorem eum* αY : *eum fortiorem* βZ .

¹⁵⁷ Par exemple additions: 9.1 *existimo*] *existimo secum*; 19.27 *aliqua*] *aliqua ante nos* – Variantes (ou erreurs): 15.16 *mens sit*] *mens potest*; 16.4 *uiuas*] *uicinas*; 20.55 *modo nobis*] *nobis modo*.

omissions négligeables et une vingtaine de variantes ou d'erreurs;¹⁵⁸ Ce présente davantage de fautes, avec huit omissions dont une assez longue en 7.3 (*honestate ... omnibus supercilia*), trois additions peu importantes et une trentaine d'erreurs de lecture; Ny est encore plus incorrect; mutilé, il s'achève sur '... hec ante omnia // ' (19.36) et offre une douzaine d'omissions, quatre additions et une vingtaine de variantes.

Le groupe θ , qui compte quatre omissions et une dizaine de variantes,¹⁵⁹ se divise en deux branches: $\theta 1$, avec Pr et Vn (les deux manuscrits allemands), et $\theta 2$, avec P.46 et V.78 (les deux témoins italiens). Pr et Vn, qui sont plus proches du groupe η , sont très incorrects, le premier avec une demi-douzaine d'omissions, autant d'additions et une quarantaine de variantes, le second avec une trentaine d'omissions, six additions, une bonne soixantaine de variantes ou d'erreurs, plusieurs lacunes importantes à partir de *modo expauescenda* (19.68), et un *explicit* incomplet '... utique necessarium est' (20.48). P.46 et V.78 ont en commun trois omissions, deux additions, l'une reprise à la *Formula* intégrale, l'autre aux *Epistulae ad Lucilium*,¹⁶⁰ et une vingtaine de variantes supplémentaires; P.46 compte en outre deux omissions et deux additions, dont une reprise aux *Epistulae ad Lucilium*;¹⁶¹ V.78, beaucoup plus incorrect avec une quinzaine d'additions et une bonne vingtaine de variantes, présente le caractère très particulier d'avoir été confronté avec le texte intégral des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, probablement par l'intermédiaire de son modèle: après *crebra mutatio* (9.7), *compara* (10.2), *pauper* (10.3), *sat est* (10.4), *uersa est* (13.22), *anticipat* (13.24), *herba* (13.28), *facit* (14.12), *irritat* (14.13), *fauor uulgi* (14.19), et *amor uite* (19.4), le florilège est complété par les passages correspondants, plus ou moins longs selon les cas, des *Epistulae ad Lucilium*.¹⁶²

Les manuscrits de la famille Z donnent toujours dans leurs titres la forme *De copia uerborum*, à laquelle ils ajoutent, sauf Pr, la mention de saint Paul, ce qui est une nouvelle preuve de l'influence exercée par la famille Y; Ce et P.94 ont

¹⁵⁸ P.94 a été confronté avec un témoin du groupe θ comme le montre la correction marginale en 3.6 *cruditatem* (margin. *alibi saturitatem*).

¹⁵⁹ Entre autres, omissions: 3.4 *ipsi*; 3.37 *si*; 5.4-5 *neque rursus* – Variantes: 3.6 *cruditatem* *saturitatem*; 3.16 *potius quam* *magisquam*; 19.77 *deinde* *demum*; 20.41 *res nos non uerba* *res nobis non uerba*.

¹⁶⁰ En 4.6 *prohibebis* *prohibebis*. *Ab his ergo ... restitues* [*Formula* 5.11-12] et 19.27 *pars uite* *pars uite et tunc quoque ... decrescit* [*Ep.* 24.20].

¹⁶¹ En 19.27 *sentire* *sentire quanto turpius aliud scribere aliud sentire* [*Ep.* 24.19].

¹⁶² Ces compléments vont de quelques mots, comme en 10.2 *compara nec minus aduersus ceteras pestes* [*Ep.* 2.4] et 13.28 *herba sine ullo uenefice carmine* [*Ep.* 9.6] à plusieurs lignes comme en 10.4 *sat est*. *Quid enim non refert quantum illi in archa quantum in horeis iaceat quantum pascet aut feneretur si non acquisita sed acquirenda computat* [*Ep.* 2.3] ou en 19.4 *amor uite qui ut non est abiciendus ita minuendus ut si quando res exigit nichil nos destineat nec impediatur quominus parati simus quod quandoque faciendum est statim facere* [*Ep.* 26.10].

gardé le terme *Liber*, remplacé dans Ny, P.46, Pr. V.78 et Vn par le terme *Epistola*.

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En résumé, sur les trois familles de la recension régulière, il y en a deux 'pures' (X et Y) et une 'contaminée' (Z): comme le montre le tableau ci-contre, dans la famille X, qui groupe à elle seule la moitié des témoins (vingt-deux sur quarante-deux), dix manuscrits ont été copiés aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, et plus particulièrement en France, tandis que douze manuscrits ont été copiés aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles, et plus particulièrement en Allemagne; dans la famille Y (treize témoins sur quarante-deux), il y a seulement quatre exemplaires anciens, toujours d'origine française (ou belge), contre neuf exemplaires des XIV^e et XV^e siècles, provenant d'Angleterre, d'Italie, de France ou d'Allemagne; dans la famille Z (sept témoins sur quarante-deux), il y a seulement des copies datant des XIV^e et XV^e siècles et toutes, sauf deux, originaires d'Italie. Les douze manuscrits de la recension mixte M se répartissent à peu près également entre le XIII^e, le XIV^e et le XV^e siècles et ils sont tous français ou belges, sauf un qui est allemand. Le seul témoin de la recension bâtarde A est français, copié aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles; l'unique témoin de la recension bâtarde B a été écrit en Italie au XIV^e siècle; la recension bâtarde C compte trois manuscrits italiens du XIV^e siècle et un manuscrit français du XV^e siècle.

Il est difficile de déterminer avec précision quels sont le ou les manuscrits de la *Formula uitae honestae* ou des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* qui auraient pu servir de modèle au compilateur du *De uerborum copia*. Notons cependant que, dans la première partie (*Formula* remaniée), les leçons de la recension régulière, la seule à compter véritablement, appartiennent en très grande majorité à la famille β de Barlow, par exemple *uituperatio* (1.21), *patienter* (3.26), *discedas* (3.33), *loquentium* (3.47) et *itinere* (5.1).¹⁶³ Le florilège *Primum argumentum* est tiré, nous l'avons vu plus haut, des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* 1-52: pareil éventail de lettres fait songer à la famille β de Reynolds,¹⁶⁴ mais la recension régulière n'en présente pas les leçons caractéristiques, par exemple elle donne *certis* et non *tetris* (13.16), *caruerunt* et non *caruerint* (13.18), *eligendus* et non *diligendus* (16.19); le modèle du *De uerborum copia* appartenait très probablement à la famille δ des *Epistulae*, du reste la plus répandue, mais la nécessité de relier correctement les divers extraits a provoqué plusieurs changements, souvent négligeables (ordre des mots, addition ou suppression d'incises grammaticales), tandis que la personnalité du compilateur se fait peut-

¹⁶³ C. W. Barlow, *Martini episcopi*, pp. 219-20.

¹⁶⁴ L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's 'Letters'* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 27-28.

être sentir dans les modifications de vocabulaire: par exemple en 9.2 *uarietibus* au lieu de *mutationibus* [Ep. 2.11], en 13.14 *auro utitur quemadmodum testa* au lieu de *argento utitur quemadmodum fictilibus* [Ep. 5.6 – probablement pour éviter la répétition de *argento* et *fictilibus*], en 14.19 *redimitur fauor uulgi* au lieu de *popularis fauor queritur* [Ep. 29.11] et en 16.30 *aufferri non possent* au lieu de *extrahi nequirent* [Ep. 5.13]. Ceci mis à part, si l'on s'en réfère à l'édition Reynolds, la famille X est la plus correcte des trois: elle offre généralement le texte retenu soit seule dans les variantes fondamentales, soit en accord avec la famille Y contre la famille Z dans une quarantaine d'autres occasions; il est possible que l'ancienneté des témoins dans la famille X explique en grande partie le meilleur état du texte.

Répartition des manuscrits du *De uerborum copia*

	X		Y		Z	M	Bâtardes
	α	β	γ	δ			
xii ^e s.	V.18 (F) Bo (F)		P.95 (F)				
xiii ^e s.	P.30 (F) P.88 (F) P.07 (F) Ct (A) V.41 (I)	Mu (F) P.89 (F) Up (F)	Br (B) P.68 (F)	P.42 (F)		B.72 (B) Ex (F) Pf (F) Pw (F)	A (F)
xiv ^e s.	Ox (A)	P.36 (F) Ba (D) Ol (D)	Is (F) Wr (A) P.85 (I)	Es (I) Gl (A) P.55 (I)	Ce (I) P.46 (I) P.94 (I)	B.71 (B) Gg (F) Pa (F) Pl (F) Ps (F)	B (I) P.44 (I) P.17 (I) V.12 (I)
xv ^e s.	Nh (F) Wo (A)	Bg (D) Gi (D) Ha (D) Nu (I) V.86 (I) Vi (D)		Cp (A) Ob (A) Cr (D)	Ny (I) Pr (D) V.78 (I) Vn (D)	B.08 (F) Kl (D) Ld (B)	To (F)

A = Angleterre B = Belgique D = Allemagne F = France I = Italie

Sont indiqués en italique d'une part les manuscrits de la branche $\delta 2$, d'autre part ceux de la recension bâtarde C.

Même s'il s'agit d'une compilation d'œuvres bien connues et bien éditées par ailleurs, la publication du *De uerborum copia* est d'autant plus nécessaire que le père G. G. Meersseman a donné un texte incomplet.¹⁶⁵ Comme il pensait en effet que le *De uerborum copia* était limité au seul florilège *Primum argumentum*, il n'a pas étudié la *Formula* remaniée et il n'a pas été à même de voir les différences entre la recension régulière qui est, si l'on peut dire, la version 'authentique' du *De uerborum copia* et les recensions mixte et bâtardes qui en sont les dérivées; comme le choix de ses témoins a été empirique et restreint, il n'a pu procéder à un classement et il les a privilégiés à tour de rôle. Si l'on écarte le MS. Trèves, Bibl. des Priesterseminars R.II.11 (44), qui est tardif et qui contient seulement le florilège *Primum argumentum*,¹⁶⁶ l'édition Meersseman a utilisé cinq manuscrits; deux d'entre eux appartiennent à la famille X, dont nous avons vu qu'elle était la plus correcte et la plus proche de l'archétype: Vatican, Vat. lat. 4918 (V.18), dont l'ancienneté ne compense pas les mutilations et qui ne fait pas autorité dans le groupe α ,¹⁶⁷ et Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 19 (M.IV.4) (Ba), représentant tardif et incorrect du groupe β ; les trois autres appartiennent à la famille Y, moins fidèle à l'archétype: Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295 (P.95) et Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.1134 (Br) font partie du même groupe γ , mais le premier n'y fait pas non plus autorité bien qu'il en soit le plus ancien et les leçons du second offrent un caractère accessoire, tandis que Glasgow, Univ. Lib., Hunter. Mus. U.3.4 (231) (Gl) est un descendant très altéré du sous-groupe $\delta 2$.¹⁶⁸

Dans l'édition qui va suivre, nous n'avons pas jugé utile de prendre en considération la recension mixte, très proche pour le florilège de la recension régulière, ou les recensions bâtardes, qui mettent en jeu un seul manuscrit ou un petit nombre de manuscrits; nous avons adopté le découpage en paragraphes¹⁶⁹ commun à trois représentants de la famille X, Bruxelles, Bibl. des Bollandistes 671 (Bo), Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 3523 (Mu) et Paris, Bibl.

¹⁶⁵ G. G. Meersseman, 'Seneca maestro', 103-14.

¹⁶⁶ L'édition Meersseman en a retenue les leçons suivantes: en 9.10 *aliquid*] *unum*; 10.15 *illum*] *eum*; 11.9 *coram*] *cum*; 13.29 *propter*] *ob*; 14.5 *illi*] *ei*; 19.22 *recepisti*] *accepisti*; 19.45 *alium*] *alios*; 20.53 *quo*] *quoiquot*.

¹⁶⁷ L'édition Meersseman en a retenu les trois additions et quatre variantes, en 10.31, 12.2, 12.3 et 13.21 (cf. supra n. 118).

¹⁶⁸ L'édition Meersseman en a retenu une dizaine de leçons, dont six caractérisent en fait le groupe $\delta 2$ (en 10.2 *non est leta si pauper*] *non est paupertas si leta est*; 13.13-14 *minor ille est*] *minor est*; 13.16 *certis*] *tetris*; 16.11 *quam fatigatis*] *non aliter quam fatigatis*; 19.76 *te tutum*] *te in tutum*; 20.12 *exiturus*] *rediturus*) et quatre sont particulières à Gl (en 10.2 *honesta res*] *honestas res est*; 13.33 *amicitiam*] *amicitiam si aliquid in illa placet*; 15.12 *iubeo*] *iubeo semper*).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. supra p. 177.

nat. lat. 6630 (P.30); nous avons délibérément restreint l'apparat critique, dans lequel l'édition Reynolds est désignée par le sigle *R*, à quatre séries de variantes: celles qui diffèrent totalement de *R*, celles qui départagent les trois familles *X*, *Y* et *Z* (variantes fondamentales), celles qui montrent la dépendance de la famille *Z* par rapport à la famille *X* ou à la famille *Y*, celles enfin qui prouvent l'originalité de la famille *Z* par rapport aux deux autres.

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1. Quisquis prudentiam sequi desideras, tunc per rationem recte uiues, si omnia prius estimes et perpenses et dignitatem rebus non ex opinione multorum sed ex earum natura constituas. Nam scire debes quia sunt que uidentur bona esse et sunt, et sunt que uidentur esse et non sunt. Quecumque
5 autem ex rebus transitoriis possides, non mireris nec magnum estimes quod caducum est nec apud te que habes tanquam aliena seruabis, sed pro te tanquam tua et dispenses et utaris. Si prudentiam amplecteris, ubique idem eris et prout rerum uarietas exigit, ita te accomodes tempori nec te in aliquibus mutes sed potius aptes, sicut manus que eadem est et cum in palmum extenditur
10 et cum in pugillum constringitur. Prudentis proprium est examinare consilia et non facili cito credulitate ad falsa prolabi. De dubiis non diffinias sed suspensam tene sententiam. Nichil affirmes, quia non omne quod uerisimile statim et uerum est, sicut et sepius quod primum incredibile uidebatur non continuo falsum est [2.1-16]. Si prudens esse cupis, in futura prospectum intende. Que
15 possunt contingere, animo tuo cuncta propone. Nichil tibi subitum sit sed totum ante conspicias [2.20-22]. Prudens fallere non uult, falli non poterit. Opiniones tue iudicia sint. Cogitationes uagas et inutiles et uelut somnio similes non recipies [2.26-28]. Cogitatio tua stabilis et certa sit: siue deliberet siue queret siue contempletur non recedat a uero. Sermo tuus non sit inanis, sed aut suadeat aut
20 moneat aut consoletur aut precipiat. Lauda parce, uitupera parcius. Similiter reprehensibilis est nimia laudatio quam immoderata uituperatio; illa adulatione, illa malignitate suspecta est. Testimonium ueritati, non amicitie reddas. Cum consideratione promitte, potius quam promiseris presta [2.30-37]. Presentia ordina, futura provide, preterita recordare [2.38]. Qui nichil de futuro
25 premeditatur in omnia incautus incedit [2.39-40]. Non semper in actu sis, sed interdum animo tuo requiem dato, et requies ipsa plena sit sapientie studiis et cogitationibus bonis. Prudens nunquam otio marcet. Animum aliquando remissum habet, nunquam solutum [2.41-45]. Non te moueat dicentis auctoritas, nec quis, sed quid dicat intendito, nec quam multis sed qualibet
30 placeas cogita [2.49-50].

2. Magnanimitas, que et fortitudo si insit animo tuo, cum magna fiducia uiues liber, intrepidus, alacer [3.1-2]. Si magnanimus fueris, nunquam iudicabis tibi contumeliam fieri [3.4-5]. Honestum uindictę genus ignoscere. Neminem

1 2 et dignitatem X: ut dignitatem Y Z 13 continuo X Y: continue Z 26 et
requies X γ δ1: et semper requies δ2 Z ipsa plena sit X θ2: ipsa sit plena Y η θ1

5 susurro appetas, neminem suffodias: palam egredere. Ne geras conflictum nisi indixeris: nam fraudes et doli imbecillem decent. Eris magnanimus, si pericula nec appetas ut temerarius, neque formides ut timidus. Nam timidum non facit animum nisi reprehensibilis uite conscientia [3.7-13].

3. Si diligis continentiam, circumcide superflua et in artum desideria constringe. Considera tecum quantum natura poscat et quantum cupiditas expetat. Si continens fueris, eo usque peruenies ut te ipso contentus sis. Qui sibi ipsi satis est cum diuitiis natus est. Impone concupiscentie tue frenum
 5 omniaque blandimenta que occultam uoluptatem animi trahunt reice. Ede citra cruditatem, bibe citra ebrietatem. Obserua ne in conuiuio, ne qualibet uite communitate quos non imitaberis dampnari uidearis. Nec presentibus deliciis inherebis nec desiderabis absentes. Victus sit tibi ex facili re, nec ad uoluptatem sed ad cibum accede. Palatum tuum fames excitet, non sapor. Desideria tua
 10 paruo redime, quia hoc tantum curare debes, ut desinant [4.1-12]. A corpore ad spiritum quantum potes abducere. Habita non amene sed salubriter [4.13-15]. Si res exigue sunt, non sint tamen anguste. Nec tua defleas nec aliena mireris. Turpia fugito antequam accidant, nec quemquam alium uereberis plus quam te. Omnia tolerabilia preter turpitudinem crede. A uerbis quoque turpibus
 15 abstineto, quia licentia eorum impudentiam nutrit. Sermones utiles magis quam facetos et affabiles ama, rectos potius quam obsecundantes. Miscebis interdum iocos seriis sed temperatos et sine detrimento dignationis ac uerecundie. Reprehensibilis risus est, si non modicus, si pueriliter effusus, si muliebriter fractus [4.18-27]. Non erat tibi scurrilis sed grata urbanitas. Sales tui sine dente
 20 sint, ioci sine uilitate, risus sine cachinno, uox sine clamore, incessus sine tumultu. Quies tibi non desidia erit et cum ab aliis luditur tu sancti aliquid honestique tractabis. Si continens es, adulationes euita; sit tibi tam triste laudari a turpibus quam si lauderis ob turpia. Letior esto quotiens displices malis et malorum de te existimationes malas ueram tui laudationem ascribe [4.32-38].
 25 Non eris audax, non arrogans. Submittes te, non proicies, grauitate seruata. Admoneberis libenter, reprehenderis patienter. Si merito obiurgauerit aliquis, scito quia profuit, si immerito, prodesse uoluit. Non acerba, sed blanda uerba timebis. Esto uitiorum fugax ipse, aliorum uero neque curiosus scrutator neque acerbus reprehensor, sed sine exprobratione corrector, ita ut admonitionem
 30 hylaritate preuenias. Et errori facile ueniam dato. Nec extollas quemquam nec deicias. Dicentium esto tacitus auditor, audientium promptus receptor.

2 4 ne geras X: nec geras Y Z

3 5 occultam uoluptatem animi X η: occultam animi uoluptatem Y θ 11 post abducere
 inser. si continentie studes Z 21 erit X Y: sit Z 25 non arrogans X γ δ1: neque arrogans
 δ2 Z 27 post immerito inser. scito quia β P.95 Z

Requirenti facile responde, contempnenti facile cede, nec in iurgia execrationes-
 que discedas. Si continens es, et animi tui et corporis motus obserua, ne
 indecori sint, nec ideo contempnas, quia latent. Nam nichil differt, si nemo
 35 uideat, cum ipse illos uideas. Mobilis esto, non leuis, constans, non pertinax.
 Alicuius rei scientiam te habere nec ignotum sit nec molestum. Omnes tibi
 pares facies: si inferiores superbiendo non contempnas, superiores recte
 uiuendo non metuas. In reddenda officiositate neque negligens neque exactor
 appareas. Cunctis esto benignus, nemini blandus, paucis familiaris, omnibus
 40 equus. Seuerior esto iudicio quam sermone, uita quam uultu, ultor clemens,
 seuitie detestator, fame bone neque tue seminator neque aliene inuidus,
 rumoribus criminibus suspicionibus minime credulus sed potius his qui per
 speciem simplicitatis ad nocendum aliquibus subrepunt oppositissimus, ad iram
 tardus, ad misericordiam promptus, in aduersis firmus, in prosperis cautus et
 45 humilis, occultator uirtutum sicut alii uitiorum, uane glorie contemptor et
 bonorum quibus peditus es non acerbus exactor. Nullius imprudentiam
 despicias. Rari sermonis ipse sed loquentium patiens, seuerus ac serius, sed
 hylares non aspernans, sapientie cupidus ac docilis. Que nosti sine arrogantia
 postulanti imparties. Que nescis sine occultatione ignorantie tibi postula
 50 impartiri [4.42-71].

4. Iustitia est tacita nature conuentio in adiutorium multorum inuenta.
 Iustitia non nostra constitutio, sed diuina lex et uinculum societatis humane
 [5.1-4]. Quisquis ergo hanc sectari desideras, time deum prius et ama ut ameris a
 deo. Amabilis eris deo, si in hoc illum imitaberis, ut uelis omnibus prodesse,
 5 nulli nocere [5.5-8]. Iustus ut sis, non solum non nocebis sed etiam nocentes
 prohibebis. Nichil nocere non est iustitia, sed alieni abstinencia [5.9-11]. Ex
 nulla uocis ambiguitate controuersiam nectas, sed calliditatem animi speculari.
 Nichil tibi intersit an iures an firmes: de religione et fide scias agi ubicumque de
 uirtute tractatur [5.13-16]. Si aliquando coarteris uti mendacio, utere non ad
 10 falsi sed ad ueri custodiam; si contigerit fidelitatem mendacio redimi, non
 mentieris, sed potius excusabis, quia ubi honesta causa est iustus secreta non
 prodit. Tacenda enim tacet, loquenda loquitur [5.18-22]. Hec si studere
 curaueris, letus et intrepidus cursus tui finem expectabis; prospicies tristia huius
 mundi hilaris, tumultuosa quietus, extrema securus [5.23-26].

34 nichil differt $X \gamma \delta 1$: differt nichil $\delta 2 Z$
 te habere scientiam Z

36 scientiam te habere X : te scientiam habere Y :

4 2 post humane inser. in hac est quod extimemus quid expediat expediet quicquid illa
 decreuerit Z 3 ama $X Y$: ama deum Z 5 nocere $X Y$: obesse Z qui post hoc uerbum
 inser. et tunc te uirum iustum omnes appellabunt et obsequuntur uenerabuntur et diligent
 7 nectas $X \gamma \delta 1$: nectes $\delta 2 Z$ 8 firmes $X \gamma$: affirmes δZ 8-9 de uirtute tractatur αY : de
 ueritate tractabitur βZ

5. Iustitia eo mediocritatis itinere regenda est, ne ductu iugiter leui immotam semper admirationem negligentia subsequatur, dum neque de magnis neque de minimis errantium uitii corrigendi curam geris, sed licentiam peccandi aut alludentibus tibi blande aut illudentibus proterue promittis, neque
 5 rursus rigiditatis et asperitatis nichil uenie reseruans humane societati dirus appareas. Ita ergo amabilis iustitiae regula tenenda est, ut reuerentia discipline eius neque nimia disciplina communitate despecta uilescat neque seueriori atrocitate diuturna gratiam humane amabilitatis amittat [9.1-10].

6. Prudentia immoderata callidum facit, minutum, suspitiosum, attentum, semper aliquid timentem, aliquid requirentem, astutia plenum, uersipellem, simplicitatis inimicum, commentatorem culparum, et ut postremo uno nomine a cunctis malus homo uocetur. Perfecta prudentia nec obtusum in se habet
 5 aliquid nec uersutum [cf. 6.4-13].

7. Magnanimitas si se supra modum extollat, faciet uirum minacem, inflatum, turbidum, inquietum, et in quascumque excellentias dictorum atque factorum neglecta honestate festinum, qui momentis omnibus supercilia subrigens et bestiarius etiam quietam excitat: alium ferit, alium fugit [7.1-5].
 5 Mensura magnanimitatis est nec timidum esse hominem nec audacem [7.8-9].

8. Temperantie modus est ut nec uoluptati deditus, prodigus et luxuriosus appareas, nec auara tenacitate sordidus aut obscurus existas [cf. 8.4-6].

9. Primum argumentum composite mentis existimo posse consistere et secum morari. Egri animi est ista iactatio discurrere et locorum uarietatibus inquietari [2.1]. Nusquam est qui ubique est. Certis ingeniis innutriti et inmorari oportet, si uelis aliquid trahere quod in animo fideliter sedeat. Peregrinantes
 5 multa hospitium habent, nullas amicitias [2.2]. Non prodest cibus nec corpori accedit qui statim sumptus emittitur; nichil eque sanitatem impedit quam remediorum crebra mutatio; non conualescit planta que sepe transfertur; nichil tam utile est ut in transitu prosit [2.3]. Fastidientis stomachi est multa degustare; que ubi uaria sunt et diuersa, inquinant, non alunt [2.4]. Ex pluribus ergo que
 10 legis aliquid apprehende [2.5].

10. Aliquid cotidie aduersus paupertatem, aliquid aduersus mortem auxilium compara [2.4]. Honestas res letas paupertas [2.5]. Illa uero non est letas si pauper; non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est [2.6]. Non puto pauperem esse cui quantumcumque superest satis est [1.5]. Primus diuitiarum modus est

5 2 neque om. Z 7 neque seueriori X γ δ2: nec seueriori δ1 Z

6 1 minutum X γ: inimicum δ Z

7 2 atque X Y: aut Z

9 5 multa hospitium habent X: hospitium habent multa Y Z 9 ubi uaria sunt et diuersa X:
 ubi uaria et diuersa sunt Y: ut uaria sunt et diuersa Z

- 5 habere quod necesse est, proximus quod sat est [2.6]. Malo serues tua, et bono tempore uti incipies. Sera parsimonia in fundo est [1.5]. Magne diuitie sunt lege nature composita paupertas [4.10]. Nudum latro transmittit; etiam in obsessa uia pauperi pax est [14.9]. Paupertas contenta est desideriis instantibus satisfacere. Paruo fames constat, magno fastidium [17.4]. Non potest studium salutare fieri
- 10 sine frugalitatis cura; frugalitas paupertas uoluntaria est [17.5]. Si ad naturam uixeris, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opiniones, nunquam diues [16.7]. Dubitabit aliquis ferre paupertatem ut animum furoribus liberet? [17.7] Nature se sapiens accomodat [17.9]. Multis parasse diuitias non finis miseriarum fuit sed mutatio [17.11]. Non est in rebus uitium sed in animo. Quemadmodum nichil refert
- 15 utrum egrum in ligneo lecto aut in aureo colloces (quocumque illum transtuleris, morbum suum secum transferet), sic nichil refert utrum eger animus in diuitiis an in paupertate ponatur: malum illum suum sequitur [17.12]. Animo imperandum est ut uoluptatibus absteineat. Certissimum argumentum firmitatis sue capit, si ad blanda et in luxuriam trahentia nec it nec abducitur
- 20 [18.3]. Licet sine luxuria agere festum diem [18.4]. Contentus esto minimo et uilissimo cibo, dura atque horrida ueste [18.5]. In ipsa securitate animus ad difficilia preparetur et contra iniurias fortune inter beneficia firmetur [18.6]. Grabatus illi seuerus sit et panis durus ac sordidus. Hoc triduo et quadriduo fer, interdum pluribus diebus, ut non lusus sit sed experimentum: tunc intelliges
- 25 non opus esse fortuna; hoc enim quod necessitati sat est debet irata [18.7]. Exerceamur et, ne imparatos nos fortuna deprehendat, fiat nobis paupertas familiaris [18.8]. Non est iocunda res aqua et polenta [18.10]. Nemo alius est deo dignus quam qui opes contempsit [18.13]. Redige te ad parua ex quibus cadere non possis [20.8]. Multum est non corrumpi diuitiarum contubernio; magnus
- 30 ille est qui in diuitiis pauper est [20.10]. Nemo nascitur diues; quisquis exit in lucem panno et lacte est contentus [20.13].

11. Ita uiue ut nichil tibi committas nisi quod committere et inimico tuo possis; sed quia interueniunt quedam que consuetudo facit archana, cum amico tuo omnes curas, omnes cogitationes misce. Fidelem si putaueris, facies; nam quidam fallere docuerunt dum falli timent [3.3]. Diu cogita an tibi aliquis in

5 amicitiam recipiendus sit. Cum placuerit fieri, toto illum pectore admitte; tam audaciter cum illo loquere quam tecum. Si aliquem amicum existimas cui non tantumdem credis quantum tibi, uehementer erras et non satis nosti uim uere amicitie. Omnia cum amico delibera, sed de ipso prius: post amicitiam

10 18 imperandum est X Y : est imperandum Z certissimum argumentum X Y : argumentum certissimum Z

11 4-5 in amicitiam recipiendus sit X Z : recipiendus sit in amicitiam Y 5 toto illum α Y : illum toto β Z

credendum est, ante amicitiam iudicandum [3.2]. Nulla uerba coram amico meo
 10 retraham [3.3]. Quidam que tantum amicis committenda sunt obuiis narrant, et
 in quaslibet aures quicquid illos urit exonerant; quidam rursus etiam
 carissimorum conscientiam reformidant. Vtrumque uitium est, et omnibus
 credere et nulli [3.4].

12. Sic utrosque reprehendas, et eos qui semper inquieti sunt, et eos qui
 semper quiescunt. Nam illa tumultu gaudens est non industria sed exagitate
 mentis concursatio, et hec non est requies que motum omnem molestiam
 iudicat, sed dissolutio et languor [3.5]. Quidam adeo in latebras confugerunt ut
 5 putent in turbido esse quicquid in luce est. Inter se ista miscenda sunt: et
 quiescenti agendum est et agenti quiescendum [3.6].

13. Cum rerum natura delibera [3.6]. Hoc meditare cotidie, ut possis equo
 animo uitam relinquere [4.5]. Nullum bonum adiuuat habentem nisi ad cuius
 amissionem paratus est animus [4.6]. Necesse est mors aut perueniat aut
 transeat. Nullum magnum quod extremum est [4.3]. Nulli potest segura uita
 5 contingere qui de producenda nimis cogitat [4.4]. Temperetur uita nostra inter
 bonos mores et publicos [5.5]. Frons populo nostra conueniat [5.2]. Id agamus ut
 meliorem uitam sequamur quam uulgus, non ut contrariam: alioquin quos
 emendare uolumus fugamus a nobis et auertimus; illud quoque efficimus, ut
 nichil imitari uelint nostri, dum timent ne imitanda sint omnia [5.3]. Propositum
 10 nostrum est secundum naturam uiuere [5.4]. Suscipiant omnes uitam nostram
 sed agnoscant [5.5]. Plurimum: dissimiles uulgo esse nos sciat qui inspexerit
 propius; qui in domum intrauerit nos potius miretur quam supplectilem.
 Magnus ille est qui fictilibus sic utitur quemadmodum argento, nec minor ille
 est qui sic auro utitur quemadmodum testa; infirmi animi est non posse pati
 15 diuitias [5.6]. Contra naturam est torquere corpus suum et faciles odisse
 munditias et squalorem appetere et cibis non tantum uilibus uti sed certis et
 horridis [5.4]. Nullius boni sine socio iocunda possessio est. Aliquid gaudeo
 discere ut doceam [6.4]. Multos tibi dabo qui non amico sed amicitia caruerunt
 [6.3]. Multa bona nostra nobis nocent [5.9]. Adhuc enim in nobis non pueritia
 20 sed, quod est grauius, puerilitas remanet; et hoc quidem peius est, quod
 auctoritatem senum habemus, uitia puerorum [4.2]. Spem metus sequitur [5.7].
 Prouidentia, maximum bonum conditionis humane, in malum uersa est [5.8].
 Nos et uenturo torquemur et preterito. Timoris enim tormentum memoria
 reducit, prouidentia anticipat [5.9]. Multum proficit qui sibi amicus est:
 25 nunquam erit solus. Scito hunc amicum esse omnibus [6.7]. Ita sapiens se

13 10 suscipiant X δ Z: suspiciant γ R 11 sed agnoscant X η θ1: sed magis agnoscant
 Y θ2 16 munditias X δ2: mundi diuitias γ δ1 Z 19 in nobis om. Z 25 amicum esse
 X γ: esse amicum δ Z

contentus est, non ut uelit esse sine amico sed ut possit: amissum equo animo fert. Sine amico nunquam erit; substituet alium in locum amissi [9.5]. Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium sine medicamento, sine herba: si uis amari, ama [9.6]. Iocundius est amicum facere quam habere [9.7]. Qui se spectat et propter hoc ad
 30 amicitiam uenit male cogitat; quemadmodum cepit, ita desinet [9.8]. Qui utilitatis causa assumptus est tamdiu placebit quamdiu utilis fuerit. Necesse est initia nostra inter se et exitus congruant: qui amicus esse cepit quia expedit placebit; aliquid pretium contra amicitiam preter ipsam [9.9]. Amicum parum ut habeam pro quo possim mori [9.10].

14. Ait quidam philosophus sapientem nulla re egere, et tamen multis illi rebus opus esse: 'contra stulto nulla re opus esse; nulla enim re uti scit sed omnibus eget'. Sapienti et manibus et oculis ad cotidianum usum necessariis opus est, eget nulla re: egere enim necessitatis est, nichil autem necesse est
 5 sapienti [9.14]. Quamuis tamen se ipso contentus sit, amicis illi opus est; hos cupit habere quam plurimos, non ut beate uiuat; uiuet enim etiam sine amicis beate [9.15]. Inimica est multorum conuersatio. Nemo non aliquod uitium nobis aut commendat aut imprimit aut nescientibus allinit. Vtique quo maior est populus cui miscemur, hoc periculi plus est. Nichil uero tam dampnosum bonis
 10 moribus quam in aliquo spectaculo residere [7.2]. In spectaculis enim exitus pugnantium mors est [7.4]. Subducendus est populo tener animus et parum tenax recti [7.6]. Vnum exemplum luxurie aut auaritie multum malum facit: uicinus diues cupiditatem irritat [7.7]. Recede in te quantum potes; cum his uersare qui te meliorem facturi sunt, illos admitte quos tu potes facere meliores
 15 [7.8]. Fuge multitudinem, fuge paucitatem, fuge etiam unum [10.1]. Vnus michi pro populo et populus pro uno [7.10]. Satis sunt michi pauci, satis est unus, satis est nullus. Hec non multis, sed tibi; satis enim magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus [7.11]. Quis populo placere potest cui placet uirtus? Malis artibus redimitur fauor uulgi [29.11]. Nunquam uolui placere populo: que enim uulgus
 20 nouit ego nescio, que ego scio uulgus ignorat [cf. 29.10].

15. Sapientie seruias oportet, ut tibi contingat uera libertas. Philosophie seruire libertas est [8.7]. Nisi sapienti sua non placent; omnis stultitia laborat fastidio sui [9.22]. Omnes amicos habere operosum est, satis est inimicos non habere. Sapiens nunquam potentium iras prouocabit, immo nec declinabit
 5 [14.7]. Non minus contempni quam suscipi nocet [14.10]. Forensis eloquentia et quecumque alia populum mouet aduersarios habet [14.11]. Consilium rerum

26 non ut uelit $X \gamma \delta 1$: ut non uelit $\delta 2 Z$
 pono Z

14 8 allinit $X \theta 2$: illinit $Y \eta \theta 1$

15 2 seruire $X Y$: seruire uera Z 4 potentium iras prouocabit X : iras (iram $\delta 1$)
 prouocabit potentium Y : iras (iram θ) potentium prouocabit Z

29 spectat $X Y$: expectat Z

33 paro $X Y$:

omnium sapiens, non exitum expectat [14.16]. Is maxime diuitiis fruitur qui minime diuitiis indiget [14.17]. Stultum est et inconueniens litterato uiro occupatio exercendi lacertos et dilatandi ceruicem ac latera firmandi [15.2].
 10 Bibere et sudare uita cardiaci est [15.3]. Quicquid facies, cito a corpore ad animum redi; illum excole, illum exorna. Labore modico alitur ille. Id bonum cura quod uetustate fit melius [15.5]. Non te iubeo imminere libro aut pugillaribus: dandum est aliquod interuallum animo, non ut resoluatur, sed ut remittatur [15.6]. Stulti uita ingrata est, trepida; tota in futurum fertur [15.9].
 15 Scio neminem posse beate uiuere, ne tolerabiliter quidem, sine sapientie studio. Perseuerandum est et assiduo laborandum, donec bona mens sit quod bona uoluntas est [16.1]. Sapientia animum format et fabricat, uitam disponit, actiones regit, agenda et omittenda demonstrat [16.3]. Sapientia nos tueri debet. Hec docebit ut deum sequaris [16.5].

16. Hoc exigit philosophia, ut ad legem suam quisque uiuat, ne orationi uita dissentiat ut ipsa inter se uita, unus omnium actionum sit color. Est difficile hoc; nec hoc dico, sapientem uno semper iturum gradu, sed una uia [20.2]. Vnam semel ad quam uiuas regulam prende et ad hanc omnem uitam tuam
 5 exequa [20.3]. Tunc scito te omnibus cupiditatibus esse solutum, cum eo peruenies ut nichil deum roges nisi quod rogare possis palam. Sic uiue cum hominibus tanquam deus uideat, sic loquere cum deo tanquam homines audiant [10.5]. 'Sic fac omnia' inquit Epycurus 'tanquam spectet Epycurus' [25.5]. Nulla sapientia naturalia animi et corporis uitia ponuntur: quicquid
 10 infixum et ingenitum est lenitur arte, non uincitur [11.1]. Quibusdam constantissimis in conspectu populi sudor erupit quam fatigatis et estuantibus solet, quibusdam tremunt genua dicturis, quorundam dentes colliduntur, lingua titubat, labra concurrunt: hec nec disciplina nec usus unquam excutit, sed natura uim suam exercet [11.2]. Verecundia hec magis in iuuenibus apparet,
 15 quibus et plus caloris et tenera frons; nichilominus et ueteranos tangit. Quidam nunquam magis quam cum erubuerint timendi sunt, quasi omnem uerecundiam effuderint [11.3]. Vt quidam boni sanguinis sunt, ita quidam incitati et mobilis et cito in os prodeuntis [11.5]. Hec nulla sapientia abigit [11.6]. Non prohibetur rubor nec abducitur [11.7]. Aliquis uir bonus eligendus est nobis ac
 20 semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante uiuamus et omnia tanquam illo iudice faciamus [11.8]. Maxima pars peccatorum tollitur, si peccatori testis assistit. Aliquem habeat animus quem uereatur, cuius

7 diuitiis fruitur X: fruitur diuitiis Y Z

16 2 post se uita inser. una omnium et Z 9 animi et corporis uitia X Y: uitia animi et corporis Z 10 lenitur X Y R: leniter Z 11 quam α Y: ut β Z 14 magis in iuuenibus X Z: in iuuenibus magis Y 22 assistit X γ δ1: assistat δ2 Z

auctoritate secretum suum sanctius faciat. O felicem qui sic aliquem uereri potest ut ad memoriam eius se componat atque ordinet! Qui sic aliquem uereri potest cito erit uerendus [11.9]. Elige eum cuius tibi placuit uita et oratio [11.10]. Plus tibi et uiua uox et conuictus quam oratio proderit [6.5]. Illum tibi ostende uel custodem uel exemplum. Opus aliquo ad quem mores nostri se erigant [11.10]. Felix qui etiam cogitatus emendat [cf. 11.9]. Nisi ad regulam praua non corriges [11.10]. Quam dulce est cupiditates fatigasse ac reliquisse! [12.5] Que si aliter auferri non possent, ipsum cor euellendum erat [51.13]. 'Molestum est' inquis 'mortem ante oculos habere.' Primum ista tam seni quam iuueni ante oculos debet esse [12.6]. Plura sunt que nos terrent quam que premunt. Illud tibi precipio, ne sis miser ante tempus, cum illa que uelut imminetia expausti nunquam fortasse uentura sint [13.4]. Primum respice an certa argumenta sint uenturi mali; plerumque suspicionibus laboramus, et illudit nobis illa que conficere bellum solet fama [13.8]. Nescio quomodo magis uana perturbant; uera enim modum suum habent [13.9]. Verisimile est aliquid futurum mali: non statim uerum est. Quam multa non expectata uenerunt! quam multa expectata nusquam comparuerunt! Quid iuuat dolori occurrere suo? [13.10] Quosdam molliter ruina deposuit. Habet etiam mala fortuna leuitatem [13.11]. Satis cito dolebis cum uenerit: interim tibi meliora promitte [13.10].

17. Stultitia semper incipit uiuere [13.16]. Quid est autem turpius quam senex uiuere incipiens? [13.17] Malum est in necessitate uiuere, sed in necessitate uiuere nulla necessitas est. Patent undique ad libertatem uie multe, breues, faciles. Agamus deo gratias quod nemo in uita teneri potest: calcare ipsas necessitates licet [12.10]. Quedam nos magis torquent quam debent, quedam autem torquent que debent, quedam torquent cum omnino non debent; aut augemus dolorem aut fingimus aut precipimus [13.5].

18. Inmodica ira gignit insaniam [18.14]. Ingentis ire exitus furor est, et ideo ira uitanda est non moderationis causa sed sanitatis [18.15].

19. Satis multum temporis sparsimus: incipiamus uasa in senectute colligere [19.1]. In freto uiuimus, moriamur in portu [19.2]. Incertum est quo loco te mors expectat; tu eam omni loco expecta [26.7]. Qui mori didicit seruire didicit. Vna est cathena que nos ligatos tenet, amor uite [26.10]. Animum debes

25 placuit uita *X Y*: uita placuit *Z* 27 opus aliquo ad quem *X*: opus aliquod elige ad quod *Y*
Z erigant *X Y Z*: exigant *R* 36 conficere bellum solet fama *X Y*: solet conficere bellum
fama δZ 38 non expectata *X Y*: non suspecta *Z* 39 comparuerunt *X Y*: apparuerunt *Z*
iuuat dolori suo occurrere *X Y*: iuuat inde occurrere dolori suo *Z* 40 molliter ruina *X*:
ruina molliter *Y Z*

17 6 que debent quedam torquent *om. Z*

18 1 gignit insaniam *X Y*: insaniam gignit *Z*

- 5 mutare, non celum [28.1]. Bona mens nec commodatur nec emitur; et puto, si uenalis esset, non haberet emptorem: at mala cotidie emitur [27.8]. Quid terrarum iuuare nouitas potest? [28.2] Bene uiuere omni loco positum est [28.5]. Nisi te ipsum statuas, non ante tibi ullus locus placebit [28.2]. Patria mea totus hic mundus est [28.4]. Quicquid facis, contra te facis et motu ipso nocet tibi
- 10 [28.3]. Magis quis ueneris quam quo interest, et ideo nulli loco adicere animum debemus [28.4]. Prompta mens tam in Persas quam in alte cinctos cadit [33.2]. Ante circumspectum est cum quibus edas et bibas quam quid edas et bibas; sine amico uisceratio leonis ac lupi uita est [19.10]. Errat qui amicum in atrio querit, in conuiuio probat. Nullum habet maius malum homo et bonis suis
- 15 obsessus quam quod amicos sibi putat quibus non est [19.11]. 'Si gloria' inquit Epycurus 'tangeris, notiolem te epistole mee facient quam omnia ista que colis' [21.3]. Si uis te diuitem facere, non pecunie adiciendum sed cupiditatibus detrahendum est [21.7]. Si sapiens es, intelligis educendum esse te ex istis occupationibus speciosis et malignis [22.1]. Nemo tam timidus est ut malit
- 20 semper pendere quam semel cadere [22.3]. Contentus esto negociis in que descendisti [22.4]. Turpe est oneri cedere; luctare cum officio quod semel recepisti. Non est uir fortis ac strenuus qui laborem fugit [22.7]. Tumultuosam uitam sapiens feret, non eliget, et malet in pace esse quam in pugna; non multum prodest uitia sua proiecisce, si cum alienis rixandum est [28.7]. Ante
- 25 omnia memento demere rebus tumultum ac uidere quod in quacumque re sit [24.12]. Ipse uoluptates in tormenta uertuntur [24.16]. Turpe est aliud loqui, aliud sentire [24.19]. Cottidie morimur; cottidie demitur aliqua pars uite [24.20]. Ridiculum est currere ad mortem tedio uite [24.22]. Vir fortis ac sapiens non fugere debet e uita sed exire [24.25]. Incommodum summum est minui et
- 30 deperire [26.4]. Quidam etiam uitii gloriantur [28.10]. Paucos seruitus, plures seruitutem tenent [22.11]. Peiores morimur quam nascimur [22.15]. Nemo non ita exit e uita tanquam modo intrauit. Nemo quicquam habet facti; in futurum nostra distulimus [22.14]. Nemo cum sarcinis enatat [22.12]. Nemo quam bene uiuat sed quam diu curat [22.17]. Percepit sapientiam, si quis tam securus
- 35 moritur quam nascitur [22.16]. Ad summa peruenit qui scit quod gaudeat [23.2]. Hoc ante omnia fac, disce gaudere. Tu eum iudicas gaudere qui ridet; animus debet esse alacer et fidens et super omnia erectus [23.3]. Verum gaudium res seuera est [23.4]. Qui felicitatem suam in aliena potestate posuit, sollicitus est et incertus sui [23.2]. Dissice et conculca illa que exterius splendent. Viri boni
- 40 auditas tuta est [23.6]. Pauci sunt qui consilio se suaque disponant [23.8].

19 10 loco om. Y η 18 intelligis educendum esse te X Y: intellige te educendum esse Z 28-29 non fugere debet X: fugere non debet Y Z 32 intrauit X Z: intrauerit Y 35 quod gaudeat X γ δ1 Z: quo gaudeat δ2 R

- Molestum est semper uitam indicare; male uiuunt qui semper uiuere incipiunt [23.9]. Quidam ante uiuere desierunt quam inciperent [23.11]. Non amicum nisi offendero [25.1]. Malo successum michi quam fidem deesse [25.2]. Alterius uitia emendanda, alterius frangenda sunt [25.1]. Scio alios inter flagella
 45 ridere, alium gemere sub colapho [13.5]. Sapientia ars est: certum petat, eligat profuturos, ab his quos desperauit recedat, non tamen cito relinquat et in ipsa desperatione extrema remedia temptet [29.3]. Grauitur affectis sanitatis loco est bona remissio [29.8]. Ne desperaueris etiam diutinos egros posse sanari, si contra intemperantiam steteris, si multa inuitos facere coegeris et pati [25.2].
 50 Panem et aquam natura desiderat; ad hec nemo pauper est [25.4]. Nemo est cui non satius sit cum aliquo esse quam secum. Tunc precipue in te secede cum esse cogeris in turba [25.7]. Litterata colloquia uerbaque collecta et eruditus sermo non ostendunt uerum robur animi; est oratio etiam et timidissimis audax. Quid egeris tunc apparebit cum animam ages [26.6]. Compone mores tuos, attolle
 55 animum tuum, aduersus formidata consiste [29.9]. Multo ad rem magis pertinet qualis tibi quam qualis aliis uidearis [29.11]. Circumspiciendum est quomodo exeas [30.2]. Magnus gubernator et scisso uelo nauigat [30.3]. Nichil habet quod speret quem senectus ducit ad mortem [30.4]. Mors adeo extra omne malum est ut sit extra omnem malorum metum [30.6]. Puto fortiozem eum esse qui in ipsa
 60 morte est quam qui circa mortem. Mors enim ammota etiam imperitis animum dedit non uitandi ineuitabilia [30.8]. Viuere noluit qui mori non uult [30.10]. Mors necessitatem habet equam et inuictam [30.11]. Venit aliquis ad mortem iratus morti: uenientem nemo hylaris excipit nisi qui se ad illam diu composuerit [30.12]. Non timemus mortem sed cogitationem mortis [30.17].
 65 Surdum te amantissimis tui presta: bono animo male precantur [31.2]. Vnum bonum est, quod beate uite causa et firmamentum est, sibi fidere. Fieri non potest ut una ulla res modo mala sit, modo bona, modo leuis et perferenda, modo expauescenda. Labor bonum est [31.3]. Generosos animos labor nutrit. Fac te ipse felicem; facies autem, si intellexeris bona esse quibus admixta uirtus
 70 est, turpia quibus malitia coniuncta est [31.5]. Quid est bonum? rerum scientia. Quid malum est? rerum imperitia [31.6]. Honestas et turpia uirtutis et malitiae societas efficit [31.5]. Perfecta uirtus est equalitas ac tenor uite per omnia consonans sibi [31.8]. Nemo nouit deum, multi de eo mali existimant, et impune [31.10]. Non sumus sub rege: unusquisque sibi se uendicat [33.4]. Sic uiue
 75 tanquam quid facies auditurus sis [32.1]. Hoc est salutare, non conuersari cum

41 indicare $X Y Z$: inchoare R $X \gamma Z$: nec desperaueris δR rem magis $X Y$: magis ad rem Z mali male $Y Z$: male R 46 profuturos $X Y Z$: profecturos R 49 facere $X Y$: agere Z 59 fortiozem eum αY : eum fortiozem βZ 75 facies ... sis $X Y Z$: facias ... sim R

48 ne desperaueris

55 consiste X : resiste $Y Z$ 73 mali X :

dissimilibus et diuersa cupientibus [32.2]. Perduc te tutum et considera quam pulchra res sit consummare uitam ante mortem, deinde expectare securum reliquam temporis sui partem [32.3]. Mirum est fortiter aliquid dici ab homine molliciam professo [33.2]. Viro captare flosculos turpe est et fulcire se notissimis
80 ac paucissimis uocibus. Turpe est seni ex commentario sapere [33.7]. Patet omnibus ueritas nondum occupata [33.11]. Pars magna bonitatis est uelle fieri bonum [34.3]. Non est huius animus in recto cuius acta discordant [34.4]. Nunc amas me; amicus non es. Qui amicus est amat; qui amat non utique amicus est; itaque amicitia semper prodest, amor aliquando etiam nocet [35.1]. Nam nisi
85 turpi ratione amor turpium conciliari non potest [29.11]. Venit ad nos ex his quos amamus etiam absentibus gaudium, sed id leue et euanidum: conspectus autem et presentia et conuersatio habent aliquid uiue uoluptatis [35.3]. Obserua an eadem uelis hodie que heri [35.4]. Istos magnopere contempne qui te obiurgant quod umbram petieris et otium. Res inquieta felicitas [36.1]. Qui
90 nichil agere uidentur maiora agunt [8.6]. Si uis omnia tibi subicere, te subice rationi; multos reges, si ratio te rexerit [37.4]. Habet hoc in se optimum generosus animus, quod concitatur ad honesta. Neminem excelsi ingenii uirum humilia delectant et sordida [39.2]. Magni animi est magna contempnere ac mediocria malle quam nimia [39.4]. Necesse est in immensum exeat cupiditas
95 que naturalem modum transilit. Inania et ex libidine orta sine termino sunt [39.5]. Quidam uoluptatibus se mergunt quibus in consuetudinem adductis carere non possunt, et ob hoc miserrimi sunt, qui eo peruenerunt ut illa que superuacua fuerant facta sint necessaria. Tunc est consummata infelicitas, ubi turpia non solum delectant sed etiam placent, et desinit esse remedio locus ubi
100 que fuerant uitia mores sunt [39.6].

20. Initium est salutis notitia peccati. Nam qui peccare se nescit corrigi non uult; deprehendas te oportet antequam emendes [28.9]. Quantum potes te ipsum argue, et inquire in te; accusatoris primum partibus fungere, deinde iudicis, nouissime deprecatoris; aliquando te offende [28.10]. Malo adolescentem
5 tristem quam hylarem et amabilem turbe [36.3]. Iuueni parandum, seni utendum est [36.4]. Meditandum est quod aduersus omnia tela, quod aduersus omne hostium genus bene facit, mortem contempnere [36.8]. Nemo discit ut si necesse fuerit equo animo in rosa iaceat, sed in hoc induratur, ut tormentis non submittat fidem. Mors nullum habet incommodum; esse debet aliquid cuius sit
10 incommodum [36.9]. Mors, quam pertimescimus et accusamus, intermittit

78 temporis sui *X* γ : sui temporis δ *Z* fortiter aliquid dici *X* γ δ 2: aliquid fortiter dici δ 1 *Z*
79 molliciam *X* γ δ 1: molliciem δ 2 *Z* viro *X*: viros *Y* *Z* 83 qui amat *X* *Y*: qui
autem amat *Z* 87 habent *X* *Y* *Z*: habet *R* 88-89 te obiurgant *X* *Y*: obiurgant te *Z*
99 remedio locus *X* *Y*: locus remedio *Z*

- uitam, non eripit; ueniet iterum qui nostros in lucem reponat dies [36.10]. Equo animo debet exiturus exire [36.11]. Effugere non potes necessitates: fit uia et hanc tibi dabit philosophia. Ad hanc te confer si uis saluus esse, si securus, si beatus [37.3]. Humilis est res stultitia, abiecta, sordida, seruilis [37.4]. Nichil
- 15 ordinatum est quod precipitatur et properat [40.2]. Inhibenda est luxuria, corripienda est auaritia: quid horum raptim potest fieri? quis medicus egros in transitu curat? [40.5] Recta facies si non uideris istos qui quantum dicant, quemadmodum querunt [40.9]. Sicut sapienti uiro incessus modestior conuenit, ita oratio pressa, non audax. Tardiloquum te esse iubeo [40.14]. Prope est a te
- 20 deus [41.1]. Bonus uir sine deo nemo est [41.2]. Quid stultius est quam in homine aliena laudare? quid eo dementius qui ea miratur que ad alium transferri protinus possunt? [41.6] Nemo gloriari nisi de suo debet [41.7]. In uitia alter alterum trudimus [41.8]. Non est mirum ex interuallo magna generari [42.1]. Nulla maior pena nequitia est per quam sibi ac suis displicent [42.2]. Gratuita
- 25 nobis uidentur que carissime constant [42.6]. Circumspice ista que nos agunt in insaniam. Qui se habet nichil perdidit [42.10]. Quicquid inter uicina eminet magnum est [43.2]. Tunc felicem te esse iudica cum poteris in publico uiuere [43.3]. Vix quemquam inuenies qui possit aperto ostio uiuere. Ianitores conscientia nostra, non superbia opposuit: sic uiuimus ut deprehendi sit subito
- 30 aspici [43.4]. Bona conscientia turbam aduocat, mala etiam in solitudine anxia et sollicita est. Si honesta sunt que facis, omnes sciant; si turpia, quid refert neminem scire cum tu scias? O te miserum si contempnis hunc testem! [43.5] Bona mens omnibus patet, omnes ad hoc nobiles sumus. Nec reicit quemquam philosophia nec eligit: omnibus lucet [44.2]. Patricius Socrates non fuit;
- 35 Platonem non accepit nobilem philosophia sed facit [44.3]. Plato ait neminem regem non ex seruis oriundum esse, neminem non seruum ex regibus [44.4]. Quis est generosus? ad uirtutem bene nature compositus. Non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis ymaginibus; nemo in nostram gloriam uixit nec quod ante nos fuit nostrum est; animus facit nobilem, cui ex quacumque conditione
- 40 supra se surgere licet [44.5]. Potes hoc consequi, ut solus liber sis inter ingenuos [44.6]. Tota illo mente pergendum est ubi prouideri debet ne res nos, non uerba deficient [45.5]. Nemo unquam nisi dum disputat captus est. Pugnant uota nostra cum uotis, consilia cum consiliis [45.6]. Adulatio quam similis est amicitie! Non imittatur tantum illam sed uincit et preterit. Eo ipso gratiores
- 45 facit quo ledit. Vitia nobis sub uirtutum nomine obrepunt: temeritas sub titulo

20 11. nostros *X Y Z*: nos *R*
dicant non quemadmodum δ *R*
Y: quam homo sibi et suis *Z*

16 est *om.* δ 2 *Z*
24 nequitia *X Y* δ 1 *Z*:
25 ista *X Y*: illa *Z*

17-18 dicant quemadmodum *X Y Z*:
nequitie δ 2 *R* quam sibi ac suis *X*
42 deficient *X Y Z*: decipiant *R*

fortitudinis latet, moderatio uocatur ignauia, pro cauto timidus accipitur. In his magno periculo erramus [45.7]. Non statim bonum est, si quid necessarium est [45.10]. Quod bonum est utique necessarium est [45.11]. Nullius non uita spectat in crastinum [45.12]. Viue cum seruo tuo clementer, communiter
50 quoque, et in sermonem illum adducito et in consilio et in conuictum [47.13]. Serui quibus coram dominis loqui non licet de dominis loquuntur. Serui fideles parati sunt pro domino porrigere ceruicem, periculum imminens in caput suum auertere [47.4]. Arrogantie prouerbium iactatur, totidem hostes esse quot seruos: non habemus illos hostes sed facimus [47.5]. Stultissimus est qui
55 hominem ex ueste aut ex conditione, que uestis modo nobis circumdata est, estimat [47.16]. 'Seruus est'. Sed fortasse liber animo. 'Seruus est'. Hoc illi nocebit? Ostende quis non sit: alius libidini seruit, alius auaritie, alius ambitioni, omnes timori. Nulla seruitus turpior quam uoluntaria. Colant te potius serui tui quam timeant [47.17]. Qui colitur, et amatur: non potest amor cum timore
60 misceri [47.18]. Rectissime te facere iudico quod non uis timeri a seruis tuis, quod uerborum castigatione uteris. Verberibus multa ammouentur. Non quicquid nos offendit et ledit; sed ad rabiem cogunt peruenire delicie, ut quicquid his ex uoluntate responderit iram euocet [47.19]. Regum nobis induimus animos. Querendo quidam acceperunt iniuriam ut facerent [47.20].
65 Multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum, fortuna depressit: alium ex illis pastorem, alium custodem case fecit [47.10]. Sibi quisque dat mores, ministeria casus assignat [47.15]. Non est quod amicum in foro et in curia queras: si diligenter attendas, et domi inuenies [47.16]. Hoc habent inter cetera boni mores: placent sibi, permanent [47.21]. Virum bonum
70 natura non ordo facit [Publilius Syrus, *Sentent.* 643]. Leuis est malitia, sepe mutatur, non in melius sed in aliud [47.21]. Infelix, qui huic uni rei seruit, ut altitia decenter secet [47.6]. Excute istos qui que cupiere deplorant et de earum rerum loquuntur fuga quibus carere non possunt [22.10]. Quedam tempora eripiuntur nobis, quedam subducuntur, quedam effluunt. Maxima pars uite
75 elabitur male agentibus, magna nichil agentibus, tota uita aliud agentibus [1.1]. Quidquid etatis retro est mors tenet. Dum differtur uita transcurrit [1.2]. Turpissima iactura est que per negligentiam fit [1.1].

49 communiter $X \gamma \delta 1$: comiter $\delta 2 Z R$
magna Z

52 domino $X \gamma$: dominis δZ

74 maxima $X Y$:

ANNEXE I

Les inventaires anciens de bibliothèques

Nous avons repéré la mention du *De uerborum copia* dans une quinzaine environ d'inventaires allant du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle, mais il existe fort probablement d'autres références. Le rapprochement entre l'inventaire et le manuscrit subsistant a pu être fait dans la moitié des cas, pour les MSS. Escorial, Real Bibl. S.II.3, Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 12295, lat. 15730 et lat. 16207 (recension régulière), Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.971 et Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6631 (recension mixte), Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 8544 (recension bâtarde), Vatican, Urb. lat. 340 et 544 (florilège *Turpissima... Maxima...*). Les mentions non identifiées sont les suivantes, classées par ordre chronologique:

XII^e s.: *Saint-Amand*

150. Prouerbia multa ex secularium auctorum libris collecta, et sententiae ex catholicorum doctorum libris collectae, cum libro Senecae de copia uerborum. – Gillebertus (éd. L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2.453).

247. Epistolae Senecae ad Paulum apostolum et ad Lucilium, cum libris ipsius de beneficiis siue de liberalitate ad Eburtium, de clementia ad Neronem, de copia uerborum ad Paulum apostolum. Prouerbia ejusdem, secundum ordinem alfabeti distincta. Liber ejusdem de remediis fortuitarum. In uno uolumine (éd. ibid. 2.456). – Sauf le dernier article, cette notice correspond au contenu du MS. Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. II.971 (recension mixte), qui serait peut-être une copie partielle du manuscrit aujourd'hui disparu de Saint-Amand.

XIV^e s.: *Peterborough*

X xv Visio cujusdam Monachi de Euesham. Visio Audoeni de Purgatorio Patritii. Seneca de uerborum copia (éd. M. R. James, *Lists of Manuscripts formerly in Peterborough Abbey Library* [Oxford, 1926], p. 80, n° 341).

1451-53: *Mondsee*

12m uolumen. In 12^o uolumine conspexi quosdam libros istius magni poete Oracii Flacci in quibus continebantur libri descripti tum pauca de hiis signaui: Primo 4^{or} libri carminum predicti Oracii. 2^o in eodem uolumine perlegi librum ejusdem de arte poetica. Epodedon (*sic*) Oracii ad Mecenatem. 2^{us} liber epistolarum ad Augustum cesarem. Incipit sic *Cum tot sustineas et tanta negocia solus*. Liber sermonum Oracii (et sunt etiam duo libri *add. margin.*). Inicium *Qui fit etc.* Seneca in de copia uerborum (éd. H. Paulhart, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs* 5 [Vienne, 1971], pp. 81-82). – Identifié par H. Paulhart avec le MS. Vienne, Nationalbibl. 3150 (recension régulière), mais la description ne correspond pas du tout à ce manuscrit, qui contient certes des classiques, mais surtout des extraits de Cicéron et Valère-Maxime.

XV^e s.: *Nuremberg, abbaye Saint-Gilles*

L 36 Boecius de consolacione philosophia. *Carmina qui quondam*. Sententie septem sapientum *Que natura summa boni*. Cicero de amicitia *Quintus Mucius Augur*. Cicero de senectute *O Tite siquid ego adiuro*. Excerpta de libris Tullii Tusculanarum questionum uel disputacionum. Excerpta de libris Ciceronis de officiis *Tullius Cicero*. Excerpta de Thimeo Platonis et commento Calcidii. Excerpta de libris Maximi Valerii *Maximus Valerius*. Excerpta de libris Macrobbii in exposicione somnii Cipionis. Seneca de remediis fortuitarum casuum *Licet cunctorum*. Seneca de uerborum copia *Quisquis prudenciam*. Seneca de clemencia ad Neronem *Scribere de clemencia*. Seneca in prouerbiis uel prouerbia *Seneca Alienum est* (éd. P. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 3.3 [Munich, 1939], p. 499). – Le manuscrit, qui a un contenu analogue à celui des MSS. Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 19

(M.IV.4) et Patr. 77 (M.II.6) et Vienne, Nationalbibl. 3150, offrait très probablement la recension régulière.

1586: *Agustín (Antonio), archevêque de Tarragone*

463. Senecae de copia uerborum ordine litterarum – Fragmentum in membranis annorum CC. forma quadrati (éd. G. Antolín, *Catálogo* 5.251). – Il s'agit peut-être du florilège *Auida est periculi*, qui est par ordre alphabétique et que l'on trouve sous le titre *De copia uerborum* dans le MS. Édimbourg, Univ. Lib. D.b.IV.11 (80).

ANNEXE II

Le Liure de la copie des parolles

L'histoire du *De uerborum copia* serait incomplète si nous ne signalions pas une traduction intitulée *Liure de la copie des parolles*, attribuée à Laurent de Premierfait et imprimée chez Vérard à Paris entre 1500 et 1503 (Hain 14595, Pellechet 3482). En fait il s'agit seulement du florilège *Primum argumentum*: le texte français, accompagné en marge du texte latin, est précédé d'une longue introduction:

Le prologue du translateur du liure de Seneque de la copie des parolles escript et enuoie de par Seneque a saint Pol.

Prologue

Cy apres commence le liure de Seneque de Cordone (*sic*) tresexcellent philosophe moral, maistre ou enseigneur de l'empereur Neron; lequel liure est intitule De la coppie des parolles escript et enuoie de par Seneque a saint Pol l'apostre ainsi comme mesmement ledit Seneque en une sienne epistre dessus escripte et translatee commençant au latin *Scio te* [Ep. 9], contenant icelluy liure en soy telles sentences que elles bien mises a oeuvre souffissent a ordonner chascun en bonnes meurs et uertus a droicement uiure selon Dieu, selon soy mesmes et selon son prouchain. Et combien que ledit liure ne se trouue pas tousiours diuise par chapitres, neantmoins ie le diuiseray par six chapitres egaulx en quantite de lettre et auant toute oeuvre ie escriray le latin d'ung chascun chapitre pour la delectacion des clerks. Et apres pour le prouffit de la gent laye ie mettray la translacion en langage francois. De grace et aide de celluy moyennant qui iadis fist prescheur et messagier de la foy chrestienne celluy c'est assauoir saint Pol qui auant sa conuersion estoit persecuteur et aduersier de ceulx qui en la foy de Iesuchrist croyoient.

Ce texte français est davantage une traduction paraphrasée qu'une traduction littérale, comme on peut en juger d'après les premières lignes: 'Je iuge et afferme que le premier argument et l'especiale esprouue de pensee humaine bien ordonnee est de pouoir estre et demourer avecques soy, c'est a dire l'en congnoist principalement l'omme bien ordonne en courage quant il perseuere et demeure en l'estat qu'il a esleu par deliberacion meure...' Des six chapitres annoncés dans le prologue, un seul porte un titre circonstancié: 'Ensuit le quatriesme chapitre comment l'humain lignage doit estre hault esleue considerant les diuines choses et desprisant les mondaines'; voici les *incipit* de ces différents chapitres:

(1) 'Primum argumentum composite mentis...' (9.1) – 'Je iuge et afferme que le premier argument...'

(2) 'Temperetur uita nostra...' (13.5) – 'Il appartient que nostre uie soit attempee et moyenne...'

(3) 'Stulti uita ingrata...' (15.14) – 'La uie de l'homme fol est tresaggreable et si est toute douteuse...'

(4) 'Animus debet esse elatus et fidus...' (19.36-37) – 'L'umain couraige doit estre hault et esleue...'

(5) 'Pars magna bonitatis...' (19.81) – 'C'est une grant partie de la bonte humaine...'

(6) 'Bona conscientia turbam aduocat...' (20.30) – 'L'homme de bonne conscience ueult bien appeller compaignie...'

Une division analogue, mais pas tout à fait semblable – (1) 'Primum argumentum...' (2) 'Temperetur uita nostra...' (3) 'Stulti uita ingrata...' (4) 'Inmodica ira gignit...' (18.1)

(5) 'Pars magna bonitatis...' – se rencontre dans le MS. Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 6766 A (xvi^e s.), ff. 42-62v, exemplaire du florilège copié, nous l'avons vu, par Jean Budé. Voir dans cet exemplaire le modèle de la traduction serait une hypothèse très séduisante, mais le volume de Jean Budé contient une partie seulement des textes édités par Vérard, et encore dans un ordre différent: on trouve en effet dans le manuscrit l'*Epitaphium Senecae*, le *De quatuor uirtutibus*, le *De remediis fortuitorum*, le *De copia uerborum* et le *De moribus*; on trouve au contraire dans l'imprimé le *De quatuor uirtutibus*, le *De remediis fortuitorum*, les *Epistulae ad Paulum*, l'*Epitaphium Senecae*, le *De copia uerborum*, le *De moribus*, l'*Epistula 88 ad Lucilium*, le *De breuitate uitae* et les *Epistulae ad Lucilium* (1-87); par ailleurs, en ce qui concerne le texte latin du florilège, le manuscrit et le livre ont quelques leçons communes, par exemple l'addition 'Hoc tercium Epicurus cum uni ex consortibus studeret inquit' après 'satis est nullus' (14.16-17), mais aussi quelques divergences; notamment à la fin: 'Vale mi Paule. Explicit liber Lucii Annei Senece de copia uerborum ad Paulum' (MS.) et 'Vale mi Paule carissime. Annei Lucii Senece de copia uerborum ad Paulum liber explicit' (impr.).

ANNEXE III

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MAGISTER IODOCUS: *REGULE PHISONOMIE*

Roger A. Pack

INTRODUCTION

THE little that is known with certainty about the compiler of these 'Rules of Physiognomy' comes from a subscription in the manuscript M, where we read that Master Iodocus, an eminent professor of sacred theology, presented them in 1474 as a public discourse, having drawn his materials chiefly from the works of Albert the Great and Ulrich of Strassburg:

Finijunt feliciter regule phisonomie per egregium magistrum Jodocum sacre theologie professorem eximium anno Domini 1474 publice in cancellis predicate, n<e>c non ex multorum doctorum dictis collecte, Alberti videlicet, Udalrici Argentinensis, etc. Laus Deo.

Of the four Iodoci listed by Fabricius, there is one who may be identical with our author: 'Iodocus Eichmann de Calve, vico Sveviae, theologiam Heidelbergae cum laude docuit, obiitque An. 1491.'¹ The notice adds that he was called also 'Iodocus de Heidelberg' and it gives as his literary works collections of *Sermones* and *Orationes* and a *Vocabularius praedicantium*, but does not mention any rules of physiognomy. Fabricius refers, however, to an earlier biographical note by Trithemius, and we find that this not only praises its subject's achievements more lavishly but adds that he wrote certain little-known 'treatises' as well as the sermons, prayers, and preachers' lexicon.² It

¹ J. A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina mediae et infimae aetatis* 4 (Florentiae, 1858), p. 454. Compare the following entry in a catalogue of the manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Seminars, Eichstätt: 'Jodocus Eichmann de Calb, doctor et predicator egregius. Vocabularius predicantium' (*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* 3.2 [Munich, 1933], p. 290). The first Iodocus (or Jodocus, Judocus) seems to have been the Breton saint so called (obiit 669). The name has other forms, including Jost and Jobst, and it is not derived, as one might have supposed, from the Greek *ἰοδόκος*. See J. Trier, 'Der heilige Judocus. Sein Leben und seine Verehrung', *Germanistische Abhandlungen* 56 (1924) 88.

² 'Judocus de Calwe, natione Teutonicus, patria Suevus, vir in divinis scripturis longo studio exercitatus, et scholasticae philosophiae non ignarus, ingenio promptus et vehemens, in

may well be that one of these was the treatise of which an edition is presented here. From yet a third source we learn that this famous preacher at the Heiligegeistkirche (Ecclesia Sancti Spiritus) in Heidelberg also served as rector of the university in 1459.³ If the subscription in M had associated our author with that city or with its church or university, we could conclude with confidence that he was identical with Iodocus Eichmann.

The tract consists of twelve general rules ('Regule generales') and thirty-eight special rules ('Regule speciales') followed by a brief discourse on the value of the science ('Utilitas phisonomie pariter et necessitas'). The general rules, though not in themselves entirely original, reflect by their selection and arrangement a certain feeling for scientific method. The special rules survey the members of the body in succession from head to foot, according to the orthodox procedure. Iodocus is fond of etymologies and physiological explanations, a few of which he may himself have devised, though the bulk of his subject matter was borrowed, as we shall see, from earlier authorities. All of this is interesting as a pendant to Richard Foerster's great collection of the classical works on physiognomy. More original than the two sets of rules is Iodocus' third and last component, a plea for the science on the ground that it is useful and indeed indispensable. Here, quoting St. Bernard and the Scriptures, he argues that this art leads us to self-knowledge, and this in turn to knowledge and love of God (par. 1) as well as Christian humility (par. 2); again, it enables us to obey the precept 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' by studying the characters of our fellow men the better to deter them from evil ways and deeds (par. 3). Here, then, our physiognomist assumes the persona of a preacher. When we read this sermon it is not difficult for us to imagine that this was the same Iodocus who compiled a lexicon for preachers and himself preached for many years in the Church of the Holy Spirit. We would gladly believe that it was this sermon rather than the whole tract which he 'preached publicly within the chancel rails',⁴ because the rules themselves, though lucidly expressed, are

gymnasio Heidelbergensi. legendo, docendo et praedicando multis annis in pretio fuit, ubi etiam iuxta morem in Ecclesia sancti spiritus praedicatoris aliquandiu gessit officium. ... Scripsit quosdam (ut ferunt) tractatus non abjiciendos, sed ad notitiam nostrae lectionis non venerunt' (Johannes Trithemius, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* [Hamburgi, 1713], p. 208, no. 873).

³ 'Rectoratus magistri Iodoci Aicheman de Calwa, in sacra theologia licentiat, electi in vigilia Johannis baptiste anno domini milesimo quadingentesimo quinquagesimo nono...' (G. Toepke, *Die Matrikel der Universität Heidelberg von 1386 bis 1662*, Erster Theil [Heidelberg, 1884], p. 298). Dr. Ursula Altmann, Director of the Inkunabelabteilung, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, has pointed out (*per litteras*) that our author could perhaps be identical with Iodocus Trutvetter Isenacensis (from Eisenach), a commentator on Aristotle who might well have been interested in the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica*, but in my opinion a stronger case can be made for Iodocus Eichmann de Calve, the preacher.

⁴ Compare the subscription: '... regule ... publice in cancellis predicate'.

exceedingly monotonous in style;⁵ but perhaps the patience of his sober audience was not easily strained.

From an exploration of his sources I have discovered that Iodocus borrowed most of the etymologies from Isidore of Seville and the physiognomical materials largely from the two chapters on that subject in the *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* and from the pseudo-Aristotelian *Physiognomonica* in the translation of Bartholomæus de Messana.⁶ The *Compendium*, printed by A. Borgnet in his edition of the writings of Albertus Magnus, has been ascribed in the past to at least six different authors, including Ulrich of Strassburg, Bonaventura, and Thomas Aquinas as well as Albertus, but M. Grabmann has collected evidence which seems to confirm the thesis of L. Pflieger, that it was actually the work of a certain Hugo Ripelin of Strassburg ('Ordinis Praedicatorum quondam lector'), and not Ulrich.⁷ Our subscription, then, evidently refers to the *Compendium* but, like another manuscript in Munich mentioned by Grabmann (Cim 7013, saec. xv), wrongly attributes it to Ulrich instead of Hugo.

Something about the role of Albertus can be learned from the chapter on the eyebrows (VIa regula specialis), where it is possible to compare five other texts, all of them ultimately descended from Aristotle, *De historia animalium* 1.9 (491b15-17):

(1) Pompeius Trogus, *De animalibus*, quoted by Pliny, *Hist. nat.* 11.275: 'Supercilia quibus porriguntur in rectum, molles significant; quibus iuxta nasum flexa sunt, austeros; quibus iuxta tempora inflexa, derisores. ...'

(2) Michael Scot's translation, based on an Arabic version of Aristotle: 'Cum ergo fuerint supercilia recta quasi lineae, significantur mollities et femineitas et flexibilitas et concupiscibilitas animae. Et quando fuerint arcualia usquequo coniungantur ad conum nasi, significatur levis et subtilis et firmus et stabilis et studiosus in omnibus operibus suis. Et quando fuerit illa arcualitas declinans ad tempora (*sic*) et ad gibbositates genarum, significatur negligens et male disponens.'⁸

⁵ In particular, the connective *autem* (often the equivalent of *δέ* in the Greek sources) is tediously repeated.

⁶ For detailed references, see the Sigla and the critical apparatus, below. – Iodocus' phrase *secundum animam*, found in XXXIIa regula specialis and elsewhere, puzzles us a little until we perceive that he has taken it from Bartholomæus, who thus translates τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν and similar phrases.

⁷ M. Grabmann, *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben. Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, 3 vols. (Munich, 1926-56), 1.174-85.

⁸ Scot's text remains unpublished, so far as I am aware, but this passage, among others, is quoted by E. Filthaut in a footnote to his edition of Pseudo-Albertus (Conradus de Austria), *Quaestiones de animalibus (Alberti Magni opera omnia* 12; Monasterii Westfalorum, 1955), 1. Quaestiones 26-27 (p. 97). Filthaut explains in his 'Prolegomena', p. xli.vi, that he has drawn this and other passages of Scot from two manuscript sources.

(3) William of Moerbeke's version, made directly from the Greek: '... quorum recta quidem (sc. supercilia), mollis moris signum; ad nasum autem arcualitatem habentia, austeri; que autem ad tempora (*sic*), subsannatoris et derisoris.'⁹

(4) Albertus, *De animalibus* 1, tr. 2, cap. 2, par. 138 (p. 50, ed. H. Stadler), based on Scot's translation: 'Supercilia ..., quando fuerint recta quasi lineae et longa, significatur in eis mollities et femineitas et flexibilitas: et quando fuerint arcualia usquequo coniungantur ad conum nasi, significant levem et subtilem et studiosum in omnibus operibus suis. Si autem ibidem coeunt, *tristem hominem et parum sapientem demonstrant*. Si autem arcuositas declinat ad tempora et gybbositates genarum, significatur negligens et male disponens regimen vitae.'

(5) *Compendium theologicæ veritatis* 2.58 (vol. 34, p. 79B, ed. A. Borgnet): 'Supercilia arcuata, quae conjunguntur usque ad cornu (*sic*) nasi, significant subtilem et studiosum in omnibus operibus suis. Si autem ibidem coeunt, *tristem hominem, et parum sapientem demonstrant*. Si autem arcuositas declinat ad tempora et gibbositatem genarum, significant negligenterem.'

Compare Iodocus, VIa regula specialis: 'Supercilia autem arcuaria (arctuarua MB) significant studiosum et subtilem, supercilia autem recta sicut lineae significant femininam molliciem et anime levitatem. Supercilia autem coeuncia in cono (corio MB) nasi *significant tristes et modicum sapientes*, confusos et perturbatos. Supercilia quorum arcuositas declinat ad tempora et gibbositatem genarum significant negligentes homines et inutiles.'

We observe, first, that the terse and literal renderings made from the original Greek by Pompeius Trogus and William of Moerbeke stand in isolation from the others, so that they may be left out of account; secondly, that Iodocus' source was not Michael Scot (or at least not Scot alone), because the latter has nothing to match our author's clause 'significant tristes et modicum sapientes' (italicized above); and thirdly, that although both the *Compendium* and Albertus have clauses which correspond to this, the former has nothing about 'supercilia recta'. Albertus, *De animalibus*, remains, and we infer that Iodocus must have used it when he wrote this chapter. And since it provides apt illustrations in a number of other places as well, it seems fair to conclude that it was used rather extensively, and that the subscription alludes to this when it mentions Albertus as a source.

It would be more difficult to determine whether Iodocus drew upon the Pseudo-Albertus (Conradus de Austria), *Quaestiones de animalibus*, because the material is far less abundant and arranged in a special pattern, but I have not hesitated to cite it at the few points where it is applicable.

Only two manuscripts of the *Regule*, both preserved in Munich, are listed by Thorndike and Kibre (see below):

⁹ See G. Rudberg's edition (of William's translation of liber 1 only), in his *Textstudien zur Tiergeschichte des Aristoteles* (Uppsala, 1908), p. xiv.

M = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 589, fols. 1r-12r, A.D. 1478. 'Regule generales phisonomie. Prima regula. Membra que sunt in proporcione naturali....' At the end is the subscription quoted and discussed above; below this and evidently in the same hand is the date '1478'. Captions like 'De capite' and 'De oculis' appear in the margins; they are of the same general style of writing but with minor differences perhaps pointing to a second hand. There are also some glosses (here designated as Mg) written mostly in the margins but in some cases above the words glossed; these are in a much smaller hand of a different type, and in German as well as Latin. Several are of interest; for example, Mg wrote at the foot of fol. 2v: 'Phisonomia vocatur die kunst durch die man erkennt gelegenhait und geschicklikait der sele durch userlich und sichtperlich zaychen des laibes.' In the margin of fol. 4r, opposite 'Supercilia autem carnosae...', (VIa regula specialis), Mg has 'Hainricus Argentinensis', probably a note on the source for that statement. Of a similar nature is the jotting 'Ambrosius ... (?) ... Beati Immaculati' opposite 'Summa philosophia est...', par. 2 (fol. 11r) of the discourse on the utility of physiognomy. Elsewhere Mg emulates Iodocus himself by giving us etymologies of *iners*, *fatuus*, and *musculus*. The rest of the glosses are more trivial, but I have recorded in the apparatus all but a few which seem unintelligible. – See *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, tomus 1, pars 1 (Monachii, 1892), p. 159; L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), col. 1096.

B = Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 916, fols. 1r-11r, saec. xv. B has the same incipit and general contents as M but it lacks the subscription, the marginal captions, and the glosses. – See the *Catalogus* of Munich manuscripts, as cited above, p. 208; Thorndike and Kibre, *loc. cit.*

B is clearly a copy of M.¹⁰ It was executed in a flowing hand more cursive than that of M and with somewhat fewer abbreviations. B corrected M here and there but copied most of M's errors and introduced a few new ones, of which the most glaring is found in XXXIIa regula specialis (see the apparatus *ad loc.*, n. 12). The chief value of B is that it provides assistance in reading the abbreviations of M; for instance, M's ambiguous compendia for *item* and *iterum* are expanded by B in a clear and plausible manner.

In both manuscripts each rule is headed by an ordinal numeral written out in full, e.g., 'Tricesima prima regula, de suris'. To save space, this has in each case but the first been shortened to the form 'XXXIa regula, de suris'. Some annotator, probably Mg, supplied Arabic numerals in the margins of M for the first five paragraphs of the sermon on the value of physiognomy. This numbering has been adopted and completed, as it is consistent with the statement in par. 11: 'Ex illis decem causis sequitur quod....'

¹⁰ In both M and B the text of Iodocus is followed by a 'Tabula seu practica chiromantiae'.

Since M is virtually a *codex unicus*, B being only a copy of it, there is no manuscript from an independent tradition which might possibly serve to distinguish unclassical spellings introduced by the scribes from those for which Iodocus himself may have been responsible. For this reason the spellings of M have been retained; the more striking anomalies are *amarillis*, *arterea*, *asswetus*, *ebulicio*, *nunctius*, *pingwis*, *sangwis*, *simea*, *thaurus*, *tibea* and *tybia*, *ungwis*, *ymitantur*. Of special interest is the spelling *forax* for *vorax*, reflecting a pronunciation consistent with the German provenance (B corrects this once, XVIa regula specialis, n. 13). The writing of *verum* for *ferum* (VIa regula specialis, n. 7) is a similar phenomenon in reverse.

The text of MB is punctuated in a very nearly modern fashion, that is, the sentences are separated by means of capitalized initial words and final periods. Here it has been further modernized by inserting commas and using semicolons and colons to combine some sentences, where it seemed logical to do so.

What use should an editor make of the many textual variants furnished by the sources? This is a delicate problem. It is tempting to improve MB by replacing some of its readings with obviously superior readings from the *Compendium*, Albertus, or Bartholomaeus, but this would involve a risk of correcting Iodocus himself, since his own copies of these texts may have been of inferior quality. The solution adopted here has been to retain those lections of MB which appear to give acceptable sense and syntax and to note the variants in the apparatus. In a few instances, however, MB give us bits of nonsense which the sources can turn into sense, and it would be negligent not to adjust accordingly; so, for example: 'Color ignitus ... vergit (*sic* CThV; vagit MB) ad insaniam' (XXXVIIIa regula specialis, n. 2), 'squalls' is hardly acceptable. On the other hand, MB occasionally seems superior to the sources (XXIIa regula specialis, nn. 3, 4; XXXIVa regula specialis, n. 4, where CThV has *implicat*) – a fact of possible interest to future editors of those other texts.

There is reason to believe that these *Regule* have not been printed before: inquiries addressed to the compilers of the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* in Berlin, the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, and the Zentralkartei mittellateinischer Arbeitsvorhaben at the Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg, brought in each instance the reply that no printing or edition was known. None is listed by F. R. Goff, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1964).

SIGLA

M	München. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 589.
Mg	glossema in codice M exaratum.
B	München. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 916.
<...>	Verba in codicibus MB non reperta supplentur.
[...]	Verba in codicibus MB reperta delentur.
add.	addit.
cf.	confer, conferatur.
fort.	fortasse.
om.	omittit.
par.	paragraphus.

<i>Scr. phys.</i>	<i>Scriptores physiognomonici graeci et latini</i> , vols. 1, 2, ed. R. Foerster (Lipsiae, 1893).
Albertus, <i>An.</i>	Albertus Magnus, <i>De animalibus</i> , lib. 1, tr. 2, capita 2-4, 8-10, 22-24, 26, paragraphi 126-179, 214-255, 419-469, 484-512, ed. H. Stadler (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters 15; Münster, 1916), pp. 46-183 (paragraphi tantum citantur).
Ps.-Albertus, <i>Qu. an.</i>	Conradus de Austria, <i>Quaestiones de animalibus</i> , ed. E. Filthaut (<i>Alberti Magni opera omnia</i> 12; Monasterii Westfalorum, 1955).
Barth. M.	Pseudo-Aristoteles, <i>Physiognomonica</i> , secundum interpretationem latinam a Bartholomaeo de Messana confectam, ed. R. Foerster, <i>Scr. phys.</i> , vol. 1, pp. 5-91.
<i>CThV</i>	Hugo Argentinensis (?), <i>Compendium theologicue veritatis</i> , lib. 2, capita 58-59, pp. 79A-82A, ed. A. Borgnet (<i>Alberti Magni opera omnia</i> 34; Parisiis, 1895) (cuius editionis paginae tantum citantur).
Isidorus, <i>Etym.</i>	Isidorus Hispalensis, <i>Etymologiae</i> , lib. 11, cap. 1, ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxonii, 1911).

IODOCUS: REGULE PHISONOMIE

Regule generales phisonomie

Prima regula. Membra¹ que sunt in proporcione naturali quoad qualitatem, scilicet colorem et figuram, et quoad quantitatem et quoad situm et motum indicant <indolem>² bonam et naturalem. Nature enim sequuntur corpora;³ hinc est quod dicimus: 'Ille iuuenis est bone indolis.'

Ila regula. Membra¹ que sunt perversa qualitate, hoc est colore, figura, et quantitate et situ et motu perversis, indicant malum et perversum sensum. Ideo dicebat Plato:² 'Quecumque similitudo animalium aliquorum in hominibus est, tales homines talium ymitantur animalium mores.'³

IIIa regula. Licet per signa naturalia membrorum mores hominum cognoscantur, non¹ tamen imponunt² necessitatem sed solum ostendunt nature inclinacionem.

IVa regula. Per¹ signa exteriora non statim proferendum est iudicium, quia tale signum non numquam est de natura sed per accidens² et non per naturam. Nam eciam sepe viciū <victum>³ est per contrariam consuetudinem⁴ et eciam sepe viciū ad quod natura inclinat freno rationis retinetur.⁵ Unde narrat Aristoteles⁶ de discipulis Hypocratis quod figuram depictam portabant Philemoni excellenti phisonomo, qui pronunciavit eum esse virum luxuriosum. Quibus indignantibus⁷ et ipsum culpantibus quod de viro optimo sic iudicaret. [et] illud iudicium retulerunt Hypocrati,⁸ qui confessus est Philemonem vere iudicasse et ex amore philosophie et honestatis dixit se cordis sui concu-

I ¹ Membra-naturalem: CThV, p. 81b. ² indolem ego: mentis habitudinem CThV.

³ Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.5.1: Quoniam et animae sequuntur corpora....

II ¹ Membra-mores: CThV, p. 81b. ² sic MB, sed hoc dictum re vera Polemonis, non Platonis fuit; vid. *Scr. phys.* 1, p. xvi, n. 1. ³ *Scr. phys.* 2.64.14: Quotquot sunt species animalium, proprietates suas quaeque habent, ad quas similitudo singulorum hominum referenda est.

III ¹ non-inclinacionem: CThV, pp. 79a, 81b. ² imponunt CThV: ponunt MB.

IV ¹ Per MB: propter CThV. – Per-retinetur: CThV, p. 81b. ² Mg add. sicut aliquando per crapulas vel per nimium potum homo efficitur gilvi coloris. ³ victum CThV: om. MB. ⁴ Mg add. id est contra inclinacionem naturalem. ⁵ tenetur CThV.

⁶ Ps.-Aristoteles, *Secretum secretorum*, cap. de physiognomonia; *Scr. phys.* 2, pp. 187-90. Iodocus autem textum tractatus CThV mutuatus est; cf. etiam Albertus, *An.*, par. 127, Ps.-Albertus, *Qu. an.* 1.21. nomen illius Polemonis in 'Philemonem', 'Fulaimūn' (Arabice) etc. corruptum erat: *Scr. phys.* 1, pp. lxxxvii sq. nec non narratiuncula haud dissimilis atque aevi prioris exstat, in qua partes Polemonis agit Zopyrus et Hippocratis Socrates: *Scr. phys.* 1, pp. viii-xiii (Cicero, *De fato* 5.10, *Tusculanae* 4.37.80). ⁷ huc fort. respicit glossema obscurum ab Mg in pede paginae scriptum: Allegamus suam turpitudinem non est audiendum (sic).

⁸ Hippocrati Albertus, CThV, p. 81b: Hypocratem MB: fort. <ad> Hypocratem.

piscencias vicisse et se accepisse per studium quod sibi per naturam fuit denegatum.

Va regula generalis. Signa¹ exteriora referuntur solum ad eas passiones que sunt tocius hominis, sicut est iracundia, concupiscencia, et non ad eas que solius sunt anime, sicut est musica, geometria, astronomia et huiusmodi.²

VIa regula. In¹ oculis et manibus principaliter consistit perfectio omnis phisonomie, quia oculus est instrumentum potencie apprehensive sed manus est organum organorum² et instrumentum intellectus practici, et ideo in illis duobus natura minus deficit, et ideo in illis duobus membris cercius iudicium sumitur, et ergo, quando³ iudicium ceterorum membrorum confirmat iudicium oculorum et manuum, tunc rata sunt iudicia; ubi enim plura iudicia conveniunt, cercius sumitur iudicium; quando autem iudicia sunt contraria, scilicet ceterorum membrorum⁴ oculorum et manuum, tunc iudicium oculorum et manuum prevalet, quia omnes phisonomi affirmaverunt oculum esse verum cordis nuntium.

VIIa regula. Anima¹ et corpus compaciuntur sibi invicem, et ideo ad alteracionem anime sequitur alteracio corporis, et ad alteracionem corporis sequitur alteracio anime, nam tristari et delectari sunt passiones anime et diversificant corpus, quia tristes habent faciem obscuram et nebulosam, gaudentes autem² leti habent faciem hilarem et iocundam. Sic eciam in anima: que est passio anime curatur alteracione corporis per varias medicinas.

VIIIa regula. Secundum proprias passiones et operationes anime sumitur iudicium proprium corporis, et ratio est quia secundum communes passiones et operationes anime non potest sumi proprium iudicium corporis; et secundum signa propria corporis sumitur iudicium proprium de passionibus propriis anime, et ratio: non enim secundum communia signa corporis sumitur iudicium proprium de passionibus anime, iudicamus enim secundum signa propria et fixa propter eorum stabilitatem et non¹ iudicamus secundum signa communia seu transitoria seu adventicia propter eorum instabilitatem.

IXa regula. Passiones naturales magnam habent convenienciam cum passionibus adventiciis et eciam multa habent signa similia et non numquam¹ eciam eisdem nominibus nominantur, et ideo phisonomisando oportet combinare iudicia communia cum iudiciis propriis, et sic de una passione

V ¹ Signa-huiusmodi: *CThV*, p. 82a. ² *Mg add.* sunt enim sciencie solum speculative et non practice.

VI ¹ In-phisonomie: *CThV*, p. 82a, *sed de oculis tantum, non de manibus.* ² Aristoteles, *De anima* 3.8 (432a1), *De partibus animalium* 4.10 (687a21). ³ quando-nuntium: *CThV*, loc. cit. ⁴ *malim* membrorum <et> oculorum.

VII ¹ Anima-corpus: cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.5.4-8. ² *malim* autem <aut>.

VIII ¹ non om. B.

IX ¹ umquam B.

iudicetur <ut> de alia passione. Et ideo considerandum est de pallore, an sit genitus ex labore, timore vel ex passione, puta ex² invidia vel odio, et sic de aliis accidentibus, scilicet infirmitate vel complexione.

Xa regula. Omnes incommensurati,¹ id est habentes malam commensurationem membrorum, sunt astuti et dolosi, omnes autem bene commensurati, id est habentes bonam commensurationem, sunt iusti et fortes et bone mocionis.²

XIa regula. Omne iudicium phisonomicum referendum est vel referri potest ad sexum masculinum <vel> femininum vel ad aliquam apparentem convenienciam animalium et¹ passionis alicuius.

XIIa regula. In¹ omni iudicio phisonomico respiciendum est ad signa que sunt maioris certitudinis et ad signa que sunt magis manifesta et ad signa principaliora. Illa autem signa sunt maioris certitudinis que sumuntur ex disposicione² frontis, oculorum, faciei, capitis et manuum, et ratio est quia in illis membris maiores sapientie apparent et etiam in illis membris plures inveniuntur difference in individuis eiusdem speciei. Post³ illa autem manifestiora sunt signa que sumuntur ex disposicione pectoris, spatularum, brachiorum et crurium et pedum; incertissima autem signa sumuntur ex disposicione ventris, nam certissimum signum quod potest haberi ex disposicione ventris est loquacitas.

Sequuntur regule speciales phisonomie.

Est autem phisonomia sciencia iudicandi de passionibus anime naturalibus¹ secundum disposicionem exteriorem corporis. Signum enim dicitur exterior dispositio corporis per quam intellectus iudicat de interioribus, signa enim naturaliter referuntur ad significata.²

Ia regula. Rubedo est proprius color sangwinis, id est sangwinee complexionis, nigredo est proprius color melancolie, albedo autem est proprius color flegmatis, sed subrubedo est proprius color colere. Melancolici¹ autem sunt tristes et graves, sangwinei autem sunt leti et leves, colerici autem sunt faciles ad iram et activi atque agiles,² flegmatici autem sunt mites et mansueti, tardi et sompnolenti.

² ex om. B.

X ¹ Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.89.14-17. ² mocionis ego, cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.89.17-91.2: relationem autem commensurationis ad corporum bonam motionem et bonam nativitatem reducendum (*sic*): nacionis MB.

XI ¹ aut B.

XII ¹ In-capitis: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.91.9-13. ² disposicionem B. ³ Post-ventris: Barth. M., *ibid.* 13-15.

¹ Cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.17.4-6. ² signata B.

I ¹ Melancolici-sompnolenti: CThV, p. 79a. ² Cf. Albertus, *An.*, par. 129.

Alia¹ regula. Sexus² masculinus est impetuosus, id est facilis ad impetus,³ et iustior est feminino, et est studiosus et animosus et iracundus, fortis et minus vincibilis. Sexus autem femininus⁴ est misericors et compaciens et pius⁵ et mitis; pius eciam est, id est devotus, et timidus et domabilis, mansuetus et debilis ac fragilis. Item sexus femininus est magis male operativus,⁶ magis preceps in malum, et malignus⁷ est et fallax, fallit enim et fallitur, et mentiri proprium est feminino sexui.

IIa regula. Capilli¹ molles et rari significant debiles et timidos, sicut est lepus et cervus, capilli autem duri significant audaces et fortes; racio primi est quia capilli molles generantur ex modico calore et ex materia minus grossa, racio secundi est quia pili duri generantur ex materia grossa et calore multo. Pili autem generaliter generantur ex vapore resolutio² a calore naturali. Hinc est quod aves³ habentes pennas duras sunt fortes et audaces, sed aves habentes pennas molles sunt timide⁴ et debiles. Hinc est quod homines⁵ habitantes in regione septemtrionali sunt fortes et audaces, et racio est quia frigus circumstans poros restringit, id est claudit, et sic intenditur⁶ calor qui est causa fortitudinis, et ideo habent pilos duros et densos. Sed habitantes⁷ in regione meridionali sunt debiles et timidi, et racio est quia caliditas circumstans extrahit naturalem calorem, et ita deficiunt in calore naturali, et inde sequitur debilitas, et ideo habent pilos molles et raros. Verumtamen habitantes in regione calida vigent ratione et intellectu atque sapientia, habitantes autem in regione frigida vigent corporali fortitudine. Capilli autem crispi⁸ per naturam significant timidos, quia timor erigit crines.⁹ et significant avaros, sunt enim sicut aves habentes ungues incurvatos, et racio est quia crispi capilli generantur ex poris tortuosis. Verum eciam crispitudo in extremitatibus¹⁰ significat amativos propter defectum caloris, omnis enim amor habet aculeum in fine et ideo dicitur amor quasi 'amaror', et ideo dicitur amarillis, herba mellita,¹¹ 'amarissima'. Capilli depressi nimium et quasi imminentes fronti significant ferum animum,

(II) ¹ sic MB: *malim* IIa. ² Sexus-timidus: CThV, p. 79a. ³ Cf. Albertus, *An.*, par. 131. ⁴ Aristoteles, *De historia animalium* 9.1 (608b8-15); cf. *Scr. phys.* 2.7.3-9. ⁵ pius MB sed fort. corruptum (cf. *quae sequuntur*: pius eciam est). ⁶ Cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.47.15: videtur autem mihi et magis mali operativa fieri femina masculinis. ⁷ Mg add. ardens in malicia quam habet ab Eva.

III ¹ Capilli: cf. CThV, p. 79a, qui tamen huius regulae non est fons unicus. — Mg add. in margine inferiori paginae 2v Phisonomia vocatur die kunst durch die man erkennt gelegenheit und geschicklikait der sele durch userlich und sichtperlich zaychen des laibes. ² ab-
gesondert Mg. ³ aves-timidi: cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.19.14-17. ⁴ timidi MB. ⁵ homines-audaces: cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.21.1-2. ⁶ incenditur B. ⁷ habitantes-
molles: cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.21.2-3. ⁸ Cf. *Scr. phys.* 1.248.14; 2.22.12, 92.5; Barth. M., *ibid.* 1.81.9. ⁹ Mg add. et dicitur horripilacio. ¹⁰ sc. capillorum. ¹¹ mollita MB.

sicut est capillatura ursina. Capilli autem flavi et crassi <et>¹² albi significant indocilem, et hoc propter defectum caloris naturalis, qui est causa ingenii. Capilli autem subtiles¹³ et moderate tenues significant bonos mores et bonam hominis complexionem.

IVa regula. Caput¹ (sic dictum quia quinque 'capit' sensus²) nimis magnum significat stoliditatem et insensibilitatem, sicut est caput asinorum. Caput autem globosum et nimis breve est sine sapientia et memoria. Caput autem humile superius, et quasi planum, indicium est insolencie³ et dissolutionis. Caput autem oblongum aliquantulum ad modum mallei significat circumspectum et providum, et si habeat pilos declinantes usque ad nasum vel tempora, significat liberalem. Caput autem curvum significat inverecundos, sicut aves habentes ungues incurvatos.

Va regula. Frons [et] dicitur a 'fluendo', quia cito fluit: est enim frons sedes verecundie et honoris, et propter vicinitatem eius ad virtutem cognitivam cognoscuntur leta et tristia. Frons¹ autem² nimis angusta significat indocilem et indisciplinabilem et foracem;³ frons autem lata significat indiscrecionem.⁴ Frons autem longa significat inverecundos, sicut canes. Frons autem rotunda significat iracundos. Frons autem quadrata et moderate magnitudinis significat sapientes et magnanimos, et dicuntur 'leonini'. Frons autem nimis elevata significat stoliditatem et timiditatem. Frons autem depressa⁵ nimis significat verecundos et turpia non admittentes. Frons autem carnosae et pingwis significat obtusos intellectus,⁶ quia carnositas et pinguedo impediunt intellectum. Frons autem attenuata et rugosa significat deliros propter corruptionem cerebri et defectum humoris substantialis.

VIa regula. Supercilium a 'cileo, -es, -ere',¹ id est movere, inde cilium, id est palpebra, quia cito movetur; inde supercilium. Supercilia² autem arcuaria³ significant studiosum et subtilem. supercilia autem recta sicut lineae⁴ significant femininam molliciem et anime levitatem. Supercilia autem coeunciae in cono⁵ nasi significant tristes et modicum sapientes, confusos et perturbatos. Supercilia

¹² et *CThV*; om. MB. ¹³ subtiles MB, male: subnigri *CThV*, p. 79b, *Scr. phys.* 2.24.3, et Albertus, *An.*, par. 133.

IV ¹ Caput-providum: *CThV*, p. 79b. ² Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.25: Prima pars corporis caput; datumque illi hoc nomen eo quod sensus omnes et nervi inde initium capiant. ³ un-gestämikait Mg.

V ¹ Frons-admittentes: *CThV*, p. 79b. ² enim B. ³ sic MB (!): voracem *CThV*. ⁴ Cf. Aristoteles, *Historia animalium* 1.8 (491b13). ⁵ demissa *CThV*. ⁶ intellectum M, correxit B.

VI ¹ sic MB; cf. cileo et cillo. ² Supercilia: *CThV*, p. 79b. ³ arcuaria, vid. *Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.: arcuaria MB, arcualia Albertus, *An.*, par. 138, Ps.-Albertus, *Qu. an.* 1.26, arcuata *CThV*, loc. cit. ⁴ lineae Albertus, loc. cit., cf. supercilia linearia, Ps.-Albertus, loc. cit.: lilium (!) MB. ⁵ cono Albertus et Ps.-Albertus, loci citati: corio MB, *perperam*, cornu *CThV*, loc. cit., male.

quorum arcuositas declinat ad tempora et gibbositatem genarum significant negligentes homines et inutiles. Nam rectitudo superciliorum significat materiam flegmaticam. Curvatio autem superciliorum versus nasum significat sollicitudinem anime ad interiora, et sic significat astutum et cautelosum, sed curvatio superciliorum versus tempora significat sollicitudinem anime ad exteriora, et sic significat vagum hominem et instabilem. Supercilia autem spissorum⁶ et multorum pilorum significant hominem verum⁷ et magna militantem,⁸ nam supercilia spissa et multe pilositatis⁹ significant excessum caloris. Supercilia¹⁰ autem carnosa et pauce pilositatis significant frigiditatem predominantem in membris principalibus, et ideo significant sensum durum et obtusum, nam spoliatio superciliorum semper significat aut interiorem corrupcionem sangwinis, ut patet in leprosis, aut consumpcionem naturalis humoris, ut patet in ethicis, aut opilacionem meatuum et viarum humorum. In nimium autem frequentantibus coitum pili decidunt superciliorum aut albescunt, et hoc vel propter consumpcionem humiditatis vel propter defectum virtutis aut propter augmentationem frigiditatis cerebri; unde nimia siccitas calviciem gignit et superhabundans frigiditas calviciem inducit.

VIIa regula, de oculis. Oculi ciliorum tegmine 'occuluntur',¹ id est teguntur, ne offendantur; oculi 'occultum'² et secretum lumen habent intus positum;³ ideo inter omnes sensus sunt oculi anime propinquiore, ideo in oculis omne iudicium mentis apparet, in oculis enim apparet anime perturbacio et hilaritas et amor et odium, similiter et alie passiones anime. Oculi⁴ magni significant indispositos, sicut boves, parvi autem oculi significant pusillanimes; quantitas enim attestatur dispositionem anime. Oculi albi significant timidos, quia albedo color est mulieris, oculi⁵ autem nigri significant imbecilles ac eciam sine virtute anime et eciam timidos, nigredo enim frequenter signum est timiditatis. Verumtamen oculi non valde nigri sed declinantes ad flavum significant bene dispositum et bonum animum. Oculi autem erubescences significant iracundos, quia rubedo attestatur sanguinem, qui calidus est. Guttule⁶ rubescentes aliquantulum in oculis, que apparent nigre, significant iustum, probum et ingeniosum, guttule autem rubescentes vehementer in oculis nigris et magnis, quarum quedam tendunt ad quadraturam, quedam autem pallide, quedam autem sunt glauce,⁷ et circuli qui ambiunt pupillam sunt sangwinolenti et⁸ inter

⁶ longorum *CThV* et Albertus, loci citati.

⁷ sic MB (!): ferum *CThV* et Albertus, loci citati.

⁸ meditantem *ibid.*

⁹ Mg add. quasi visum obumbrancia.

¹⁰ Mg add. in

marginē hainricus argentinensis.

VII ¹ oculuntur MB.

² occultum M, *correx* B.

³ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.36: Oculi vocati, sive quia eos ciliorum tegmina occulant..., sive quia occultum lumen habeant, id est secretum vel intus positum.

⁴ Oculi: *CThV*, pp. 79b-80a; oculi-pusillanimes: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.69.15-16.

⁵ oculi-animum: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.77.10-13.

⁶ Guttule-cessabant sanguine: cf. *Scr. phys.* 2.42.3-43.2.

⁷ ysengrau (i.e. eisengrau) Mg.

⁸ ut

pupillam moventur⁹ ut palpebra, significant¹⁰ animum qui excedit omnem morem ferarum, et quidquid nephandum¹¹ excogitari potest talibus oculis est perpetrabile, ut etiam a domestico <non> cessabunt sanguine.¹² Oculi¹³ ignei significant inuerecundos, ut canes sunt. Oculi autem glauci et splendore micantes significant audaces et pervigiles ad maliciam. Oculi¹⁴ lucentes significant luxuriosos, sicut sunt galli; verumtamen relucentes sicut guttule nitide significant bonos mores et compositos. Oculi obscuri, magni et tremantes significant potatorem¹⁵ vini et intemperanciam veneris. Oculi caropi,¹⁶ id est habentes colorem urine, significant bonos animos et referuntur ad leones. Oculi¹⁷ autem discolorati et perturbati significant timidos et inanimosos. Oculi humidi et acriter intuentes significant verecundum¹⁸ et in agendis velocem atque providum. Oculi¹⁹ autem lippientes, si lippitudo dependet ab oculis, significant amatores vini, si autem lippitudo eminet et eminens est, significat amatores somni, quia est passio somni. Oculi mobiles qui varie moventur, ita ut iam currant, iam quiescant, significant timidos et imbecilles,²⁰ similiter oculi qui frequenter clauduntur et frequenter reserantur significant timidos²¹ et inanimosos. Oculi nimis veloces significant excessum caloris, et ideo significant mentis instabilitatem et affectus mutabilitatem; oculi autem nimis tardi significant excessum frigiditatis, et ideo significant pertinaciam affectus et pertinaciam voluntatis; ergo mediocris motus oculorum laudabilis est,²² quia significat facilem apprehensionem mentis et debitam fixationem in apprehensis. Oculi²³ multe apersionis et pauce clausure significant stultos et inuerecundos; oculi multe clausure et pauce apersionis significant mobilem et inconstantem in omnibus factis suis. Oculi profundi significant mollem et femineum, pavidum et inanimosum. Oculi²⁴ autem concavi significant malignitatem et sunt simeales et significant maliciam simearum. Oculi²⁵ nimis eminentes <et> erecti significant perturbationem discrecionis, oculi autem nimium eminentes et rubentes et parvi significant linguam effrenatam et corpus instabile.

VIIIa regula, de auribus. Auris dicitur a vocibus 'hauriendis',¹ et ergo dicitur

⁹ nitor pupille moveatur *CThV*, loc. cit., Albertus, *An.*, par. 148; cf. *Scr. phys.* 2.42.12, nitor.

¹⁰ significat MB. ¹¹ nephandorum *CThV*, infandorum Albertus, infandum *Scr. phys.* 2.42.16.

¹² i.e., non temperabunt quin consanguineos suos interficiant. ¹³ Oculi sunt: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.77.18-79.1.

¹⁴ ibid. 1.79.4-5. ¹⁵ sic MB: potacionem *CThV*, melius. ¹⁶ i.e. χαροποι. Oculi caropi-leones: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.77.16-17.

¹⁷ Oculi-inanimosos: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.79.1-4. ¹⁸ sic MB: veridicum *CThV*, Albertus, *An.*, par. 156, *Scr. phys.* 2.53.1.

¹⁹ Oculi-somni: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.69.10-15. ²⁰ timidos et imbecilles MB: mala revolvī jam in animo sed nondum esse perpetrata *CThV*, talia iam in animo revolvī etc. Albertus, *An.*, par. 144.

²¹ sic MB: timidum Albertus, *An.*, par. 160, *Scr. phys.* 2.59.1, tumidum *CThV*, loc. cit., male. ²² Cf. Aristoteles, *Historia animalium* 1.10 (492a11).

²³ Oculi-factis suis: cf. Ps.-Albertus, *Qu. an.* 1.33. ²⁴ Oculi-discrecionis: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.71.1-4. ²⁵ Cf. Ps.-Albertus, *Qu. an.* 1.32.

VIII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.46: Aurium inditum nomen a vocibus auriendis.

auris quasi 'hauris', quia auribus vocem haurimus. Aures² autem magne nimis significant stoliditatem et garrulitatem³ et imprudenciam, tales enim homines sunt asinini, id est assimilantur moribus asinorum; aures autem nimis parve significant malignitatem, sunt enim tales homines simeales, id est assimilantur moribus simearum. Aures rotunde nimis significant indociles, figura enim rotunda⁴ non est fixa. Aures autem oblonge et anguste significant invidiam. Aures autem iacentes et super caput applicate significant pigriciam et ignaviam.

IXa regula, de genis. Gene dicuntur a 'genes'¹ Grece, quod est 'barba' Latine,² gene enim sunt partes inferiores oculorum ubi barba incipit gigni. Et gene dicuntur eciam maxille, quasi 'parve male',³ male autem dicuntur propter rotunditatem eminentem suppositam⁴ oculis ad eorum protectionem. Gene⁵ crasse significant ignaviam et vinolenciam,⁶ nam gene crasse significant excessum frigiditatis et humiditatis, frigiditas autem est causa ignavie et humiditas causa est⁷ vinolencie. Gene autem nimis tenues significant malignitatem, quia gene tenues nimis significant excessum caloris, qui est in colericis. Gene autem rotunde et livide significant invidiam, quia rotunda figura continens est et capax et omnia volt capere vel sibi comparare.

Xa regula, de naribus et naso. A 'noscendo' dicitur 'narus, -a, -um', et aliquando preponitur 'g' per prothesim et dicitur 'gnarus', id est sciens et peritus, qui scilicet noscit qua arte unumquodque agendum sit: ideo dicuntur nares quasi 'gnares', quia per nares fetores odoresque agnoscimus et eorum differencias.¹ Nares² igitur patule significant alacritatem et fortitudinem, nares eciam aperte significant iracundiam, quia cum homo irascitur valde nares aperiuntur. Nares longe et tenues significant mobilitatem et levitatem, nares eciam nimis tenues et late propter multam aeris attractionem significant anime ferocitatem et mentem indignantem. Nares minores debito significant fures et raptores. Quando pars narium que ascendit usque ad frontem non est nimis alta nec nimis humilis sed equali linea descendit, significat virilitatem et constanciam et providenciam. Nasus³ autem grossus significat facilitatem ad

² Aures: *CThV*, p. 80a. ³ Cf. Aristoteles, *Historia animalium* 1.11 (492b2-3) et Pompeius Trogus apud Plinium, *H.N.* 11.52.276: Oricularum magnitudo loquacitatis et stultitiae nota est.

⁴ rotundo *M.*

IX ¹ i.e. γένες. ² Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.43: Genae sunt inferiores oculorum partes, unde barbae inchoant. Nam Graece γένειον barbae. Hinc et genae, quod inde incipiunt gigni barbae. ³ *ibid.* 11.1.45: Maxillae per diminutionem a malis. ⁴ supposita MB.

⁵ Gene-invidiam: *CThV*, p. 80a. ⁶ somnolentiam *CThV*, ... sunt ... vinolenti Albertus, *An.*, par. 222. ⁷ est causa B.

X ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.47: Nares idcirco nominantur quia per eas vel odor vel spiritus nare non desinit, sive quia nos odore admonent ut norimus aliquid ac sciamus. Unde et e contra inscii ac rudes ignari dicuntur. ² Nares-providenciam: *CThV*, p. 80a. ³ Nasus-boves: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.65.19-67.2.

concupiscenciam, sicut boves. Nasus⁴ autem acutus in extremitate significat iracundiam et refertur ad canes; acutus etiam nasus est signum mortis, et precipue in infirmitatibus morboris, quia significat caloris defectum. Nasus⁵ autem rotundus et obtusus significat magnanimum et refertur ad leones. Nasus⁶ autem subtilis habens curvaturam circa frontem significat verecundiam⁷ et refertur ad cervos.⁸ Nasus⁹ aquilus, bene curvatus et arcuatus¹⁰ versus frontem, significat audaciam et refertur ad aquilam, nasus vero concavus cum rotunda fronte cuius rotunditas sursum eminet significat luxuriam et refertur ad gallos.

XIa regula, de vultu.¹ Voltus dicitur a 'volendo',² quia voluntas animi ex vultu ostenditur et ex voluntate animi varie mutatur et variatur voltus.³ Facies autem dicitur ex naturali aspectu uniuscuiusque⁴ et leviter non mutatur, et dicitur facies a 'faciendo', quia sic facta est a natura: vultus fit sed facies facta est. Voltus⁵ igitur plenus et crassus significat ignavum et voluptatibus plenum. Voltus autem dependens significat cogitatorem⁶ subdolum. Facies⁷ autem carnosa significat facilem ad concupiscendum et refertur ad bovem, facies etiam carnosa significat timorem et refertur ad asinos. Facies autem macilenta significat sollicitos et audaces et ingeniosos. Parva facies significat pusillanimitatem et refertur ad asinam.⁸ Facies autem magna significat tarditatem et refertur ad boves. Facies⁹ extensa significat adulatores et refertur ad proprietatem adulatorum.¹⁰ Facies autem nebulosa significat audaciam et iracundiam et refertur ad leones.¹¹

XIIa regula, de labiis. Labia dicuntur a 'lambendo', quia ipsis lambimus; et dicitur 'labium' superius sed 'labrum' inferius. Labia sunt mulierum sed labra virorum:¹ labia sine asperitate barbe sunt sed labra cum asperitate barbe, et hoc notat asperitas huius littere 'r'. Labia² tenuia magni oris, si labium superius aliquantum³ exuperat⁴ inferius, significant⁵ hominem magnanimum et fortem,

⁴ Nasus-canēs: *ibid.* 1.67.4-6. ⁵ *ibid.* 1.67.6-8. ⁶ *ibid.* 1.67.9-11. ⁷ *malim* inverecundiam (invrecundi sunt Barth. M.). ⁸ *sic* MB: corvos Barth. M. ⁹ Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.67.11-15. ¹⁰ articulatus Barth. M.

XI ¹ vultu B *hic et infra*. ² volando B. ³ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.34: Vultus vero dictus, eo quod per eum animi voluntas ostenditur. Secundum voluntatem enim in varios motus mutatur, unde et differunt sibi utraque. ⁴ *ibid.* 33: Facies dicta ab effigie. Ibi est enim tota figura hominis et uniuscuiusque personae cognitio. ⁵ Voltus-subdolum: *CThV*, p. 80a. ⁶ *CThV add. et.* ⁷ Facies-boves: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.67.19-69.6. ⁸ *sic* MB (!): simiam Barth. M., *melius*. ⁹ B *add.* autem. ¹⁰ adulatorum proprietatem B. ¹¹ leones (!) MB.

XII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.50: Labia a lambendo nominata. Quod autem superius est, labium dicimus; quod inferius, eo quod grossior (*sic*) sit, labrum. Alii virorum labra, mulierum labia dicunt. ² Labia-asinis: *CThV*, p. 80a-b. ³ aliquantulum *CThV et* Albertus, *An.*, par. 231. ⁴ exuperat MB, exsuperet *CThV*, exuberet Albertus, *An.*, par. 231, *male*. ⁵ -cat MB.

si autem talia labia tenuia fuerint parvi oris, significant fragilem⁶ et versutum. Labia soluta et aliquantulum dependencia significant inertem:⁷ hoc signum reperitur in antiquis equis et asinis. Labia autem dura circa dentes significant grossos mores et referuntur ad sues et ad porcos. Labia autem grossa, si videlicet labium superius sit protensum ultra inferius, significant fatuos⁸ et referuntur ad asinos; et eciam huiusmodi labia significant amatores contumeliarum et tunc referuntur ad canes. Tremor labiorum in morbis acutis significat mortem, labia enim expressiva sunt odii et amicitie, doloris et tristicie.

XIIIa regula, de ore. Os dicitur quia per ipsum quasi per 'ostium'¹ cibum immittimus et sputum ejicimus et quia per ipsum sermo egreditur,² et ideo os dicitur nunctius cordis; quod enim corde percipimus, hoc ore exprimimus. Os³ parvum significat effeminatum,⁴ os autem magnum, quod scilicet ultra modum dilatatur, significat foracem,⁵ imitem et impium, talis enim oris rictus⁶ convenit monstribus marinis.

XIVa regula, de mento. Mentum dicitur quasi 'mandibularum' fundamentum, quia inde oriuntur.¹ Mentum² breve et parvum significat imitem.³ invidum et parcum. Mentum autem aliquantulum prolixum significat <minus>⁴ iracundum et minus perturbatum. Mentum autem nimis prolixum significat assuetum dolis. Mentum igitur commensuratum et aliquantulum quadratum vel ad quadraturam accedens significat bonam dispositionem, et est ceteris laudabilius.

XVa regula, de voce. Vox dicitur quasi 'box' a boando; vox enim annunciat voluntatem anime, sunt enim ea que sunt in voce earum que sunt in anima passionum note; et ergo vox est vehiculum verbi, verbum est id quod in mente concipitur, qui conceptus per vocem tamquam per vehiculum exprimitur. Vox¹ similis voci ovium aut caprarum significat stulticiam. Vox autem intensa aut accuta² ad modum avium significat levem animum. Vox tenuis et gracilis et quasi lugubris significat tristes homines et suspiciosos. Vox³ autem currens per nares, ita ut nares consonent, significat mendacem, malevolum et malis alienis

⁶ fragilem MB: imbecilem CThV et Albertus, loc. cit. ⁷ Mg add. id est sine arte, qui ad nichil ydoneus est. ⁸ Mg add. quasi fari nesciens.

XIII ¹ hostium M, correxit B. ² Isidorus, Etym. 11.1.49: Os dictum, quod per ipsum quasi per ostium et cibos intus mittimus et sputum foris proicimus: vel quia inde ingrediuntur cibi, inde egrediuntur sermones. ³ Os-marinis: CThV, p. 80b. ⁴ Mg add. id est lascivum, luxuriosum. ⁵ sic MB: voracem CThV et Albertus, An., par. 232. ⁶ Mg

add. Ringo, -is, -ere, id est ridere. Inde rictus, qui est nimia oris apercio. Nam quod dicitur 'os' in homine, hoc dicitur 'rictus' in bestia, et manus alia add. rüssel.

XIV ¹ Isidorus, Etym. 11.1.57: Mentum dictum, quod inde mandibulae oriuntur. ² Mentum: CThV, p. 80b. ³ B add. et. ⁴ minus CThV et Albertus, An., par. 253: om. MB.

XV ¹ Vox-gaudentem: CThV, p. 80b. ² correxit B hic et infra. ³ Cf. Albertus, An., par. 255.

gaudentem. Vox in principio acuta et in fine gravis significat iniuriosum et refertur ad asinos, vox⁴ autem in principio gravis et in fine acuta significat iracundos et refertur ad passionem ire, quia in ira est ebulicio sangwinis circa cor, et ita est ibi magnus calor, et ideo ibi fit fortis aeris ebulicio cum compressione pulmonis. Vox⁵ similiter acuta, mollis et interrupta significat timidos et refertur ad mulieres, lepores et cervos. Vox autem grossa et extensa significat magnanimum, quia talis vox habet magnam arteream, magna arterea habet magnum calorem, magnum calorem sequitur magna audacia. Vox plana et sine intensione⁶ significat verecundos et refertur ad aves. Vox⁷ acuta et fortis significat iracundos et refertur ad capras.

XVIa regula, de cervice et collo. Cervix est posterior pars colli, a 'cedendo', quia ibi pili ceduntur, id est scinduntur, vel dicitur cervix quasi 'cerebri via', quia cerebrum descendit per eam usque ad medullam spine.¹ Sed gula est anterior pars colli et dicitur gula a 'guttare', quia guttur est in illa parte colli, vel dicitur gula a 'gala',² quia illa pars candida est. Collum autem dicitur quasi longum et rotundum et rigidum,³ ut 'columpna',⁴ baiolans caput.⁵ Cervix⁶ tenuis et subtilis et longa significat maligna cogitantem, sed brevis significat audacem cum temeritate. Cervix autem rotunda significat anime⁷ virtutem cum corporis habilitate.⁸ Cervix autem erecta nimis significat insolentem⁹ et contumacem.¹⁰ Collum¹¹ grossum et robustum significat fortem et refertur ad genus masculinum, collum autem subtile, tenue et fragile significat molles et refertur ad genus femininum. Collum carnosum significat iracundos et refertur ad thauros. Collum longum et subtile significat timidos et refertur ad cervos, collum autem breve¹² et non nimis grossum significat magnanimos et refertur ad leones, sed quando collum est nimis breve tunc refertur ad lupos et significat foraces.¹³ Clavis autem colli est nodositas colli in iunctura ubi flectitur motu capitis. Clavis¹⁴ colli bene soluta significat bene sensitivum et significat abilem et faciliter recipientem¹⁵ motum sensitivum, talis enim homo <habet> carnes subtiles et nervos flexibiles, et ideo abilis est; clavis non bene soluta significat male sensitivum et non abilem ad recipiendum motum sensitivum.

⁴ vox-iracundos: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.85.6.

⁵ Vox-mulieres: Barth. M., *ibid.* 8-10.

⁶ herhebung Mg.

⁷ Vox-capras: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.87.2.

XVI ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.61: Cervix autem vocata, quod per eam partem cerebrum ad medullam spinæ dirigitur, quasi cerebri via. ² i.e. γάλα, lac. ³ unbügglich Mg.

⁴ columna B. ⁵ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.60: Collum dictum, quod sit rigidum et teres ut columna, baiolans caput et sustentans quasi capitulum. ⁶ Cervix-contumacem: CThV, p. 80b.

⁷ animi CThV et Albertus, *An.*, par. 433. ⁸ habilitate Albertus, *An.*, loc. cit. (cf. habilis est corpore *Scr. phys.* 2.73.1): humilitate CThV et MB, male. ⁹ Mg add. Insolens est superbus, fatuus, de moribus non conveniens.

¹⁰ Mg add. id est inobedientem, vorderspinstig. ¹¹ Collum-voraces: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.63.18-65.7. ¹² breve MB: bene magnum Barth. M., loc. cit.

¹³ sic M (!), voraces recte B. ¹⁴ Clavis-ad recipiendum motum sensitivum: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.63.11-17. ¹⁵ recipiendi M: om. B.

XVIIa regula, de pectore. Pectus dicitur a 'pecto, -is' quod in uno significato est 'flecto, -is', id est curvare, et ideo dicitur pectus quia flexum est inter partes mamillarum eminentes.¹ Pectus² congestum³ multis carnibus significat indociles. Pectus longius quam venter est significat prudentem hominem. Pectus cum ventre nimietate pilorum repletum significat hominem instabilem et hominem⁴ sine religione et pietate; pectus preferens solum pilos significat fortem et magnanimum. Pectus⁵ magnum significat fortem et refertur ad genus masculinum, pectus autem parvum significat molles et refertur ad femininum genus.

XVIIIa regula, de humeris. Humeri dicuntur quasi 'armeri',¹ et sunt humeri hominum et armi pecorum.² Humeri³ tenues et in acumen⁴ erecti significant⁵ hominem instudiosum.⁶

XIXa regula, de spatulis.¹ Spatule dicuntur a 'spata', dicitur autem spata a 'spacio', quia spatule late sunt, ut gladius.² Spatule³ bene solute significant liberalem, et sumitur illa significatio secundum apparentem convenienciam et a modo agendi actum liberalitatis.

XXa regula, de brachiis. Brachia dicuntur a 'bari',¹ in Greco, quod est 'forte', quia brachia ceteris membris forciora sunt.² Brachia³ longa, videlicet extensa usque ad genu ita ut extremitas medii digiti appropinquat⁴ usque ad genu, significant abiles et fortes; brachia autem extensa usque ad femur solum vel parum ultra significant malivolos⁵ et malis alienis gaudentes.

XXIa regula, de manibus. Manus est totius corporis 'munus',¹ quia organum organorum² in famulacione, quia scilicet operatur omnia et dispensat, ea enim et damus et recipimus. Manus³ igitur breves⁴ nimium et exigue significant fortes

XVII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.74: Pectus vocatum, quod sit pexum inter eminentes mamillarum partes; unde et pectinem dici, quod pexos capillos faciat. ² Pectus-magnanimum: *CThV*, p. 80b. ³ woldigen Mg. ⁴ hominem MB: animum *CThV*, melius. ⁵ Pectus-masculinum: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.61.5-7.

XVIII ¹ sic MB pro armi. ² Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.62: Umeri dicti, quasi armi, ad distinctionem hominis a pecudibus mutis, ut hi humeros, illi armos habere dicantur. Nam proprie armi quadrupedum sunt. ³ Humeri: *CThV*, p. 80b. ⁴ acumine *CThV*, acutum Albertus, *An.*, par. 503 et *Scr. phys.* 2.79.2. ⁵ -cat MB. ⁶ sic MB: insidiosum *CThV*.

XIX ¹ Mg add. vocantur schultern. ² Isidorus, *Etym.* 18.6.4: Alii spatam Latine autumant dictam, eo quod spatiosa sit. ³ Spatule-liberalitatis: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.63.5-10.

XX ¹ i.e. βαρύ. ² Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.63: Brachia a fortitudine nominata: βαρύ enim Graece grave et forte significatur (sic). ³ Brachia-gaudentes: *CThV*, pp. 80b-81a. ⁴ appropinquet *CThV* et Albertus, *An.*, par. 503. ⁵ malevolos *CThV* et Albertus, *loc. cit.*, et *Scr. phys.* 2.79.12.

XXI ¹ Mg add. officium. — Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.66: Manus dicta, quod sit totius corporis munus. Ipsa enim cibum ori ministrat; ipsa operatur omnia atque dispensat; per eam accipimus et damus. ² Cf. VIa reg. gen., notam 2, supra. ³ Manus-loquacem: *CThV*, p. 81a. ⁴ et add. B (habet M sed leviter deletum).

et sagaces. Manus crasse [et tenues]⁵ habentes digitos breves ultra modum significant tergiversatorem,⁶ insidiosum et furem. Manus autem intorte⁷ et curve et tenues significant foracem⁸ et loquacem. (Hic currit⁹ ciromancia, que est prohibita, ergo a nobis relinquenda.)

XXIIa regula, de digitis. Digiti dicuntur quia 'decem' sunt et quia 'decenter' iuncti sunt.¹ Digiti² collecti et conglobati³ significant avarum et malignum. Digiti parvi et tenues significant stultum, digiti autem parvi et crassi⁴ significant invidum et audacem.

XXIIIa regula, de unguibus. Ungues dicti sunt eo quod eis 'ungere' solemus. Ungues¹ albi et plani, molles ac tenues et subrubentes² ac perspicui³ significant optimum ingenium. Ungues inflexi et curvi significant imprudentem et rapacem. Ungues breves ultra modum significant malignum.

XXIVa regula, de ventre. Venter dictus est eo quod 'ventum' recipit, vel dicitur venter quia per totum corpus alimenta vite transmittit.¹ Venter pingwis significat fortem, pingwedo enim eorum que sunt circa ventrem refertur ad masculinum genus si fuerit digesta et naturalis, sed si fuerit indigesta et flegmatica, tunc significat mollem et refertur ad femininum genus. Venter² multo maior quam pectus significat foraces³ et insensibiles, foraces⁴ quidem quia habentes magnos ventres multum appetunt cibum; insensibiles, quia habent locum sensus angustum et ideo habent defectum sensus repleti forti⁵ odore ciborum.

XXVa regula, de spina dorsi. Spina dicitur a 'spica' propter acuitatem, unde spina dorsi est iunctura dorsi, eo quod habeat quosdam radiolos¹ acutos. Spina² igitur dorsi magna significat fortes secundum animam, quia refertur ad genus masculinum; spina dorsi debilis et parva significat molles et refertur ad genus femininum, unde spina magna signum est fortis nature sed spina parva est debilis nature signum.

⁵ et tenues *om.* *CThV* et Albertus, *An.*, par. 503 et *Scr. phys.* 2.81.1. ⁶ tergiversatorem *Scr. phys.* 2.81.2: tergiversorem MB. – Mg *add.* id est deceptorem, qui scilicet potest variare animum suum qualitercumque volt fingere se et apparens esse amicus. ⁷ umgebogen Mg. ⁸ sic MB (!): voracem *CThV*. ⁹ sic (brit) MB.

XXII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.70: Digiti nuncupati, vel quia decem sunt, vel quia decenter iuncti existunt. ² Digiti-audacem: *CThV*, p. 81a. ³ conglobati MB et Albertus, *An.*, par. 505, *Scr. phys.* 2.82.8: globati *CThV*, *male*. ⁴ crassi MB et Albertus, *loc. cit.*: grossi *CThV*.

XXIII ¹ Ungues-malignum: *CThV*, p. 81a. ² subrubentes Albertus, *An.*, par. 504 et *Scr. phys.* 2.81.5: obrubentes MB, rubentes *CThV*. ³ Mg *add.* scilicet sic quod sanguis sub eis videtur. – perlucidi Albertus, *loc. cit.*

XXIV ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.132: ... dictus venter quod per totum corpus vitæ alimenta transmittat. ² Venter-ciborum: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.59.14-61.4. ³⁻⁴ sic MB (!): voraces Barth. M., *loc. cit.* ⁵ forte B.

XXV ¹ radiolos, *cf.* Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.95: Spina est iunctura dorsi, dicta eo quod habeat radiolos acutos: radiales MB. ² Spina-femininum: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.59.4-7.

XXVIa regula, de costis. Coste dicte sunt a 'custodiendo', quia custodiunt interiora.¹ Coste² magne significant fortitudinem secundum animam et referuntur ad genus masculinum, magnitudo enim costarum attestatur super calore cordis, et ideo significant bonam dispositionem anime. Coste autem tumide, circumquaque inflatæ, significant stultiloquium et multiloquium et referuntur ad boves et ranas, quia inflatas habentes costas defectum paciuntur caloris naturalis et tamen habent magnum pulmonem, et ideo frequenter garrulant et stulte loquuntur.

XXVIIa regula, de lateribus. Latera dicta sunt a 'latendo', cum enim iacemus, latent.¹ Latera² tenuia et angusta et quasi depressa significant timidos. Latera referta carnibus et dura indocilem significant³ et referuntur⁴ ad leones.⁵

XXVIIIa regula, de coxis. Coxe dicuntur quasi 'coaxe', nam coxe coniunguntur femoribus tamquam axes rote;¹ sicut enim axes non moventur circulariter, sic coxe non moventur, sed femora. Coxe² igitur nervose et ossee significant fortitudinem secundum animam et referuntur ad genus masculinum, et ratio sumitur a magno calore ossa et nervos ingrossante. Coxe autem carnosae et molles significant effeminatos homines et molles secundum animam et referuntur ad sexum muliebrem.

XXIXa regula, de cruribus. Crura dicuntur a 'currendo', quia ipsis currimus et gressum facimus. Et sunt crura protensa a trunco corporis usque deorsum ad finem, verum aliquando crura dicuntur protensa a genibus usque ad suras.¹ Crura² nervosa significant fortitudinem secundum animam et iterum referuntur ad genus masculinum et iterum ratio sumitur ex magno calore. Crura subtilia et pilosa significant luxuriosos et referuntur ad aves, huiusmodi enim dispositio crurium est ex spumosa humiditate que est causa actus venerei. Crura male ordinata, indisposita et indistincta et quasi aliquando dirupta significant odibiles homines et inverecundos homines;³ ratio sumitur ex hoc, quia calor naturalis in eis deficit, naturalis enim calor est⁴ instrumentum nature.

XXVI ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.89: Costas appellari quidam putant quod ab ipsis interiora custodiantur. ² Coste-masculinum, Coste-ranas: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.59.8-13.

XXVII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.90: Latus, quia iacentibus nobis latet. ² Latera-ad ranas: CThV, p. 81a. ³ *Scr. phys.* 2.86.4-7 *add.* quae autem rotunda sunt tamquam tumentia, loquacem, inanem declarant, *quae omnia om.* MB et CThV et Albertus, *An.*, par. 506.

⁴ refertur B et *Scr. phys.*, *loc. cit.* ⁵ leones MB: ranas CThV et Albertus, et *Scr. phys.*, *loci citati.*

XXVIII ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.107: Coxae quasi coniunctae axes; ipsis enim femora moventur. ² Coxe-masculinum, Coxe-muliebrem: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.57.6-9.

XXIX ¹ sura MB. — Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.110: Crura dicta quia in his currimus et gressum facimus. Sunt autem sub genibus usque ad suras. ² Crura-invirecundos homines: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.55.17-57.3. ³ homines *om.* B, *melius.* ⁴ est enim calor B.

XXXa regula, de genubus. Genua dicuntur a 'genis', quia in utero materno infans caput tenet inclinatum inter genua;¹ voluit enim natura homines rememorari uterum maternum ubi tamquam in tenebris residebant antequam ad lucem venerunt: hinc est quod quando homines capita prosternunt ad genua statim lacrimantur, unde genua consecrata sunt misericordie. (Aures consecrate sunt memorie, frons autem consecrata est² ingenio – ideo decoratur frons signo sancte crucis – dextra³ autem consecrata est fidei.) Genua⁴ igitur tenuia et subtilia significant timidos; ratio sumenda est ex defectu caloris, defectum autem caloris sequitur timiditas.

XXXIa regula, de suris. Sure dicuntur a 'suendo', quia assuuntur tibiis, est enim sura assuta tibiis, sura enim est posterior pars tybie et sic est musculus¹ tibearum. Sure² plene et quasi gravide³ significant hominem intemperatum et imprudentem.⁴ Sure molles significant effeminatos.

XXXIIa regula,¹ de pedibus. Pedes dicuntur quibus ambulamus et dicitur pes quasi 'pos',² pos autem Grece, Latine dicitur 'pes'.³ Pedes⁴ breves et crassi significant infirmum et imbecillem, pedes autem breves nimium et pertenuis significant malignum hominem. Pedes autem longi sive prolixi significant dolosum et fallacem. Pedes⁵ bene dispositi et nervosi, habentes digitos distinctos et bene articulatos, significant fortitudinem secundum animam, quia attestantur super magno calore, calorem autem magnum sequitur fortitudo. Pedes⁶ autem parvi et stricti⁷ et non bene articulati significant fragilem et imbecillem, quia attestantur super modicitate⁸ caloris, quam modicitatem⁹ sequitur infirmitas. Pedes¹⁰ curvi seu pedum digiti curvi significant inverecondos, sed pedes habentes ungues curvos significant rapaces et referuntur ad aves rapaces. Pedes¹¹ habentes pedicas indistinctas significant immundos et stercorosos et referuntur ad aucas, quia tales pedes attestantur super modico calore,¹² ideo in eis est humor indigestus, quem sequitur immundicia et stercorositas.

XXX ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.108-109: ... et dicta genua eo quod in utero sint genis opposita. ... Inde est quod homines dum ad genua se prosternunt, statim lacrimantur. Voluit enim natura uterum maternum rememorare, ubi quasi in tenebris considebant antequam venirent ad lucem.

² est om. B. ³ sc. manus, ut videtur. ⁴ de genubus nihil dicit CThV.

XXXI ¹ Mg add. Musculus est caro nodosa intus latens sicut mus latet in foramine. ² Sure-effeminatos: CThV, p. 81a (sub 'Crura'). ³ Mg add. id est inpregnate carnibus.

⁴ imprudentem MB et CThV: impudentem Albertus, *An.*, par. 507, *Scr. phys.* 2.89.3.

XXXII ¹ regula om. B. ² i.e. πούς. ³ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.112: Pedes ex Graeca etymologia nomen sortiti sunt. Hoc enim Graeci πόδας dicunt, qui alternis motibus solo fixi incedunt. ⁴ Pedes-fallacem: CThV, p. 81a. ⁵ Pedes-animam: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.55.1-3 (secundum animam = περί την ψυχὴν).

⁶ Pedes-imbecillem: *ibid.* 3-6. ⁷ stricti M, Barth. M.: districti B. ⁸ -tem MB, sed cf. attestantur super ... calore, *supra et infra*.

⁹ modicitatem om. B. ¹⁰ autem add. B. – Pedes-rapaces: Barth. M., *ibid.* 7-9.

¹¹ Pedes-auca: Barth. M., *ibid.* 9-11 (sed ortigas pro aucas). ¹² aves rapaces-calore M: aucas quia tales pedes attestantur super modico calore et pedes habentes pedicas indistinctas significant immundos et stercorosos ad aves rapaces referuntur B, *perperam*.

XXXIIIa regula, de cavillis. Caville pedum sunt 'conconvitates'¹ pedum circa calcaneum. Caville² igitur nervose et bene articulate significant fortitudinem secundum animam, caville autem carnose et non bene articulate significant imbecillitatem: ratio illarum regularum est quia bona articulatio attestatur super magno calore, mala autem articulatio attestatur super parvo calore; magnum autem calorem sequitur fortitudo, parvum autem infirmitas.

XXXIVa regula, de incesso. Incedere¹ magnis passibus significat magnanimum et efficacem,² incedere autem brevibus passibus et celeriter significat infirmum hominem secundum animam et fallacem et malignum. Incedere celeriter et sic incedendo celeriter comprimere se et multum³ se deducere et quasi totum corpus complicare⁴ significat timidum et parvum et versutum. Nam motus⁵ tardus significat intellectum ineptum et inabilem, velox autem motus significat intellectum subtilem et abilem, tarditas enim est signum defectus caloris, defectum autem caloris sequitur defectus intelligencie: velocitas autem est signum magni caloris, magnum calorem sequitur magna intelligencia.⁶

XXXVa regula, de corpore. Corpus dicitur eo quod sit nature 'corruptibilis',¹ vel dicitur corpus quasi 'cordis-pus', id est custodia. Corpus igitur parvum significat intellectum abilem, et ratio est quia parvus locus est quem sangwis occupat et ideo discursus rationis cito finitur, corpus autem magnum significat inabilem intellectum, et ratio est quia locus magnus est quem sangwis occupat, et ideo discursus rationis tarde finitur.

XXXVIa regula, de carne. Caro dura significat insensibilem,¹ et ratio est quia illa materia grossa est et terrestris, et ideo non est apta operationibus intellectus; caro mollis significat instabilem in moribus vel agilem in discurrendo. Qui sunt parvi corporis, habentes carnes siccas et calidas, non sunt boni intellectus: ratio est quia propter nimium calorem sunt instabiles in proposito et ita, antequam unum concipiant, transferunt se ad aliud; qui autem sunt² magni corporis, habentes carnes siccas et calidas, sunt boni intellectus, et ratio est quia temperamentum fit in magnitudine et calore; qui sunt parvi corporis, habentes carnes humiditas et frigidas, sunt boni intellectus: ratio est quia in ipsis fit temperamentum frigiditatis et parvitat; qui autem sunt magni corporis, habentes carnes humiditas et frigidas, sunt mali intellectus, et ratio est quia impressionem difficulter recipiunt et retinent.

XXXIII ¹ 'cavus' etymon cavillae? ² Caville-imbecillitatem: Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.55.12-16.

XXXIV ¹ Incedere-versutum: CThV, p. 81a (sub 'Pedes'). ² wurcklich Mg. ³ vultum CThV et Albertus, *An.*, par. 510, se omisso. ⁴ complicare MB: totum complicat corpus Albertus, *loc. cit.*, totum corpus implicat CThV, male (ita fere *Scr. phys.* 2.98.5). ⁵ motus-inabilem: cf. Barth. M., *Scr. phys.* 1.21.12. ⁶ magnus intellectus B.

XXXV ¹ Isidorus, *Etym.* 11.1.14: Corpus dictum eo quod corruptum perit.

XXXVI ¹ incapacem Mg. ² sunt om. B.

XXXVIIa regula, de commensuratione seu proporcione membrorum. Commensurati, id est habentes bonam proporcione membrorum ad invicem, sunt iusti et fortes, nam bona commensuracio causatur a calore naturali; incommensurati autem et non habentes bonam proporcione membrorum ad invicem sunt astuti et dolosi, et ratio est quia mala commensuracio attestatur super defectu virtutis formative, et ergo significat maliciam et malignitatem.

XXXVIIIa regula, de coloribus. Colores dicti sunt a 'calendo', quia calore ignis et solis colores efficiuntur. Color¹ igitur cutis niger significat versutum hominem et versipellem, color autem albus et rubeus significat fortem et animosum et habentem bonum intellectum, quia iste color est a naturali calore: color autem vehementer albus cum pallore significat defectum virtutis propter nimiam victoriam flegmatis. Color ignitus cum oculis lucentibus vergit² ad insaniam. Color mixtus ex albo et nigro qui declinat ad brunum³ significat virum boni ingenii et bonorum morum, maxime si fuerit clarus color.

Utilitas phisonomie pariter et necessitas

1. Tenemur omnes ad dilectionem Dei, qui¹ non diligitur nisi cognitus; igitur omnes tenemur ad cognicionem Dei. Nemo autem potest habere cognicionem Dei nisi habeat cognicionem sui ipsius, iuxta illam regulam Bernhardi: 'Per cognicionem mei perveniam ad cognicionem Dei, et quanto in mei cognicione perficio, tanto in Dei cognicione perficio.'² Nemo autem potest habere cognicionem sui ipsius nisi eciam hanc sciat artem, scilicet phisonomie.

2. Summa philosophia est cognoscere se ipsum,¹ nam summa philosophia est cognoscere edem² Apollinis, in quo scriptum erat 'Gnothi seauton',³ id est 'Cognosce te ipsum', quia perfecte se ipsum cognoscens perfectam inducit humilitatem. Ad cognoscendum autem se ipsum maxime deservit phisonomia.

3. Item mandavit Deus unicuique proximum suum diligere.¹ Tenetur autem homo <non> solum² proximum suum retrahere a malo perpetrato sed eciam a malo perpetrando; a malo autem perpetrando retrahere non potest nisi cognoscat inclinaciones eius malas, que per hanc cognoscuntur artem, scilicet phisonomie.

XXXVIII ¹ Color: CThV, p. 81b. ² vergit CThV: vagit MB. ³ brunum CThV: pronum MB.

1. ¹qui dubium: q³ MB. ² Bernardus Claravallensis, *Meditationes de cognitione humane conditionis* 1 (PL 184.485A), ubi legitur: ... tanto ad cognitionem Dei accedo.

2. ¹ Mg add. in margine Ambrosius (...?) Beati Immaculati. ² edem (i.e. aedem) ego, nam haec sententia in pronao templi Apollinis Delphici inscripta erat: pedem MB. ³ gnotosolitos MB; cf. Pierre Courcelle, *Connais-toi toi-même de Socrate à Saint Bernard*, 3 voll. (Paris, 1974-75).

3. ¹ Leviticus 19:18, Matthaeus 22:39, Marcus 12:31. ² solum homo MB.

4. *Thobie* xii^o: 'Sacramentum¹ regis abscondere bonum est, opera autem Dei² revelare et confiteri bonum est.' Sed si opera Dei sunt mirabilia, tamen mirabilia sunt opera eius creacionis³ corporis et anime hominis, que cognoscuntur hac arte, et ergo homo vocatur 'microcosmus', id est minor mundus.

5. 'Laudate Dominum in sanctis eius' – David.¹ Maxima autem laus sanctorum est cognoscere quod a malis inclinacionibus fecerunt repugnanciam et resistenciam et bonas inclinaciones persecuti sunt.

6. Consulitur unicuique ut elegat statum vivendi magis convenientem sibi secundum naturalem suam disposicionem et inclinacionem, gracia enim in natura bene disposita melius operatur; naturalis autem inclinacio et dispositio hac arte cognoscuntur.¹

7. Iterum obligamur cognoscere defectus nostros, ut ipsis cognitis humiliemur, sine qua humilitate nemo salvari potest, iuxta illud: 'Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde';¹ defectus autem naturales hac arte cognoscimus, igitur etc.

8. Tenemur eciam cognoscere beneficia Dei nobis a Deo collata, ut simus grati Deo, nam¹ sine gratitudine fons pietatis divine exiccatur. Hec autem beneficia non solum naturalia sed eciam gratuita per phisonomiam cognoscuntur.

9. Iusticia nobis precepta est, iuxta illud: 'Declina a malo et fac bonum',¹ et iterum iuxta illud: 'Pacem et veritatem et iusticiam diligite inter vos'.² Officium autem iusticie est reddere unicuique quod suum est, superiori scilicet obedienciam <et> reverenciam, nobis autem sanctimonium et bonam famam, dare autem auxilium et consilium³ inferiori et custodiam et disciplinam. Sed custodiam nemo potest alteri tribuere nisi cognoscat alterius malas inclinaciones, et ideo illa ars phisonomie est necessaria, quia huiusmodi inclinaciones malas ostendit.

10. Iterum precipitur nobis prudentia: 'Estote prudentes sicut serpentes'¹ etc. Officium autem prudentie est cavere a futuris malis ex cognicione preteritorum et presencium; futuras autem malas occasiones ex illa arte cognoscimus et discimus.

4. ¹ 'Sacramentum-est': *Tobias* 12:7. – Sacramentum: Heimlichkeit Mg. ² Dei *Tobias*: eius MB. ³ creacione B.

5. ¹ *Psalmus* 149 (150):1.

6. ¹ cognoscitur MB.

7. ¹ *Matthaeus* 11:29.

8. ¹ nunc (nūc) MB.

9. ¹ *Psalmus* 33 (34):14, *I Petrus* 3:11. ² *Zacharias* 8:19 (?). ³ consilium et auxilium B.

10. ¹ *Matthaeus* 10:16.

11. Ex illis decem causis sequitur quod phisonomia est necessaria volentibus intrare religionem, ut elegant sibi convenientem ordinem et religionem; et volentibus contrahere matrimonium, ut contrahant¹ cum sibi similibus; et ut dominus fidelem sibi elegat servum et famulam; et bellantibus, ut cognoscant condiciones hominum diversarum regionum. Item filiis, ut sese² custodiant a malis et cognoscant parentum naturam, item parentibus, ut prolem in bonas inclinaciones inducant, a malis vero retrahant; item mercatoribus, ne decipiantur a sibi vendentibus et ab eis ementibus; item peregrinantibus, ut sibi caveant a latronibus et raptoribus; item magistris et doctoribus, ut numquam doceant contra suorum discipulorum naturalem inclinacionem et abilitatem, nam 'Non³ feliciter audet quod natura negat';⁴ item discipulis, ut sese dent illis facultatibus sibi secundum naturalem abilitatem et capacitatem convenientibus, iuxta regulam Boecii in *De disciplina*⁵ etc.⁶

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11. ¹contrahat MB. ² se B. ³ non MB, *male*. ⁴ Quod natura negat, nemo feliciter audet, Gualterus Anglicus, *Fabulae Aesopicae* 17.15 (L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins* 2 [Paris, 1894], p. 324). ⁵ Ps.-Boethius, *De disciplina scholarium* (PL 64.1223-38); *fort. respicitur cap. 5, ubi quaeritur qua arte adulescentes mente obtusi, qua mediocres, qua acuti instruendi sint*. ⁶ in M sequitur illa subscriptio (vide sodes praefationem meam, p. 212) quae in B deest.

THE ACCOUNTS
OF JOHN DE STRATTON AND JOHN GEDENEY,
CONSTABLES OF BORDEAUX 1381-90:
AN EDITION WITH PARTICULAR NOTES
ON THEIR ECCLESIASTICAL AND LITURGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

J. Robert Wright

THE documents edited here are preceded by an historical introduction, some notes on personnel – the constables, controller, and *magistri* – , a financial analysis with analytical display of both accounts, an evaluation of their ecclesiastical significance, some estimate of the liturgical evidence to be found in them, notes on the present edition and a table of abbreviations. Some comparisons are made with the accounts of two other constables edited earlier in this journal,¹ but no attempt has been made – other than cross-reference – to repeat the background material already published there. Considerable attention has been given to the ecclesiastical and liturgical significance of the accounts, however, for it is believed that previous historians have not concentrated upon this part of their contents in any systematic way.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

Of necessity, an introduction of this sort has to be rather general in nature and must begin *in medias res*.

With the treaty of Brétigny, as finally sealed at Calais on 24 October 1360, Edward III promised to abandon his claim to the crown of France in return for French renunciation of sovereignty over all lands held by Edward III at the time of the treaty; however, this settlement was not to be definite until mutual renunciations were formally made – and they never were.²

¹ T. Runyan, 'The Constabulary of Bordeaux: The Accounts of John Ludham (1372-73) and Robert de Wykford (1373-75)', *MS* 36 (1974) 215-58 and *MS* 37 (1975) 42-84.

² P. Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals to England (1259-1453)* (Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1950), pp. 146-52.

Edward III, on his part, made extensive use of the sovereignty that he presumed he now had. On 19 July 1362 the whole of English possessions in southwestern France were constituted as the Duchy or Principality of Aquitaine,³ and they were given by Edward to his oldest son, the Black Prince,⁴ to be held in liege homage for an ounce of gold per year. King Edward reserved to himself the *superioritas* and *resortum*, but other than this the powers granted to the Black Prince were quite extensive. They included 'to give and grant lands in domain as well as in fief; to coin his own money; to appoint and remove officials of all kinds; to grant new privileges and to confirm old rights, and to do in fact "all that a true Prince should".'⁵

On the whole, things went well for the Black Prince in the early years of his rule in Aquitaine. It was at Bordeaux on the feast of the Epiphany, 6 January 1367, that his wife, Joan of Kent, bore him their second son, Richard.⁶ Earlier, in 1365, she had borne him their first son, Edward of Angoulême.

Administratively, the Black Prince retained and elaborated the structure already in existence. Documents formerly issued under the seneschal of Gascony were now authorized under the name of the Black Prince and his great seal of Aquitaine. The office of seneschal receded in importance, and the office of chancellor began to reappear, in whose custody rested the great seal of the Black Prince.⁷ The Black Prince also set up his own court, the *curia magnorum dierum Aquitannie*, from which appeals could be made to Edward III (as holder of ultimate *superioritas* and *resortum*).

Financially, however, the arrangement was a difficult one for the Black Prince. King Edward had specifically exempted himself from any further Aquitainian expenses in the grant of 1362, although he had provided the Black Prince with revenues from many sources in Aquitaine: all feudal dues, the coinage of money, the proceeds of justice, royalties on mines and forests, customs, tolls and certain other dues.⁸ But frugality was a word unknown to the Black Prince, and the extravagances of his wife and his court absorbed most of

³ Both *Aquitania* and *Vasconia* are used apparently interchangeably in the manuscripts here edited and in other contemporary source documents; therefore, I have not attempted to make any distinction between the two in my own comments and notes.

⁴ Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales. Apparently, the name 'Black Prince' first occurs in 1563, when it was published in Grafton's *Chronicle of England*. For its association with Elizabethan nationalism, see I. P. Shaw, 'The Black Prince', *History* N.S. 24 (1939) 1; and *Oxford English Dictionary*.

⁵ E. C. Lodge, *Gascony under English Rule* (London, 1926), p. 96.

⁶ 'Richard of Bordeaux' he came to be called by some, especially by the proud city of his birth.

⁷ For discussion of the administrative system of the Black Prince, see T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33), 5.289-440.

⁸ R. P. Dunn-Pattison, *The Black Prince* (London, 1910), p. 201.

his normal income. He did succeed in gaining additional revenue by summoning the three Estates of Aquitaine yearly in 1364, 1365 and 1366, whereby he was granted each time a hearth-tax, or *fouage* (*focagium*). Nevertheless, his financial problems became acute in 1367, the year of Richard's birth, when he made his expedition to Spain in support of Pedro the Cruel. Pedro had promised the Black Prince a large sum for his assistance, the expedition was successful in placing Pedro upon the throne of Castile, but Pedro failed to pay the Black Prince. In desperate need of money to pay his men, the Black Prince again succeeded in inducing the Estates of Aquitaine, meeting at Angoulême in January 1368, to vote another *fouage* for this purpose. This new levy did not meet with general opposition; but it did afford many of the dissatisfied nobles, who resented the presence of a resident overlord in Aquitaine, the chance to appeal to the French crown as supreme sovereign. They objected to their tenants' being taxed by the Black Prince to repay them for the services they had rendered him. Led by the count of Armagnac, they appealed to the French ruler, Charles V, who absolved them from payment of the *fouage* for the next ten years.⁹ The Black Prince was summoned to appear before the Parlement of Paris on this question; and when he refused, Charles V gave orders to seize Aquitaine. In June 1369 Edward III again resumed the title of King of France, which he had given up in 1360. In May 1370 the Parlement of Paris declared the Black Prince guilty of felony and the whole of Aquitaine to be forfeit to the crown of France. The treaty of Brétigny had lasted only nine years, and war was resumed.

The Black Prince, moreover, was having difficulties with his father. In November 1369 Edward III had ordered him to give up the *fouage*, and in July 1370 Edward sent his next younger son, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, almost as if to supersede the Black Prince.¹⁰ The English suffered many losses and desertions, and the Black Prince himself was quite ill from a disease he had contracted during the Spanish campaign. In January 1371, he and his wife, Joan, took their remaining son, Richard, and set sail for England. Edward of Angoulême had died shortly before, and Richard was now in line for the throne after his father. John of Gaunt was left in command as the Black Prince's lieutenant in Aquitaine. But matters went no better under Gaunt's command, and he resigned his lieutenancy on 21 July 1371, turning over the controls to the subordinates Jean de Grailly and Thomas Felton. Gaunt returned to England early in 1372, after his marriage to Constance, daughter of Pedro the Cruel. In

⁹ *Fouage* is mentioned in Gedeney's account (1387-90) as being collected again in *auxilium guerre ... infra dictum tempus huius compoti*. See below, pp. 292-93.

¹⁰ Lodge, *Gascony under English Rule*, p. 105; Y. Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre* (*Histoire de Bordeaux*, ed. C. Higounet, vol. 3; Bordeaux, 1965), p. 402.

the fall of 1372 the Black Prince formally returned his duchy to King Edward.¹¹ Thereafter, the office of chancellor of Aquitaine recedes in importance, and the office of seneschal reappears. The French forces continued to be successful, led by the skilful Bertrand du Guesclin.

As early as 1370, in a further attempt to achieve a stronger position for himself amidst the uncertainty over possession of the right to *superioritas* and *resortum*, Edward III had determined to set up in Aquitaine a court of sovereign resort, his stated purpose being 'to spare his subjects the expense and danger involved in a journey over the seas'.¹² By 1372 this court was in operation and its seat settled at Bordeaux, where it remained until the end of English rule. The court's primary function was to hear appeals from the actions of the seneschal of Gascony. After 1373 it was styled the *curia superioritatis Aquitannie*, and it had its own seal of silver kept by the constable of Bordeaux.¹³ Although its total membership often varied, this court always had a minimum of three or four judges (of which the king often specified that one or more particular persons should be present), and an invariable number of four presidents. The *curia superioritatis* apparently superseded the *curia magnorum dierum*.

Meanwhile, in June 1373, Edward III had again sent John of Gaunt to Gascony, and again he had not met with success. A two-year truce was signed at Bruges in July 1375, the negotiations again centering around the question of sovereignty. On 8 June 1376 the Black Prince died, Richard was made Prince of Wales on 20 November, and on 21 June of the year following Edward III died. Richard II was crowned on 16 July 1377, and that same month the two-years' truce expired. The new monarch, aged ten, faced a very uncertain future.

Only a remnant of the English possessions in Aquitaine now remained.¹⁴

¹¹ It is still described as *ducatus* frequently in the constables' accounts of 1381-90 edited here.

¹² Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 163-64. I am indebted to this work for most of the information in this paragraph. For the *curia superioritatis* in the accounts edited here, see below, pp. 284, 297-98.

¹³ See below, p. 284.

¹⁴ Especially useful maps of English Gascony are: (1) locations up to 1319, at the end of vol. 2 of *Gascon Register A*, ed. G. P. Cuttino (London, 1975); (2) locations 1315-23, between pp. 80-81 of E. A. R. Brown, 'Gascon Subsidies and the Finances of the English Dominions, 1315-1324' in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 8, ed. H. L. Adelson (Lincoln, Nebr., 1971); (3) locations in 1399, on p. 250 of M. G. A. Vale, *English Gascony 1399-1453* (London, 1970); and (4) locations in the Bordelais during the fourteenth century, at the end of R. Boutruche, *La crise d'une société: seigneurs et paysans du Bordelais pendant la guerre de cent ans* (Paris, 1947). Good ecclesiastical maps may be found on pp. 295-98 of B. Guillemain, *Le diocèse de Bordeaux* (Paris, 1974); in cols. 1187-88 of *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 9 (Paris, 1937); and between pp. 574-75 of H. Lemaître, 'Géographie historique des établissements de l'ordre de Saint-François en Aquitaine (Sud-Ouest de la France) du xiii^e au xix^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire franciscaine* 3 (1926). A large and fine map of the medieval city of

Bordeaux was still loyal, and so were its neighboring communities, together with Bayonne and Dax; but all the great lords of the Gascon inland, headed by the count of Armagnac and the sire d'Albret, had already gone over to the French. Outside of Aquitaine, there remained only Calais. As if to initiate Richard's reign, the duke of Anjou – in the same month as Richard's coronation – laid siege to Bergerac on the Dordogne, England's farthest point inland. It fell, and at the same time Thomas Felton, seneschal of Gascony, was captured, together with other English officers. Threatened on all sides, Bordeaux in 1379 concluded a series of offensive and defensive alliances with her neighboring communities: Blaye, Bourg, Cadillac, Castillon, Libourne, Rions, Saint-Émilion, and Saint-Macaire. They took the name of '*filleules de Bordeaux*', and have been seen as an important development in the French communal movement of the fourteenth century. Of this league, Brissaud says '*cette curieuse association sauva Bordeaux de la conquête française*'.¹⁵

The situation was further complicated when Pope Gregory XI died in March 1378 and the Great Western Schism followed, England supporting the Roman Urban VI and France supporting the Frenchman Clement VII. The only positive advantage gained by either England or France from this development was a theological basis for their continued warfare, since each opponent was now schismatic in the eyes of the other.

PERSONNEL: THE CONSTABLES, CONTROLLER, AND *MAGISTRI*

In the English administration of Gascony the constable of Bordeaux was the chief financial officer, second in overall importance only to the seneschal.¹⁶ As the principal representative of the English exchequer in southwestern France the constable was chief collector of revenues and chief paymaster for the entire duchy, and his accounts contain the records of the income and expenses of the English governmental administration there. He was therefore a strong link between Gascony and the home government, and was usually less of a political

Bordeaux (c. 1450) by Léon Drouyn is attached within the *AMB* 1874 supplementary volume, and this map is reprinted inside the back cover of Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*.

¹⁵ D. Brissaud, *Les Anglais en Guyenne* (Paris, 1875), p. 152; see also Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, p. 455, and below, p. 269.

¹⁶ For extensive discussions of the seneschal, other Gascon administrative officers, and their seals, see P. Chaplais, 'The Chancery of Guyenne 1289-1453' in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. C. Davies (London, 1957); idem, 'Le sceau de la cour de Guyenne ou sceau de l'office de sénéchal de Guyenne', *AM* 67 (1955) 19-29; P. Capra, 'L'évolution de l'administration anglo-gasconne au milieu du xiv^e siècle' in *Bordeaux et les Îles britanniques du xiii^e au xx^e siècle* (Bordeaux, 1975), pp. 19-26; Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, pp. 439-42; and idem, 'Les institutions du duché d'Aquitaine des origines à 1453' in *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, ed. F. Lot and R. Fawtier, I (Paris, 1957), pp. 157-83.

figure or statesman than was the seneschal. The constable also had some non-fiscal duties, but they were of secondary importance. He was charged with the custody and the keys of the *castrum regis Burdegale* (also known as the *Umbraria* or the 'Ombrière'),¹⁷ and in this castle were located his offices, including the local exchequer (*scaccarium*) that had been founded there in 1255.

One of the primary duties of the constable of Bordeaux was to render to the exchequer at Westminster a complete account of his financial operations after his term of office was over, according to a relatively uniform plan. These accounts, which were enrolled at the exchequer, are still extant for most of the period from 1303 down to the fall of Bordeaux in 1453. Of the six constables that held office during the reign of Richard II, the accounts of the first four survive. These are: Richard Rotour, 49 Edward III–3 Richard II (22 June 1377–17 November 1379), William Loryng, 3–5 Richard II (17 November 1379–5 October 1381), John de Stratton, 5–10 Richard II (5 October 1381–5 April 1387) and John Gedeney, 10–14 Richard II (5 April 1387–4 September 1390).¹⁸ Two other constables, William Langbrook and Henry Bowet, held the office during Richard's reign, but their accounts are missing. What follows here is an edition of the accounts of Stratton and Gedeney, during their consecutive terms.

John de Stratton, justice of the peace in Bedfordshire, is known to have married the Gascon Isabella de Saint-Symphorien, 'dame de Landiras et de Bessan', which gave him the Gascon title of *dominus de Landirans*.¹⁹ As early as 1363 Stratton was a yeoman of the Black Prince, who in subsequent years made a number of grants and annuities to him in compensation for his war services.²⁰ Royal grants to Stratton increased during Richard's reign.²¹ In 1378, the king gave him the office of gauger of wines in Bordeaux.²² On 5 October 1381 his term began as constable of Bordeaux, and his account tells us that his

¹⁷ For the Ombrière, see below, p. 264.

¹⁸ Their dates of appointment were: Rotour, 16 April 1375; Loryng, 2 October 1379; Stratton, 26 August 1381; and Gedeney, 26 December 1386. These dates are taken from the list conveniently printed in Tout, *Chapters* 6.65–72.

The most thorough printed listing of the constables' accounts and related subsidiary documents is in P. Capra, 'Pour une histoire de la monnaie anglo-gasconne', *AM* 87 (1975) 409–12. For a useful list of the thirteenth-century constables see J. P. Trabut-Cussac, *L'administration anglaise en Gascogne sous Henri III et Édouard I de 1254 à 1307* (Geneva, 1972), pp. 376 ff.; for the same in the fifteenth century see Vale, *English Gascony 1399–1453*, p. 238.

¹⁹ Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, p. 134.

²⁰ *AHG* 16.156–57, 165–66; *CPR* 1377–81, p. 347; J. W. Sherburne, 'Indentured Retinues and English Expeditions to France, 1369–1380', *English Historical Review* 79 (1964) 739 n. 5.

²¹ These are found throughout the RV in the reign of Richard II; see also *CCR* 1377–81, p. 132 and *CCR* 1381–85, p. 79.

²² *AHG* 16.168.

appointment was made 'quamdiu regi placuerit'.²³ Throughout Richard's reign, Stratton was variously employed on important diplomatic matters, including embassies to the count of Armagnac, the sire d'Albret, the duke of Brittany and the king of Navarre. On 5 April 1387 he was succeeded as constable by John Gedeney, and in 1389 the king conferred upon Stratton the privileges of 'bourgeois de Bordeaux'.²⁴ By 1397 Stratton must have been anticipating his demise, for on 27 April of that year Richard II under letters close permitted him to transport from London to Gascony without customs payment two marble tombstones for himself and his wife.²⁵ Stratton was dead by 18 February 1400, on which date Henry IV under letters patent²⁶ granted numerous holdings that the defunct Stratton had received from the Black Prince and from Richard II, for 'a large and notable sum', to Henry Bowet, who had become constable of Bordeaux in July 1398.

John Gedeney, king's clerk, was Stratton's successor. As early as 26 September 1380 he was appointed a proctor to receive a payment at the Ombrière in Bordeaux.²⁷ In Stratton's account he is described on 5 October 1381 as being a *clericus* and (together with Peter de Moderano) *locum tenens* of Stratton.²⁸ Under writ of privy seal dated 20 November 1382, also recorded in Stratton's account, a sum of money was released to Gedeney *ad adducendum in Angliam pro expensis hospicii eiusdem domini regis*.²⁹ Stratton, while still constable, also made payments to Gedeney for fighting in the king's service, with his own *comitiva*, in the regions of Libourne, Saint-Émilion and Entre-Dordogne.³⁰ Gedeney is described as 'lieutenant of the constable of Bordeaux' in letters close of Richard II dated 21 September 1384, in which all seamen of the northern admiralty were ordered to embark on the voyage from Dartmouth to Gascony only upon order from the said John Gedeney.³¹ In similar letters of 12 October 1385 he is still described under the same title of lieutenant.³² Following Stratton as constable of Bordeaux on 5 April 1387, Gedeney in his account tells us that his appointment was made 'quamdiu regi placuerit' at first, and that it was renewed 'for three years' on 12 August 1387.³³ He was

²³ Below, p. 261. Additional documents and receipts relating to his account are located in E101/183/1-4.

²⁴ AHG 16.166-69, 172-73.

²⁵ CCR 1396-99, p. 99.

²⁶ AHG 16.144-46.

²⁷ E30/1687.

²⁸ See below, p. 284.

²⁹ See below, p. 283.

³⁰ See below, p. 276.

³¹ CCR 1381-85, p. 480.

³² CCR 1385-89, pp. 12-13.

³³ Below, p. 288. Additional documents and receipts relating to his account are located in E101/183/13-15.

appointed as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis Aquitannie* by Richard II on 22 August 1389.³⁴ Gedeney's term of office as constable ended on 4 September 1390, and by 8 July 1391 he had been appointed as clerk of the king's works in succession to none other than Geoffrey Chaucer.³⁵ Royal presentations to ecclesiastical benefices in England came to him at about the same time: the parish churches of Rattlesden (Suffolk) and Settrington (Yorkshire, East Riding).³⁶ His subsequent career need not concern us here.³⁷

The constable also had certain officers immediately subordinate to him, of whom the most prominent in both accounts edited here is the controller. The controller (*contrarotulator*), or accounting officer, kept the counter-roll, which duplicated (and therefore verified) the constable's account. Both he and the constable also kept books of particulars (*libri de particulis*), which contained additional information subsidiary to their accounts. Appointed by the king for customarily long terms of office, the controller was a strong factor of continuity, balancing the frequent changes of constable and seneschal. Thomas Lumbard was the controller for both Stratton and Gedeney, as he had been also for constable William Loryng before them.³⁸ Lumbard was reappointed controller *ad totam vitam suam* on 15 April 1384, his earlier appointment having been made 'quamdiu bene et fideliter se gereret'.³⁹

Other personnel mentioned in these two accounts run the full gamut of medieval society, and a great many of them are identified in the footnotes. Apart from the ecclesiastical personnel to be discussed below, however, one other category seems worthy of mention at this point. Of the total of eighty-one different personal names of all sorts occurring in both accounts, there are seven who are consistently designated in them by the title of *magister*: Reginald Andrew, William Bonelli, Hélie de Breuil, William Loryng, Peter de Moderano, Raimond Guillaume du Puy⁴⁰ and Richard Rotour. In addition, Robert Waldeby, bishop of Aire, is designated *in sancta theologia professor*,⁴¹ and Peter de la Rue, fiscal proctor-general in the city of Bordeaux, is called *bacallarius in*

³⁴ See below, p. 298.

³⁵ G. Mathew, *The Court of Richard II* (London, 1968), p. 63; see also E101/473/8, E101/502/11, and CPR 1388-92, p. 459.

³⁶ CPR 1388-92, pp. 467, 475.

³⁷ For his important career as clerk of the works, see R. A. Brown, H. M. Colvin and A. J. Taylor, *The History of the King's Works: The Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (London, 1963), 2.1090 (index).

³⁸ He is styled *contrarotulator regis* rather than *contrarotulator constabularii*. Lumbard's account book survives from the period when Gedeney was constable (E101/184/1), but not from the time of Stratton. See also E101/183/11.

³⁹ RV 92, m. 2.

⁴⁰ Also called *bacallarius in decretis*: below, pp. 273, 297.

⁴¹ Below, p. 297.

legibus. Of these nine persons who may be thought from their titles to have held academic degrees, only two are noted in Emden's *Biographical Registers* for Oxford and Cambridge: Loryng and Waldeby.⁴² It is conceivable, of course, that the others may have studied at Paris or elsewhere. The scribes are so carefully consistent to designate the above seven, and only them, whenever their names occur,⁴³ that the reader has the distinct impression that this title is being used in a technical sense and not simply as a casual epithet.

FINANCIAL ANALYSIS

ANALYTICAL DISPLAY OF STRATTON'S ACCOUNT

	<i>li.:s.:d.</i>	Percentage
Receipts:		
Fixed rents	116:13: 5	0.19%
Income from bailliages, prévôtés, etc.	7,316: 9: 7	11.67%
Great custom of wine and honey ..	45,328:11: 1	72.29%
Tenth on French wines	1,498:17: 6	2.39%
Sale and resale of items	141: 5: 0	0.22%
Fines, condemnations and perquisites	1,113:10: 0	1.78%
Lands, tenements, goods and chattels of rebels	1,197:11: 1	1.91%
Goods and chattels from wreck of sea	100: 0: 0	0.16%
Passage of cows	45: 0: 0	0.07%
Coinage of gold and silver	2,436:15: 0	3.89%
Sale of wines and lead	255: 0: 0	0.41%
Receipts from loan for war	2,494: 7: 6	3.98%
Sale on account	660: 0: 0	1.05%
<i>Total receipts</i>	62,704: 0: 2	

⁴² A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-59); idem, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963). Additional details of Waldeby's career not noted in Emden, *Oxford* 3.1958, especially his service as a judge of the *curia superioritatis Aquitannie* and his mission for the translation of the body of Edward of Angoulême, are to be found in Gedeney's account, below, pp. 297-99, 304-305.

⁴³ One exception is William Loryng, whose name occurs eleven times in both accounts but who is designated as *magister* in only nine of these places.

	<i>li.:s.:d.</i>	Percentage
Expenses:		
Chapel and exchequer at Bordeaux ..	516: 4: 6	0.77 %
Fees, wages and expenses of ministers	28,166:16: 1 ¹ / ₂	42.17 %
Expenses of messengers	2,997: 0:11 ¹ / ₂	4.49 %
Castle repairs	548: 9: 1	0.82 %
Annual grants	13,048: 7: 5	19.53 %
Wages of war	18,953:12: 8	28.37 %
Grants for one time	437:10: 0	0.65 %
Payments on loans for war	2,070: 0: 0	3.10 %
Funeral for the queen mother	60:10: 0	0.09 %
<i>Total expenses</i>	66,798:10: 9	
<i>Superplusagium:</i>	4,094:10: 7	

ANALYTICAL DISPLAY OF GEDENEY'S ACCOUNT

	<i>li.:s.:d.</i>	Percentage
Receipts:		
Fixed rents	84:12: 4	0.26 %
Income from bailliaiges, prévôtés, etc.	1,984:12: 6	6.19 %
Great custom of wine and honey ..	22,495: 3:11 ¹ / ₂	70.10 %
Tenth on French wines	724: 0: 0	2.26 %
Sale and resale of items	380: 0: 0	1.18 %
Fines, redemptions and perquisites	1,455: 0: 0	4.53 %
Confiscations	1,276:12: 6	3.98 %
Coinage of gold and silver	937:13: 9	2.92 %
<i>Focagium</i> (<i>fouage</i> , hearth-tax)	1,431: 5: 0	4.46 %
Income and profits from Ornon	237: 0: 0	0.74 %
Wines, rents and other income from king's castle of Fronsac	524: 6: 6	1.63 %
Payment from previous debt	500: 0: 0	1.56 %
Sale of wines	60: 0: 0	0.19 %
<i>Total receipts</i>	32,090: 6: 6 ¹ / ₂	

	<i>li.s.:d.</i>	Percentage
Expenses:		
Chapel and exchequer at		
Bordeaux	253: 2: 2 ¹ / ₂	0.62 %
Fees and wages of ordinary		
officials	18,324: 8: 6	45.10 %
Wages and expenses of ministers	2,287:12: 6	5.63 %
Castle repairs	167:17: 0	0.41 %
Annual grants	3,371: 0: 0	8.30 %
Expenses of captains and other		
men-at-arms and wages of war ..	8,094:10: 0	19.92 %
Foreign expenses	8,132:11: 7	20.02 %
<i>Total expenses</i>	40,631: 0:21 ¹ / ₂	
<i>Superplusagium:</i>	8,540:15: 3	

The foregoing display tables have been compiled in a method to correspond so far as possible with the tables that have been printed earlier in this journal analysing the accounts of John Ludham and Robert de Wykford, constables of Bordeaux from 1372 to 1375,⁴⁴ in order that comparisons may be readily made.

Similarities between the accounts of Stratton and those of Gedeney are more striking than differences. For both the major source of income is the great custom of wine and honey – 72.29 % of the former and 70.10 % of the latter, and also for both the second major source of income, although much smaller, is the income from bailliages, prévôtés, etc. Likewise for both the major expenditure is the fees, wages and expenses of ministers – 42.17 % of the former and 45.10 % of the latter, and also for both many of the remaining expenses are the costs of war in its various forms. Finally, we may note that both constables ended their terms of office ‘in the red’, with a *superplusagium* or ‘surplus’ of expenses.⁴⁵ It is probably not unfair to attribute these *superplusagia* in both accounts to the accelerated costs of the Hundred Years War, especially when we compare the favorable positive balances in the account of John de Weston, constable in the late 1320’s when the times were relatively quiet and when the king’s government was realizing some small profit from its Gascon administration.⁴⁶

The accounts of Ludham and Wykford, already published, follow a similar

⁴⁴ *MS 36* (1974) 228-29. Thus, in computing what percentage each item of receipts or expenses constitutes of the whole, I have rounded off all sums to the nearest whole pound.

⁴⁵ For explanation of terms, see *MS 36* (1974) 227.

⁴⁶ R. Brentano, *The Constable of Bordeaux (1327-1336)* (B.A. thesis, Swarthmore College, 1949), pp. 86-87.

pattern, but some important differences should be noted. In Wykford's account (1373-75) receipts from the great custom of wine and honey had dropped to 24.56%, whereas payments from the exchequer at Westminster – an item of receipt not in the accounts of Ludham, Stratton or Gedeney – accounted for 40.53% of his entire revenue. Wages of war, however, constituted 69.15% of Wykford's expenses, whereas for him the fees, wages and expenses of ministers came to only 9.46%.⁴⁷ The fortunes of the Hundred Years War are, again, certainly related to these fluctuations, and a careful analysis of all the accounts of the period is necessary before a proper explanation can be given.

The studies by Dr. M. G. A. Vale of the constables' accounts in the fifteenth century, published in 1970, suggest still another avenue for significant analysis: computation of the average annual receipts and expenses for each constable's term of office.⁴⁸ This sort of analysis may be less necessary for the earlier part of the fourteenth century, where for example in the accounts of John de Weston separate notices of receipts and expenses were entered for each year of the constable's incumbency,⁴⁹ but this method of annual accounting had been abandoned by the latter part of the century and Dr. Vale has now provided a very convenient table of annual averages computed for all the surviving accounts from 1401 to 1453. Projecting his method backwards into the later fourteenth century for the two accounts edited here and for the two others edited previously in this journal, it is possible to present the following table corresponding to his own:

AVERAGE ANNUAL RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES

Constable	Term of Office	Length of Term	Average Annual Receipts <i>li.st.Anglie</i>	Average Annual Expenses <i>li.st.Anglie</i>
Ludham	5 October 1372- -20 August 1373	319 days	1454.06	1417.30
Wykford	20 August 1373- -23 July 1375	337 days	6122.61	6143.33
Stratton	5 October 1381- -5 April 1387	5 years and 182 days	1520.10	1619.37
Gedeney	5 April 1387- -4 September 1390	3 years and 152 days	1251.07	1584.05

⁴⁷ Further explanation, for the accounts of Ludham and Wykford, is offered in *MS 36* (1974) 215-32.

⁴⁸ *English Gascony 1399-1453*, pp. 235-36.

⁴⁹ Brentano, *The Constable of Bordeaux (1327-1336)*, pp. 93-95.

Comparisons with the fifteenth century will have to be made by specialists of the period, but the foregoing table does set one fact in bold relief: of the fifteen constables' accounts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries for which annual averages are now available (the four above, and eleven in Dr. Vale's book), Wykford's account is indeed extraordinary. Not only do his highest relative percentages of receipts and expenses fall in categories different from those of Ludham, Stratton and Gedeney, as we have already noted, but also the average annual sums that he handled are about four times as large as the average annual sums handled by Ludham before him or Stratton and Gedeney a few years later. This feature of Wykford's account would seem to call for some further explanation than has hitherto been given, especially in view of the fact that Wykford's term was, like that of Ludham, only slightly under a year in duration. Further studies in the situation for 1373-75, then, seem indicated.⁵⁰

One additional comparison, much less certain, may be ventured in view of the attention that has been focused upon *The Receipt of the Exchequer 1377-1485* by Anthony Steel in his book of this title. Any comparison between the annual revenue of English Gascony with that of the home government at Westminster is extremely hazardous, and the following is therefore offered only for its own interest and not with any confidence of precision. Here we shall consider the receipts of Stratton and Gedeney together. Stratton became constable on 5 October 1381 and Gedeney left the office on 4 September 1390; this is a total period of roughly nine years. The total receipts for both their terms of office add up to 94,794 *li. 6 s. 8 d. ob. nig.*, which is roughly 10,533 *li. nig.* per year.⁵¹ This annual figure, divided by the current sterling commutation rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$, gives an annual average income for the Gascon government during this time of about 1405 *li. st. Anglie*. This figure may be compared, then, with that of 116,500 *li. st. Anglie*, which Anthony Steel presents as the 'real' average annual income of the English home government during the entire reign of Richard II.⁵² If this figure were to be accepted, then, the average annual income of Gascony at the time of constables Stratton and Gedeney was equal to about 1.2% of the

⁵⁰ The great custom of wine and honey and the fees, wages and expenses of ministers are, in raw figures, about the same and for about the same length of term in Wykford's account as in Ludham's, so it is unlikely that the English officials would have felt 'shock' upon learning that the great custom of wine and honey amounted to only 24.56% of Wykford's receipts while it had accounted for 80.32% of Ludham's. (*Contra* see Runyan in *MS 36* [1974] 230.) Rather, what seems to need further explanation in Wykford's account are the 17,125 *li. nig.* received from the exchequer at Westminster and the 29,312 *li. nig.* spent for the wages of war; without these amounts, the raw sums of Wykford's account would be reduced to a distance within realistic reach of Ludham's.

⁵¹ For explanation of coinages and commutation, see below, p. 259.

⁵² A. Steel, *The Receipt of the Exchequer 1377-1485* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 105.

average annual income of the home government. Many questions can be raised, however, about the way in which the income of the exchequer at Westminster should be calculated;⁵³ the present comparison, therefore, should be given no more credence than its intrinsic interest may merit.

ECCLESIASTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The importance of the documents edited here should not be confined to economic or even administrative matters. The primary ecclesiastical significance of the accounts of the constables of Bordeaux lies in the fact that they allow some of the history of an English royal chapel in Gascony to be traced for a continuous period of about 150 years. Unlike the unique perambulatory Chapel Royal of the English king's household, overseen by his chancellor and in fact neither a building nor a place, the various royal chapels were many in number and the complexities of their status and classification are only now beginning to be distinguished properly and sorted out by historians.⁵⁴ An extended history of this royal chapel, in the king's castle of the Ombrière at Bordeaux, cannot be written until careful analysis has been made of the full series of constables' accounts which survive with very few gaps from about 1303 to 1453, but a few generalizations as well as several specific observations are possible on the basis of the accounts now edited. Generally, this chapel does not seem to have exercised cure of souls, it was probably exempt from normal episcopal jurisdiction, it was not a major ecclesiastical establishment, and there is little or no evidence of direct royal control over its functioning. I have, for example, found no trace of royal visitations or of royal appointment of king's clerks as its chaplains in the period of the accounts edited here.

The accounts of Stratton and Gedeney name a total of nine clerks of various sorts: Robert Waldeby bishop of Aire, Bernard abbot of Saint-Sever, William de Pakington keeper of the king's wardrobe, William Loryng a former constable of Bordeaux, Gedeney himself and three chaplains of the king's castle

⁵³ See, for example, the reviews of Steel in *Medium aevum* 24 (1955) 39-40 (by E. Stone) and in *History* N.S. 40 (1955) 335-36 (by E. B. Fryde).

⁵⁴ The best study to date is J. H. Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels 1100-1300* (Manchester, 1970), especially chap. 5. See also W. Ullmann, *Liber Regie Capelle* (Henry Bradshaw Society 92; London, 1961), and K. L. Wood-Legh, *Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934), chap. 2 ('Royal Visitations of Hospitals and Free Chapels'). All these works are strictly limited in scope, however, and none mentions the chapel at Bordeaux, although Denton on pp. 5-7 does offer comparisons with certain French royal chapels (including castle chapels). Gascon castles belonging to the English crown at various times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of which would have had chapels of some sort, are noted in the thorough study of J. Gardelles, *Les châteaux du moyen âge dans la France du Sud-Ouest: la Gascogne anglaise de 1216 à 1327* (Geneva, 1972).

at Bordeaux. More about several of these clerks will be said in the comments and footnotes that follow, but some observations about the three chaplains are in order now. Adam de Pykeryng, Peter Pychot and John Lytill were their names, and they seem to have held this office of *capellanus* one after another in the period from 1381 to 1390.⁵⁵ None of the three seems to have risen to any position of later eminence. I can find no evidence of their holding of any ecclesiastical benefices, and none of them is mentioned in Emden's *Biographical Registers* for Oxford or Cambridge.⁵⁶ The accounts tell us that each chaplain received 22 *d.ob.nig.* daily (3 *d.st.Anglie*) for wages and 7 *li.* 10 *s.nig.* yearly (20 *s.st.Anglie*) for robes. This was the same salary paid to John de Plumpton, the only chaplain named in the accounts of constables Ludham and Wykford (1372-75), who may have been a clerk of greater prominence,⁵⁷ and the same sterling equivalent was generally being paid for the Bordeaux chaplains' wages throughout the reign of Edward III.⁵⁸

The comparative status of the chaplain is set in sharper relief when we note that the very same wages were being paid to the castle gatekeeper in Ludham's account,⁵⁹ and that in the accounts of Stratton and Gedeney the governor and/or seneschal of Aquitaine received 3750 *li.nig.* yearly (500 *li.st.Anglie*), the constable of Bordeaux 30 *s.nig.* daily (4 *s.st.Anglie*) in wages and 105 *li.nig.* yearly (14 *li.st.Anglie*) for robes and clerks, the controller 15 *s.nig.* daily (2 *s.st.Anglie*) in wages and 60 *li.nig.* yearly for robes, a judge of the court of Gascony as much as 380 *li.nig.* yearly, and that additional annual payments were also made regularly to the constable and controller by special order.⁶⁰ Clearly, then, the chaplain of the king's chapel at Bordeaux was a very subordinate figure and the chapel there a relatively minor operation, at least in the reign of Richard II.⁶¹ The records in these accounts of so minor an

⁵⁵ Stratton's account, from 1381-87, says that Pykeryng and Pychot were *successive capellani* (below, p. 270), and Gedeney's account, from 1387-90, mentions only Lytill (below, p. 295).

⁵⁶ It is possible, but probably unlikely, that Pykeryng was the same Adam 'Pikiering', priest of York diocese, who had been made a papal chaplain by Gregory XI in 1371: *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Registers* 4, ed. W. H. Bliss and J. A. Twemlow (London, 1902), p. 148.

⁵⁷ *MS* 36 (1974) 242 and *MS* 37 (1975) 56; I am not convinced that this John de Plumpton is the same one identified in Emden, *Cambridge*, p. 456.

⁵⁸ E. C. Lodge, 'The Constables of Bordeaux in the Reign of Edward III', *English Historical Review* 50 (1935) 228.

⁵⁹ *MS* 36 (1974) 243: *custos porte eiusdem castr.*

⁶⁰ For comparison with wages during the reign of Edward III, which were about the same, see Lodge, 'The Constables of Bordeaux', 229-37.

⁶¹ An obvious question that can only be answered from a study of the whole series of accounts is whether the king's Bordeaux chapel was always an humble foundation throughout its 150 years of English history, or whether there were periods when the salaries and careers of

ecclesiastical foundation, therefore, will be seen all the more remarkable for what they can tell of liturgical usages there over a sustained period, for they enable us to see this royal chapel as a place of continuous worship and not just as another institution fighting to extend its legal rights.

LITURGICAL EVIDENCE

It was the practice of most of the Bordeaux constables to enumerate *expense capelle* or *elemosine et expense capelle* in their accounts, and also to list towards the end of each account under headings such as *ornamenta capelle* or *ornamenta capelle et staurum mortuum* the material goods in the castle of the Ombrière for which they were responsible. Thus Stratton's and Gedeney's accounts tell of the wax torches, small candles and other necessities purchased for use there,⁶² as well as giving a detailed list of the vessels, vestments, altar cloths, liturgical books and other utensils on hand there at the terminations of their offices.⁶³ These two accounts record the presence of a silver gilt chalice, four towels, two lavabo towels, a corporal enclosed within a red velvet covering, another corporal, a pyx of silver alloy *pro corpore Christi*, a crucifix of the same metal, another pyx of ivory, a frontal *ante altare* of silk cloth and another *super altare* of the same cloth,⁶⁴ a large missal, two *legenda*, a small gradual, a noted antiphoner, a cushion for use as a book rest, a silk ambo covering, an old candelabrum, a pair of censers, a small bell, two cruets and one small crucifix *in pergamento*.

There were also three 'vestments' (in the medieval, collective sense of this term⁶⁵), each containing an amice, alb, stole, maniple and chasuble.⁶⁶ The third set, lined and made of checked silk cloth, also contained two dalmatics and one

its chaplains, grandeur of its ornaments and cost of its upkeep may suggest an establishment of greater importance.

⁶² Below, pp. 270, 294.

⁶³ Below, pp. 283-86, 306-307.

⁶⁴ For the distinction, see C. E. Pocknee, *The Christian Altar* (London, 1963), p. 46; and W. St. J. Hope and E. G. C. F. Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours* (London, 1912), p. 260. For the distinction in an inventory of the chapel of Edward III, see J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung* 2 (Munich, 1924), p. 537.

⁶⁵ On this meaning of *vestmentum*, see Hope and Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours*, pp. 5-6 and 189-200; and W. B. Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum* (London, 1868), p. 224 n. 457.

⁶⁶ For the history of all these, see J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907; rpt. Darmstadt, 1964); C. E. Pocknee, *Liturgical Vesture: Its Origins and Development* (London, 1960); and Marriott, *Vestiarium Christianum*. For particular English examples contemporary with the time of these accounts, see J. D. Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1877), pp. 44-66.

cope, which would have equipped the chapel for Mass in a more elaborate liturgical setting. The description of these 'vestments' by condition (*vetus*, *perusitatum*, and one *novum* in Stratton's account) rather than by color at least raises the possibility that no particular sequence of liturgical colors was being followed there and that the solemnity of occasion was matched to condition of vestment rather than to color. The grading of vestments according to richness and condition does seem to have been common by the early fourteenth century in England, and these three sets may well have been differentiated as for use on feast days, Sundays and weekdays, although the accounts of Stratton and Gedeney do not say so.⁶⁷

Chaplains Pykeryng, Pychot and Lytill, therefore, in the 1380's would each have had one missal to use and three different vestment sets to choose among as the occasion seemed to warrant. The two altar frontals, inasmuch as one is *ante* and the other *super* and no color is given for either, also suggest an absence of any seasonal color variations for the altar itself, unless one frontal was used separately for solemn occasions and the other by itself for simple ones. Of the two *legenda*, we may note that one is *de temporalibus* and the other is *sanctorum de usu curie Romane*.⁶⁸ The latter description naturally raises the interesting question of how far the usage of the Roman curia was being followed in this or indeed in other royal chapels of the English king. *Legenda de temporalibus Sarum* were certainly known in fourteenth-century England,⁶⁹ although this *legenda de temporalibus* at Bordeaux is not so designated. It can also be observed that the missal here is not described as being *de usu Sarum*, although by the fifteenth century some of the Bordeaux constables' accounts do record a noted anti-phoner of Sarum use.⁷⁰

An even more extensive picture of the historical evolution and variations in worship at the Ombrière chapel can be obtained when the chronological dimension is pursued. Thus the accounts of John Ludham and Robert Wykford

⁶⁷ Cf. Hope and Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours*, pp. 9 and 12. The accounts of the constables of Bordeaux are not among the many inventories of vestments cited in this extensive discussion of the problem of liturgical colors in medieval England. To establish which, or if any, color sequence was being used at the Bordeaux chapel, a search of all the accounts is obviously needed.

⁶⁸ For one such *legenda* surviving from the thirteenth century, called *Homelie et sermones secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ*, see P. Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane*, vol. 4: *Les livres de lectures de l'office...* (Studi e Testi 267; Vatican City, 1971), p. 45, no. 138. On the two major types of *legenda*, *de temporalibus* and *sanctorum*, in medieval English usage, see C. Wordsworth and H. Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church* (London, 1904), pp. 129-35. On the general subject of *legenda*, see *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 8 (Paris, 1929), cols. 2456-60.

⁶⁹ At Exeter Cathedral in 1327: Wordsworth and Littlehales, *Old Service-Books*, p. 133.

⁷⁰ See E364/59: account of John Radcliffe, 1419-23.

(1372-75), already published, record the presence of two missals instead of one, and two 'vestments' instead of three (one of which contained, however, many items in duplicate). They also show that two of the four towels were *ad cooperiendum altare*, as well as revealing other variations.⁷¹ Seemingly minor differences, of course, become more significant over a still wider range of time, and this is evident from a random sampling of the chapel inventories in other accounts of the Bordeaux constables as yet unpublished. For example, there are a number of *ymagines* listed in the earlier accounts, such as three painted images of Saints Edward, Mary and Katherine as well as an ornate amice of silk cloth containing eight *ymagines* in the accounts of John de Weston (1327-30).⁷² The accounts of William Faryngdon (1401-13) and several other constables in the first half of the fifteenth century record the presence of *una magna tabula de bosco depictata de passione Christi stante ad principale altare*.⁷³ The account of John Radcliffe (1419-23) shows a processional cross, a small cross of copper, two copper pyxes, one wooden pyx and *duo tuallia benedicta quorum unum est operatum et alterum est planum*.⁷⁴ And with the more elaborate inventory of constable Edward Hull, at the middle of the fifteenth century, we find the presence of a number of cushions, benches, tunics, thuribles, two small bells and one large for ringing at Mass, two reliquaries, a hanging pyx,⁷⁵ a *liber cantus*, a wooden cupboard or chest for holding books and vestments, and – most interesting – *unum instrumentum de maeeremio rotondo pro faciendo tabernaculum sepulchri in septimana Pasche*.⁷⁶ Frequently the donors of various vestments and liturgical books are named, especially in the later accounts. All this is only a sample, of course, and a careful study of these

⁷¹ MS 36 (1974) 253 and 258, and MS 37 (1975) 75-76 and 82.

⁷² E372/185.

⁷³ E364/51, 59, 67, and 92.

⁷⁴ E364/59.

⁷⁵ For sacramental reservation by means of the hanging pyx and the extent to which this was common in medieval English usage, see G. Dix, *A Detection of Aumbries* (Westminster, 1942), pp. 20 ff.; S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. H. Walker, *The Myth of the Aumbry* (London, 1957), pp. 17-35; A. A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (London, 1965), pp. 82-124; Pocknee, *The Christian Altar*, pp. 101-104; and K. W. Stevenson, *Gregory Dix – Twenty-five Years on* (Grove Liturgical Study 10; Bramcote, Notts., 1977), pp. 20-22.

⁷⁶ E364/84, 91. For the Easter sepulchre in medieval English usage, some descriptions of actual receptacles, and some comparison with French practices, see King, *Eucharistic Reservation*, pp. 144-57. For the same, with some classification of major types, see K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1933), 2.507-17 and 601 (index: sepulchre). See also *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. T. Symons (London, 1953), pars. 46-47; and G. H. Cook, *The English Mediaeval Parish Church* (London, 1954), pp. 70-72. The actual descriptions and earliest mention of an Easter sepulchre in the constables' accounts are of particular importance to determine.

inventories in all the surviving Bordeaux accounts is obviously needed before the evolution of liturgical usage there can be reliably traced.

Horizontal comparisons, moreover, should be added to the chronological dimension. For a really adequate description of what practices and which usages were being followed in the English king's chapel at Bordeaux the evidence of the constables' accounts also needs to be compared and contrasted not only with other royal chapel usage in England⁷⁷ but also with surviving liturgical books from medieval Bordeaux⁷⁸ as well as with the important 'Series G', or ecclesiastical records of the cathedral and metropolitan chapter of Saint-André at Bordeaux, which survive in the Departmental Archives of the Gironde. Many of these have already been edited in two large volumes, and they do contain some occasional traces of the sort of liturgical information that the constables' accounts record but virtually nothing pertaining to the chapel of the Ombrière.⁷⁹ Given what is known of the changing political situation in

⁷⁷ For inventories of ecclesiastical ornaments used in the English Chapel Royal during the latter years of Edward I see E101/360/15 and E101/370/3. For detailed accounts of ornaments and liturgical observances in the English royal free chapel at Hastings Castle in 1321 and 1345, see C47/21/2 and 3; the latter is transcribed in C. Dawson, *History of Hastings Castle*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), 1.21-24. Some of the liturgical history of this chapel is given in *Victoria County History: Sussex* 2 (London, 1907), pp. 112-17. The accounts of the constables of a number of other English royal castles also survive in the E364 series, and I have not yet examined them for the presence of liturgical evidence. The existence of chapels in a few of these is noted in Denton, *English Royal Free Chapels*, pp. 129-31, but he treats only their constitutional and not their liturgical history. The furnishings of many English royal castle chapels, but not that of Bordeaux, are noted in Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *History of the King's Works* 2.1077, 1088 (index). For the iconography of paintings and sculptures in the numerous chapels of Henry III, see T. Borenus, 'The Cycle of Images in the Palaces and Castles of Henry III', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 6 (1943) 40-50. (I owe this last reference to Dr. J. Goering.)

⁷⁸ See, for example, 'Missale Insignis Ecclesie Burdegalensis, 1543', ed. S. Tholouze and L. Rostelin, in *Analecta liturgica* 7-8 (1891); V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols. (Mâcon, 1940-41), 1.lxvi and 91-93, and *Les sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), 3.189-92, no. 762 (notes on a fifteenth-century missal according to the use of the metropolitan cathedral of Saint-André in Bordeaux); and (for comparison) the various missals, lectionaries, breviaries, and *legenda* listed in P. de Labriolle, 'Livres liturgiques, manuscrits ou imprimés, de l'ancien archidiocèse d'Embrun du XI^e au XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique* 1958 (published in 1959), 129-45.

⁷⁹ *AHG* 21 (1881) 408 and *AHG* 22 (1882) 309-13 (accounts of the archbishop's receiver-general), 331, 343. These volumes also contain many other source documents related to the ecclesiastical history of fourteenth-century Bordeaux: collations and permutations of churches, non-residence, synods, excommunications, dispensations, ordinations, reconciliation of churches and churchyards, exercise of the right of *joyeux avènement* by the archbishops, foundations of chapels, indulgences, revenues, prisons, procedures of justice and the archiepiscopal households and their officers. For suggestive introductions to the use of these sources, see F. Giteau, 'Les sources de l'histoire de la Dordogne aux Archives de la Gironde', *RHB* N.S. 8 (1959) 6 n. 8; and J. Gardelles, *La cathédrale St-André de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux, 1963), pp. 20-23. For

fourteenth-century Gascony, therefore, the question may now be asked and pursued: was the practice and usage of this chapel being assimilated, at particular periods, more closely to that of the nearest metropolitan cathedral or to that of the other royal chapels in England?

Scattered entries recorded by chance in the accounts edited here, and not forming part of the chapel inventories, enhance still another area of liturgical investigation, that of requiem practices. The historian Robert Boutruche has already touched on this subject for early fourteenth-century Bordeaux by illustrating such practices as testamentary piety, chantry foundations and requiem Mass endowments from the archives of the archbishop and cathedral chapter.⁸⁰ The contemporary requiem foundation of the wealthy Vital de Carle, canon precentor of the Saint-André Cathedral in Bordeaux, who is mentioned in Stratton's account,⁸¹ is also well known. And now in these two accounts we have two further requiem practices of considerable interest.

The first is a record of funeral expenses for Joan of Kent, mother of Richard II, who died at Wallingford Castle on 7 or 14 August 1385. Though she died in England, we have here the report of a full-scale requiem for her at Bordeaux costing 60 *li.* 10 *s.nig.*, at least one indication of the loyalty of the king's chapel there to the English crown. Stratton's account records the purchase of wax torches and black mortuary cloth given to two paupers carrying the torches, the distribution of alms to paupers who prayed for her soul and the souls of all the faithful departed, and the purchase of a cloth of gold to cover the hearse (*hercia*) or frame used to symbolize the presence of her body at the requiem.⁸² This last cloth was to remain with the friars minor at Bordeaux, who were to pray for her soul 'prout moris est patrie' – another suggestion of English liturgical custom in Bordeaux at that time. And the other requiem incident, found in Gedeney's account,⁸³ is the record of expenses for the disinterment of the body of Edward of Angoulême, Richard II's elder brother who had died at Bordeaux

the right of *joyeux avènement* as exercised by the French kings, see J. F. Lemarignier, J. Gaudemet and G. Mollat, *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge*, vol. 3: *Institutions ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1962), pp. 244 and 415.

⁸⁰ 'Aux origines d'une crise nobiliaire: donations pieuses et pratiques successorales en Bordelais du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle', *Annales d'histoire sociale* 1 (1939) 161-77 and 257-77; see especially the valuable bibliography of obituary sources on pp. 276-77.

⁸¹ Below, p. 279.

⁸² On the variety of medieval English hearsecloths, of which gold was one acceptable color, see Hope and Atchley, *English Liturgical Colours*, pp. 117-24 and 246-47. For the hearse of Edward III, 1377, see Brown, Colvin and Taylor, *History of the King's Works* 2.997 n. 9; for the exequies performed for Edward III at Anagni on 3 September 1377 in the presence of Gregory XI, see W. Ullmann, 'The Curial Exequies for Edward I and Edward III', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 6 (1955) 26-36. See below, pp. 280-81.

⁸³ Below, p. 304.

in 1370, and for its translation to English soil for re-burial there among his progenitors. This mission was led by Robert Waldeby, the English bishop of Aire in Gascony, during the twelfth year of Richard II's reign (June 1388–June 1389), and the cost was 600 *li. nigr.* These scattered incidents, interesting and important in themselves, do suggest a custom and usage in the Bordeaux chapel closely related to that of the English crown.

All told, then, in the Bordeaux constables' accounts edited here we have an inventory of the equipment used for worship in a small royal chapel of the later fourteenth century, and these accounts comprise but one small part of an extensive series of such inventories whose varying contents reflect the changing habits of worship and liturgical evolution in the same place – as well as the relation of that place to the English crown by means of its worship – over a period of some 150 years. Much valuable material for the administrative, economic and social history of English Gascony has already been mined from these accounts, especially concerning the archival records noted in the *staurum mortuum* sections,⁸⁴ but their significance for ecclesiastical and especially liturgical history has hardly been noted. And, just as administrative historians have understandably shown little interest in such liturgical details, so it also seems that liturgical historians have understandably tended to concentrate their research upon liturgical books – upon the prayer-texts and directions which they contain – rather than to investigate documents of an administrative sort where the promise of relevant material seemed slim. The Bordeaux constables' accounts, however, are a point where both sorts of research may meet.

THIS EDITION

The documents of which this text is an edition are located among the Exchequer (L.T.R.) Foreign Accounts at the Public Record Office in London and catalogued under the reference numbers E364/21 (Stratton) and E364/27 (Gedeney).⁸⁵ They consist of four parchment membranes, apparently complete, and in a good state of preservation; the writing is clear. Palaeographical examination suggests that three different hands have written the first two membranes (Stratton's account) and another the last two (Gedeney's). The style is that of the later fourteenth-century English exchequer, and the first appearance of each hand in the text is appropriately annotated.

⁸⁴ See especially the fine studies by J. P. Trabut-Cussac, 'Les archives de la Gascogne anglaise: essai d'histoire et d'inventaire sommaire', *RHB* N.S. 5 (1956) 69–81; G. P. Cuttino, 'The Archives of Gascony under English Rule', *American Archivist* 25 (1962) 315–21; and idem, introduction to *Gascon Register A*.

⁸⁵ They are printed here with acknowledgement of crown copyright by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

In preparing the edition that follows, I have generally followed the recommendations of the British Records Association.⁸⁶ Accordingly, the primary object of this edition has been to render the manuscripts in a form that can be read by, and therefore useful to, the historian. This object has been pursued by expanding all abbreviations whenever possible, by rendering the handwriting of the medieval scribes in modern letters, and by identifying with footnotes as many as possible of the names, places and other items of interest upon their first appearance. Marginal headings have been placed in capitals at the head of each entry. Capitalization has been modernized, and punctuation has been introduced for the sake of clarity. Unless written out fully in the manuscript, all sums of money, regnal years and years of grace have been placed in Arabic numerals. The peculiarities of the scribes in the uses of *i*, *j*, *u* and *v* have not been retained; and whenever a single *c* or *t* is followed by *i* plus another vowel, *c* has been read. Words or letters supplied by the editor are enclosed within square brackets.

The following standard abbreviations have been arbitrarily followed throughout the text of the manuscript: *d.* (pence), *gyen.* (guyennois), *lb.* (pounds of weight), *li.* (pounds of money), *nig.* (nigrorum), *ob.* (halfpence), *s.* (shillings) and *st.* (sterling). Other individual differences in medieval spelling have not been standardized. All references to original sources mentioned in the footnotes are to documents in the Public Record Office at London.

A further word must be said regarding the various coinages mentioned in these documents. *Livres noires* of Gascony (*li.nig.gyen.*) are the basic unit of the accounts of both constables. The standard rates of commutation in their accounts are as follows:

1 <i>d.st.Anglie</i>	7 <i>d.ob.nig.gyen.</i> ⁸⁷
100 <i>li.st.Anglie</i>	750 <i>li.nig.</i>
100 marcs <i>st.Anglie</i>	500 <i>li.nig.</i>
100 francs <i>auri</i>	125 <i>li.nig.</i>
100 <i>gyen. auri</i>	125 <i>li.nig.</i> ⁸⁸

Finally, I should like to express my appreciation to Dr. G. P. Cuttino of Emory University for assistance with the transcription at an early stage and to Dr. P. Chaplais of Oxford University for many helpful comments. Errors and shortcomings that remain, however, are my own.

⁸⁶ *Notes for the Guidance of Editors of Record Publications* (London, 1946).

⁸⁷ For fluctuations of this rate in the fifteenth century, see Vale, *English Gascony 1399-1453*, p. 244.

⁸⁸ There were variations of this equivalent even within the accounts edited here; see below, pp. 263, 273, 280, 297, 303.

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AHG</i>	<i>Archives historiques du département de la Gironde</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Annales du Midi</i>
<i>AMB</i>	<i>Archives municipales de Bordeaux</i>
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>MS</i>	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
MS.	manuscript
<i>RHB</i>	<i>Revue historique de Bordeaux et du département de la Gironde</i>
RV	<i>Rotuli Vasconie</i> (Gascon Rolls: Public Record Office, London, reference C61)

STRATTON
P.S.
FORINSECUM COMPOTUM DE ANNO 10
De Exitibus Castri Regis Burdegale
Et Officii Constabularii Regis Ibidem
A 5 Die Octobris Anno 5 Usque 5 Diem Aprilis Anno 10:
Per Johannem de Stratton Dominum de Landirans¹

BURDEGALA²

Compotus Johannis de Stratton domini de Landirans³ cui rex Ricardus secundus 26 die Augusti anno regni sui quinto per litteras suas patentes⁴ super hunc compotum restitutas commisit custodiam castri regis Burdegale et officium constabularii regis ibidem habendo cum omnibus ad officium illud pertinentibus quamdiu regi placuerit, ita quod de exitibus inde provenientibus regi respondeat percipiendo in eodem officio feoda et vadia ad illud pertinentia, et per aliud breve regis de privato sigillo datum 22 die Octobris anno 11 thesaurario baronibus et camerariis suis de scaccario directum et irrotulatum in memorandis de termino Sancti Michelis dicto anno 11 per quod rex mandavit eisdem quod computent cum prefato Johanne nuper constabulario regis Burdegale de omnimodis solucionibus et liberationibus denariorum victualium et aliarum rerum quas idem Johannes fecit de mandato regis⁵ seu de mandatis senescalli et gubernatoris domini Aquitanie seu illorum officiorum vel loca sua ibidem tenencium vel de mandato⁵ consilii regis apud Burdegalam existentis⁶

¹ The preceding section is placed upside down at the end of Stratton's account, as a title on the flap.

² Bordeaux (*dép.* Gironde). The first scribal hand begins here, is intercepted by a second hand on our pp. 280-81, and then continues to our p. 284. An etymological study of the word 'Burdegala' (by le Flamanc, *RHB* N.S. 6 [1957] 171-79) suggests that it is composed of the Celtic *Bor* (*grande*), *Tig* (*maison*) and *Al* (*machine*). If so, 'Burdegala' then meant *grande maison à machine*, or a watermill.

³ Landiras (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Bordeaux). For the castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, pp. 152-53.

⁴ RV 95, m. 17.

⁵ MS. *regis ... mandato* interlineated.

⁶ The Gascon council, or *consilium regis apud Burdegalam existens, consilium regium Vasconie, consilium regium, gentes de consilio regis*. This body, which advised the seneschal, came to consist of the constable of Bordeaux (on financial matters), the *judex Vasconie* (on legal matters; see below, p. 298), and other graduates-in-law and faithful local magnates. With the fourteenth century, all important documents of the Gascon chancery came to be warranted by both the seneschal and the Gascon council, or by the Gascon council alone when the seneschal was away on military affairs. Some, if not all, of its formal meetings were held in the king's

tempore quo nullus senescallus seu gubernator stetit ibidem. De quibus liberacionibus et solucionibus idem Johannes monstrare poterit ut dicit sufficiencia waranta sub sigillis regis senescalli et gubernatoris vel sub sigillo curie regis⁷ Aquitanie⁸ et sub sigillo et contrasigillo ad contractus usitatis in Burdegala⁹ faciendo eidem Johanni debitam allocacionem in hac parte per sacramentum suum et per testimonium contrarotulatoris regis¹⁰ dicti castri Burdegale tam virtute warantorum predictorum super dictum compotum restituendum quam de diversis parcellis sibi allocatis pro tempore suo per waranta in scaccario regis liberata super compota magistri Willelmi Loryng et Ricardi Rotour nuper successive constabulariorum castri predicti¹¹ et de eo quod eidem Johanni de Stratton per dictum compotum suum deberi contigerit iidem thesaurarius et camerarii sibi de thesauro regis solucionem faciant, videlicet de dictis exitibus solucionibus et liberacionibus per ipsum factis a quinto die Octobris dicto anno quinto, quo die idem Johannes recepit officium predictum una cum aliis diversis rebus de predicto Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario ibidem per indenturam ante quem iidem magister Willelmus Loryng alias inde computavit rotulo 6 rotulo compotorum usque quintum diem Aprilis anno 10 per visum et testimonium Thome Lumbard¹² contrarotulatoris regis ibidem, quo die idem Johannes de Stratton liberavit custodiam dicti castri regis Burdegale et officium constabularie predictae Johanni de Gedeneye clerico per breve¹³ regis de magno sigillo datum 26 die Decembris dicto anno 10 per quod rex mandavit predicto Johanni de Stratton quod eidem Johanni de Gedeneye custodiam et officium predicta cum clavibus rotulis papiris

castle at Bordeaux, for in Stratton's account there is an expense entry for repairs to the *castrum regis*, ob causam convocacionis consilii domini regis in estate. See below, p. 274.

⁷ The *curia regis Aquitanie*, also known as the *curia Vasconie*, was the court of the seneschal, to which appeals were made from all other offices of the duchy. Another of its functions was to study and to seal the customs given to neighboring communities. It also had original jurisdiction in a few cases. Its seal, perhaps originally intended for judicial documents, was used by the seneschal as the official seal of the duchy. Further see *MS 36* (1974) 238 n. 13, and below, p. 298.

⁸ *MS. acquietan*.

⁹ The seal and counter-seal for contracts in Bordeaux, kept by the remembrancer of the castle, were used to give private deeds a legal form and to reinforce decrees issued under the great seal of England. See Brentano, *The Constable of Bordeaux (1327-1336)*, pp. 54, 67, and below, pp. 286, 298.

¹⁰ For the office of controller, see above, p. 245.

¹¹ See J. R. Robertson, Jr., *The Accounts of Richard Rotour, Constable of Bordeaux (1375-1379) and William Loryng, Constable of Bordeaux (1379-1381)* (M.A. thesis, Emory, 1960). For Rotour, see also *MS 37* (1975) 43 n. 3. For Loryng, see also Emden, *Oxford 2.1163*, and idem, *Cambridge*, p. 373.

¹² See above, p. 245.

¹³ *RV 99*, m. 6.

memorandis et omnibus aliis officium illud tangentibus et in custodia ipsius Johannis de Stratton existentibus per indenturam liberet. A quo quidem quinto die Aprilis anno 10 idem Johannes de Gedeneye est inde computaturus.

REDDITUS ASSISUS

Idem reddit compotum de 116 *li.* 13 *s.* 5 *d. nig. gyven.*¹⁴ de redditu assiso librorum tenencium in civitate Burdegale et villa Leyburne¹⁵ infra ducatum predictum pro diversis domibus terris et feodis que de rege tenentur ad terminos Sancti Severini. Sancti Martini, Natalis Domini. Sancti Thome Martiris. Pasche. Omnium Sanctorum, Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, et Sancti Michelis accidentes infra dictum tempus huius compoti computatis 7 *d. ob. nig. gyven.* pro qua *st.* Anglie sicut continetur in libro predicti constabularii ac in libro predicti contrarotulatoris de particulis¹⁶ hic in thesauro liberatis. De annuo redditu 32 *li.* 12 *s.* 8 *d. nig.* habitatorum ville de Leyburna pro tenementis et placeis suis que tenent de domino rege in eadem villa non respondit quia Johannes de Neville¹⁷ nuper locum tenens in ducatu¹⁸ Aquitannie dedit et concessit dictum redditum Geraldo preposito dicte ville ad terminum vite ipsius Geraldi adhuc superstitis per warantum ipsius nuper locum tenentis in compoto Ricardi Rotour nuper constabularii ibidem allegatum et allocatum rotulo quarto rotulo compotorum et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa recepte: 116 *li.* 13 *s.* 5 *d. nig.*

EXITUS BALLIVARUM PREPOSITURARUM ET ALIORUM

Idem reddit compotum de 7316 *li.* 9 *s.* 7 *d. nig.* receptis tam de exitibus

¹⁴ The *guyennois* was the coinage of Edward III, the Black Prince, and Richard II for Gascony. For a picture and description, see E. Boudeau, *Catalogue général illustré de monnaies françaises*, new ed. (Paris, 1911; rpt. Maastricht, 1970), pp. 61-65, and especially no. 481. For recent discussion of this coinage, see P. Capra, 'Pour une histoire de la monnaie anglo-gasconne', *AM* 87 (1975) 421. Although John of Gaunt was given the right of coinage in 1390, he never exercised it, presumably because of his short stay in Aquitaine. For commutation rates, see above, p. 259 and below, pp. 273, 280, 297, 303.

¹⁵ *Libourne* (départ. Gironde). Further see C. Bémont, 'La mairie et la jurade dans les villes de la Gascogne anglaise', *RHB* 10 (1917); M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages* (London, 1967), p. 597; and *MS* 36 (1974) 239 n. 24.

¹⁶ See above, p. 245.

¹⁷ John de Neville, fifth Baron Neville of Raby, appointed king's lieutenant in Aquitaine in June of 1378. Further see T. Rymer, ed., *Foedera, conventiones, literae...*, 10 vols. (The Hague, 1739-45), 3/3.78; *MS* 37 (1975) 78-79 n. 127; Steel, *Receipt*, pp. 41, 42, 45, 50, 53, 54, 58, 137, 138; and V. H. Galbraith, ed., *The Anonimale Chronicle 1333 to 1381* (Manchester, 1927), pp. 119, 189.

¹⁸ *MS. ducatu* interlineated.

diversorum hospiciorum shoparum et unius columbaris quam de exitibus et proficuis diversorum prepositurarum ballivarum officiorum et quorundam aliorum terrarum et tenementorum ad predictum castrum regis Burdegale pertinencium una cum exitibus sigilli curie Vasconie per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in predicto libro ipsius constabularii ac eciam in dicto libro eiusdem contrarotulatoris de particulis. De aliquibus exitibus unius hospicii cum shopis subtus magnam turrin castri Burdegale que Robertus Lyncoln' scissor pannorum nuper tenuit, unius hospicii cum shopis et cameris subtus turrin predictam inter portam communem ex una parte et portam monetarum ex altera parte situatis que Johannes Sonche aurifaber nuper tenuit, unius hospicii cum shopa subtus novam turrin castri predicti in vico Peytenyne¹⁹ situata que Johannes Barnaby scissor pannorum nuper tenuit, unius hospicii cum shopa ibidem que Johannes Bolnerie nuper tenuit, unius shope subtus murum castri Burdegale prope Umbrariam²⁰ Burdegale quam Forcius Astence nuper tenuit, unius shope prope portam communem castri predicti versus partem australem quam magister Elias Lamberti nuper tenuit, pontis de Mixta et de Meos²¹ et coste maris, portarie castri Burdegale seu turrarii eiusdem, prepositure de Inter Duo Maria,²² scribanie curie Vasconie, sigilli pro officio senescalli, prepositure Aquensis,²³ prepositure Sancti Severi,²⁴ ballive de la Bourt,²⁵ terrarum et ballive de Marensino²⁶ in Landis,²⁷ terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinenciis que fuerunt Bernardi Bruterii²⁸ rebellis,

¹⁹ Peytabina street, near the center of medieval Bordeaux, running perpendicular to the Garonne.

²⁰ The *Umbraria*, or l'Ombrière, was the only castle in Bordeaux under the English. It took its name, says J. Baurein (*Variétés bordelaises*, 4 vols. [Bordeaux, 1876], 4.258), from the beautiful shadow (*umbra*) formed by the trees around it. From references in the accounts of Stratton and Gedeney, we know that within the Ombrière were located the Gascon chancery, the office of the *curia Vasconie*, the office of the constable of Bordeaux, his exchequer, a meeting hall for the Gascon council, the king's chapel and probably other various offices. The expenses of all these establishments were handled through the constable. Further see *MS 36* (1974) 239 n. 17; and for extensive historical description and a plan see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, pp. 105-107.

²¹ For the bailliages of Mixte and Mios, see Vale, *English Gascony*, pp. 8 and 204.

²² Entre-Deux-Mers, district below the Gironde river and between the Dordogne and Garonne rivers.

²³ Dax (*dép.* Landes). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 130.

²⁴ Saint-Sever (*dép.* Landes, *arr.* Mont-de-Marsan).

²⁵ Bordes (*dép.* Tarn-et-Garonne, *arr.* Moissac).

²⁶ Marensin, region of les Landes that borders on the gulf of Gascogne, between the Marenne and the area of Born.

²⁷ Les Landes, district bounded by Atlantic, Garonne river, and hills of Adour and Armagnac. Further see *MS 36* (1974) 240 n. 26.

²⁸ Bernard Breuter. In 1300 a person of this name had been banned from Bordeaux by municipal order, together with a Jean Colom: *AMB* 1 (1867) 519-21.

terrarum aut hereditatis que fuerunt Johannis Columby²⁹ militis inimici et rebellis regis apud Vessan³⁰ et infra jurisdictionem et potestatem de la Marque,³¹ omnium terrarum et hereditatum que fuerunt Gailardi de Preissaco³² militis et rebellis regis in Burdegalesia, quinte partis vinorum et vendagii proveniencium de vineis in parochia de Senon³³ in loco vocato Port de Mons et locis vicinis eidem portui corespondentibus seu quarte et quinte parcium vinorum et vendagii proveniencium de vineis in parochia de Boliac in loco vocato Ferguerons et locis vicinis eidem portui corespondentibus et pertinentibus cum sporlis et aliis iuribus et devoriis eidem spectantibus que predicto Johanni Columby pertinere debent, et unius bordilis in parochia de Floirake³⁴ in loco vocato Port Peiron³⁵ inter certas confrontaciones seu vinearum albardorum et esiariorum cum pertinentiis infra predictum dominium Aquitanie que fuerunt predicti Johannis Columby, et aliarum rerum diversarum per dictum tempus huius compoti, non respondit eo quod nulla proficua seu exitus inde levavit nec

²⁹ Jean Colom, whose family throughout the fourteenth century seems to have been frequently engaged in discord and rebellion. They were leaders of a powerful faction of wine merchants, the Colombins, who were opposed by a faction of nobles, the Solérians; both factions succeeded in keeping Bordeaux in frequent turmoil during the early decades of the century. There were many persons in the Colom family named Jean, and they were often rebels of some sort; hence, it is not possible to ascertain the exact reference of this text. In 1300 a person of this name was banned from the city of Bordeaux together with one Bernard Breuter (cf. above, n. 28). A Jean Colom made appeals above the English authorities to the Parlement of Paris in 1310 and 1311. In 1312 a Jean Colom led a municipal revolt that overran the mayor and seized the seal of the city, and in 1316 a Jean Colom fomented a general insurrection. On the other hand, in the next decade one Jean Colom was in high favor with the English crown, and distinguished himself against the French in the war of 1324-25. See C. Bémont, 'Les institutions municipales de Bordeaux au moyen âge: la mairie et la jurade', *Revue historique* 123 (1916) 252-93; F. Funck-Brentano, 'Les luttes sociales au xiv^e siècle: Jean Columb de Bordeaux', *Le moyen âge* 10 (1897) 289-320; and Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, chap. 5. P. Chaplais (ed., *The War of Saint-Sardos* [Camden Third Series 87; London 1954], p. 228 n. 1) notes that in 1327 one Jean Colom was accused of treason before Oliver Ingham, seneschal of Gascony. Still another Jean Colom was executed for treason in 1376, and this may well be the one here named. Further see *MS* 36 (1974) 245 n. 45.

³⁰ Bessan (départ. Gironde). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 99.

³¹ Lamarque (départ. Gironde, arr. Bordeaux). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 151.

³² Preyssac or Préhac (départ. Gironde, arr. Langon). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 200. Holdings of the places mentioned in nn. 29, 30, and 31 above seem to have been granted by Richard II to Stratton himself at some time near the years of this account, for they are not listed in the account of Gedeney and by the year 1400 (after the death of Stratton) they were among the personal holdings of Stratton granted by letters patent of Henry IV to Henry Bowet, who had become constable of Bordeaux in July 1398: *AHG* 16.144-46.

³³ Probably Cenon (départ. Gironde, arr. Bordeaux).

³⁴ Floirac (départ. Lot-et-Garonne, arr. Agen). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 136.

³⁵ Port-Peyron, on the Garonne, facing Bordeaux.

levasse potuit per idem tempus ob diversas causas separatim annotatas in dictis libris predictorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis. Nec respondit de aliquibus exitibus terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinentiis que fuerunt Gaylardi Vigerii militis rebellis a 22 die Augusti anno 6 regis nunc, et deinceps custume vocate issak,³⁶ vinorum in villa Burdegale ad tabernam venditorum a 7 die Junii anno 6, et deinceps prepositure Sancti Severi et ballivarum de Thoulouset³⁷ et Sancti Mauricii³⁸ a 12 die Februarii anno 7, et deinceps quarte partis fori Burdegale cum vicaria et prepositura eiusdem a festo Sancti Petri ad vincula anno 8, et deinceps eo quod nulla proficua inde percepit per tempora predicta ob diversas donaciones inde diversis personis per regem factas, sicut continetur in predictis libris ipsorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis.

Summa: 7316 *li.* 9 *s.* 7 *d. nig.*

MAGNA CUSTUMA VINORUM ET MELLIS

Idem reddit compotum de 45,328 *li.* 11 *s.* 1 *d. nig.* receptis de magna custuma vinorum³⁹ et mellis⁴⁰ infra dictum castrum Burdegale customatorum infra dictum tempus huius compoti una cum custuma killagii⁴¹ ibidem sicut continetur in predictis libris de particulis et in 10 grossis papiris ipsorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis similiter in thesauro liberatis. De aliqua custuma vinorum et mellis in portu Leyburne seu custume vocale la gauge⁴² in dicto castro Burdegale non respondit ob diversas causas annotatas in predictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 45,328 *li.* 11 *s.* 1 *d. nig.*

DECIMA VINORUM

Idem reddit compotum de 1498 *li.* 17 *s.* 6 *d. nig.* receptis de decima vinorum descendencium de obediencia Francie usque Burdegalam per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et in papiris predictis.

Summa: 1498 *li.* 17 *s.* 6 *d. nig.*

³⁶ See *MS* 36 (1974) 238 n. 14.

³⁷ Toulousette (*dép.* Landes, *arr.* Saint-Sever).

³⁸ Saint-Maurice (*dép.* Landes, *arr.* Saint-Sever).

³⁹ See *MS* 36 (1974) 239 n. 20, and 245 n. 43, and for the subject of the Gascon wine trade generally see also Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, pp. 233-92 and 423-32; idem, 'Le grand commerce des vins de Gascogne au moyen âge', *Revue historique* 221 (1959) 261-304; and J. Craeybeckx, *Les vins de France aux anciens Pays-Bas (xiii^e-xvi^e siècle)* (Paris, 1958).

⁴⁰ See *MS* 36 (1974) 239 n. 23.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, 239 n. 22.

⁴² See *ibid.*, 239 n. 21.

VENDITA ET REVENDITA

Idem reddit compotum de 141 *li. 5 s. nig.* receptis de venditis et revenditis⁴³ in civitate Burdegale per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in predictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 141 *li. 5 s. nig.*

FINES, CONDEMPNACIONES ET PERQUISICIONES

Idem reddit compotum de 1113 *li. 10 s. nig.* receptis de diversis finibus et condempnacionibus in ducatu predicto infra dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 1113 *li. 10 s. nig.*

TERRE, TENEMENTA, BONA ET CATALIA REBELLIIUM

Idem reddit compotum de 1197 *li. 11 s. 1 d. nig.* receptis de exitibus terrarum et tenementorum domini Gailhardi Vigerii ac eciam de bonis et catallis Brunetti de la Barde⁴⁴ et aliorum diversorum rebellium in diversis locis infra ducatum predictum ratione rebellionis eorundem et aliarum causarum regi forisfactarum per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 1197 *li. 11 s. 1 d. nig.*

BONA ET CATALIA DE WRECCO MARIS PROVENIENCIA

Idem reddit compotum de 100 *li. nig.* receptis de precio quorundam bonorum et catellorum in quadam navi periclitatorum in aqua de Geronnde⁴⁵ anno 8 infra tempus huius compoti domino regi tanquam wreccum maris pertinente sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 100 *li. nig.*

GUIDONAGIUM⁴⁶ VACCARUM

Idem reddit compotum de⁴⁷ 45 *li. nig.* receptis de exitibus et proficuis guidonagii 2160 vaccarum veniencium ad partes Landarum tempore yemali de partibus Aragonie et Navarre ad pascendum ibidem, videlicet de qualibet vacca

⁴³ See *ibid.*, 247 n. 53.

⁴⁴ These possessions were transferred to John Gedeney by writ of privy seal on 20 September 1384: RV 97, m. 7.

⁴⁵ The Gironde river.

⁴⁶ Payment made on passage of cows to other pasture.

⁴⁷ MS. *de* interlineated.

2 morlanos⁴⁸ valentes 5 *l. nig.*, infra tempus predictum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 45 *li. nig.*

MONETAGIUM AURI ET ARGENTI⁴⁹

Idem reddit compotum de 2436 *li. 15 s. nig.* receptis de proficuis provenientibus de monetagio auri et argenti fabricati et facti in villa Burdegale per dictum tempus huius compoti receptis de Benducho Avansac⁵⁰ magistro monetarum auri et argenti in villa predicta per indenturam inter dictum constabularium et⁵¹ predictum Benduchum inde factam sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 2436 *li. 15 s. nig.*

VENDICIO VINORUM ET PLUMBI

Idem reddit compotum de 120 *li. nig.* receptis de 8 doliis⁵² vini receptis de predicto Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario Burdegale provenientibus de exitibus vinearum Gailardi Vigerii rebellis precii dolii 15 *li. nig.* sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et de 135 *li. nig.* de precio 8 magnarum peciarum plumbi vocatarum dalphyns⁵³ ponderancium 45 quintallos venditarum causa necessitatis pro defensione patrie tempore quo dux Burbonie⁵⁴ cum magno exercitu inimicorum dominio regis in partibus Aquitanie hostiliter equitavit precii quintalli 3 *li. nig.* sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 255 *li. nig.*

⁴⁸ MS. *moraln'*. Coinage of Morlaix.

⁴⁹ For coinage issued from the mint at Bordeaux, see Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, app. 6; G. des Aubineaux, 'Vins, prix, et monnaies du moyen âge en pays bordelais', *RHB* N.S. 7 (1958) 171-75; Brissaud, *Les Anglais en Guyenne*, pp. 23 ff.; A. Dieudonné, *Manuel de numismatique française*, vol. 4: *Monnaies féodales françaises* (Paris, 1936), pp. 215 ff.; P. Capra, 'L'histoire monétaire de l'Aquitaine anglo-gasconne au temps du Prince Noir (1354-1372)', *Bulletin et mémoires de la Société archéologique de Bordeaux* 64 (1968) 93-151; above, pp. 259, 263, and below, p. 292.

⁵⁰ A person of this name is listed as a parishioner of the church of St. Columba of Bordeaux in the obituary book of the church of Saint-André of Bordeaux: *AHG* 18.17.

⁵¹ MS. *et* interlineated.

⁵² The *dolium* was a vessel for carrying wine. See Y. Renouard, 'La capacité du tonneau bordelais au moyen âge', *AM* 65 (1953); and idem, 'Recherches complémentaires sur la capacité du tonneau bordelais au moyen âge', *AM* 68 (1956) 195-207; both reprinted in idem, *Études d'histoire médiévale*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1968), 1.257-65 and 267-79. Further see *MS* 36 (1974) 247 n. 59.

⁵³ Mass of lead suspended from the lateen rig of a warship, used to drop upon the enemy vessel in order to damage it: E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* 2 (Paris, 1881), p. 956.

⁵⁴ Louis II (the Good), 1337-1410, duke of Bourbon from 19 September 1356 until his death.

DENarii RECEPTI DE MUTUO PRO GUERRA⁵⁵

Idem reddit compotum de 2494 *li. 7 s. 6 d. nig.* receptis de maiore et juratis Burdegale et aliis diversis personis de mutuo tam pro vadiis hominum ad arma, sagittariorum et aliorum defensabilium nuper ordinatorum per avisamentum consilii regis Aquitanie necnon virorum ecclesiasticorum ac dominorum et aliorum de communitate patrie predictae ad morandum in diversis locis infra dominium Aquitanie solvendis ibidem morantibus tempore quo dux Borbonie ac marescallus Francie et alii inimici cum magno exercitu extiterunt in partibus Leyburne et Sancti Emilionis⁵⁶ et partibus de Blay⁵⁷ et Bourt ad patriam vastandam quam pro vitalamento terrarum villarum castrorum et fortalicionum domini regis ibidem sicut continetur in litteris patentibus dictarum gencium de consilio regis sigillo regis curie sue Vasconie sigillatis⁵⁸ ubi nomina personarum qui huiusmodi summas domino regi prestiterunt ac summe ab eisdem separaliter mutuate necnon ville castra et fortalicia in quibus victualia illa expendebantur ac nomina capitaneorum et numerus hominum ad arma in eisdem ex causa predicta morancium plenius annotantur et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 2494 *li. 7 s. 6 d. nig.*

VENDICIO SUPER COMPOTUM

Idem reddit compotum de 660 *li. nig.* valentibus 88 *li. st.* Anglie de 33 doliis vini receptis de magistro Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario ibidem per indenturam super hunc compotum venditis sicut continetur in dicto libro ipsius constabularii de particulis.

Summa: 660 *li. nig.*

SUMMA RECEPTARUM ET SUPERONERACIONUM COMMUTA: 62,704 *li. 2 d. nig.* valentes 8360 *li. 10 s. 8 d. qua st.* Anglie.

⁵⁵ This entry is a good example of the assistance of Bordeaux to her *filleules*; see above, p. 242.

⁵⁶ Saint-Émilion (*dép. Gironde, arr. Libourne*). For the history of medieval Saint-Émilion, see Bémont, 'La mairie et la jurade dans les villes'. For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 213.

⁵⁷ Blaye (*dép. Gironde, arr. Libourne*). For the history of medieval Blaye, see Bémont, 'La mairie et la jurade dans les villes'. For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, pp. 103-104.

⁵⁸ Important documents emanating from the Gascon chancery were normally warranted by the seneschal using the seal of the *curia Vasconie* as well as by his advisory body the *consilium regis apud Burdegalam existens*. See *MS 37* (1975) 59-60 n. 69; and above, p. 261.

EXPENSE CAPELLE ET SCACCARII INFRA CASTRUM REGIS BURDEGALE

Idem computat in torcheis cereis, minutis candelis et aliis diversis necessariis emptis pro divino servicio in capella predicti castri regis Burdegale una cum vadiis et robis duorum capellanorum in eadem capella successive divina celebrancium, necnon in pergameno incausto cera papiris et aliis necessariis officia dictorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris concernentibus similiter emptis et expeditis a predicto quinto die Octobris anno quinto usque quintum diem Aprilis anno 10 per 5 annos et dimidium 516 *li.* 4 *s.* 6 *d. nig.* dictis capellanis successive capientibus pro vadiis suis per diem 22 *d. ob. nig.* valentes 3 *d. st.* Anglie et pro roba sua per annum 7 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* valentes 20 *s. st.* Anglie per litteras gencium de consilio regis apud Burdegalam sub sigillo regis curie Vasconie de waranto et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum datum 22 die Octobris anno 11 et in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per litteras Ade de Pykeryng⁵⁹ et Petri Pychot successive capellanorum ibidem de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et sicut huiusmodi expense vadia et robe allocabantur magistro Ricardo Rotour⁶⁰ nuper constabulario ibidem rotulo 4 rotulo compotorum.

Summa: 516 *li.* 4 *s.* 6 *d. nig.*

Respice in dorso rotuli.

Insertum rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum.⁶¹

FEODA VADIA EXPENSE MINISTRORUM

Idem computat solucionem Willelmo le Scrope⁶² chivaler gubernatori

⁵⁹ See above, p. 252.

⁶⁰ In letters close of 10 November 1381, Richard II ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to account with the executors of the late Richard Rotour, former constable, allowing for his wages and rewards: *CCR 1381-85*, p. 24.

⁶¹ End of the first parchment membrane.

⁶² William le Scrope (Lescrop), 1351(?)–99, eldest son of Richard, first Baron Scrope of Bolton. He accompanied John of Gaunt into Gascony in 1373. John de Neville, on leaving Gascony for England on 17 February 1381, entrusted custody of the duchy to Scrope as acting governor. Scrope left this office on 1 February 1382, the *consilium regium Vasconie* taking over administration of the whole duchy and Richard II giving custody of the seal to one Gerard de Mente. Then, on 28 May 1383, Scrope was commissioned as seneschal of Gascony, and Mente was ordered to turn over the seal to him: Chaplais, 'Chancery of Guyenne', 90. Scrope's powers as seneschal were delineated in an instrument of Richard II *per ipsum regem et consilium* dated 30 May 1383: RV 96, m. 4. Scrope held this office until 1392 or 1393, with the exception of an interval from 1385 to 1389 or 1390 when it was held by John Harpeden, during which period Scrope seems to have been keeper of the king's castle of Fronsac. He returned to England in 1393 and came to hold important posts there. Further see *DNB*; E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand*

predicti ducatus Aquitanie capienti per annum pro feodo suo in officio illo 500 *li. st. valentes* 3750 *li. nig.*, videlicet in partem solucionis dicti feodi sui a predicto 5 die Octobris anno 5 usque primum diem Februarii proximo tunc sequentem, 300 *li. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo dicto constabulario inde directum datum primo die Aprilis dicto anno quinto super hunc compotum liberatum et per litteras ipsius Willelmi de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et sicut huiusmodi feodum allocatur Thome de Felton⁶³ senescallo dicti ducatus Aquitanie in dicto compoto magistri Ricardi Rotour dicto rotulo 4 rotulo compotorum. Et eidem Willelmo le Scrope chivaler senescallo predicti ducatus Aquitanie percipienti consimile feodum in officio illo in persolucionem huiusmodi feodi sui a 13 die Augusti anno 7 usque 15 diem Marcii anno 9 per unum annum et dimidium 4 septimanas et 5 dies 5937 *li. 10 s. nig.* per breve regis de magno sigillo de waranto constabulario Burdegale qui pro tempore fuerit⁶⁴ directum sub sigillo et contrasigillo eiusdem domini regis quibus utitur Burdegale ad contractus exemplificatas necnon per duas litteras ipsius Willelmi de recepcione⁶⁵ sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi feodum allocatur dicto Thome de Felton dicto rotulo 4 rotulo compotorum. Et Johanni de Harpeden⁶⁶ militi senescallo Aquitanie percipienti consimile feodum in officio illo in partem solucionis huiusmodi feodi sui a festo assumptionis beate Marie anno 9 usque predictum quintum diem Aprilis anno 10, 4908 *li. 15 s. nig.* per litteras⁶⁷ dicti domini regis datas primo die Marcii anno 8 constabulario Burdegale qui tunc fuit vel qui pro tempore fuerit directas et per indenturam inter ipsum regem et predictum Johannem confectam sub sigillo et contrasigillo dicti domini regis quibus utitur Burdegale ad contractus exemplificatas et per testimonium contrarotulatoris

schisme d'occident (Paris, 1933), pp. 376-78, 380, 415; idem, ed., *The Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II* (Camden Third Series 48; London, 1933), nos. 124 (note), 223, 229A (note); Steel, *Receipt*, pp. 48, 50, 56, 59, 63, 68, 133; and G. Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia, ou état des officiers royaux des bailliages et des sénéchaussées de 1328 à 1515*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1942), 3.435-36.

⁶³ Thomas Felton, seneschal of Gascony 1373-75. Further see *MS 36* (1974) 236 n. 6.

⁶⁴ MS. *fuerit* interlineated.

⁶⁵ An authorization made under the great seal, reinforced by the authorization of the seal and counter-seal for contracts in Bordeaux, and then confirmed by two letters of receipt.

⁶⁶ John Harpeden was appointed seneschal of Gascony on 1 March 1385: *RV 97*, m. 3. For his powers as seneschal, see the instrument of Richard II dated 28 April 1385 in Rymer, *Foedera* 3/3.182-83. The king granted the mayor of Bordeaux special exemption from Harpeden's jurisdiction: Brissaud, *Les Anglais en Guyenne*, p. 145. On 16 March 1387 Harpeden was also appointed keeper of the king's castle of Fronsac: *RV 99*, m. 6. He resigned the office of seneschal on 25 June 1389, and in the following year he died in England: Chaplais, 'Chancery of Guyenne', 90-91; *CPR 1388-92*, p. 245. Harpeden was preceded and followed as seneschal by William le Scrope. Further see Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia* 3.435-36; and Galbraith, *Anonimale Chronicle*, pp. xxxviii, 115, 116, 178, 179, 188.

⁶⁷ *RV 97*, m. 3.

predicti secundum tenorem litterarum predictarum et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum supra in titulo huius compoti annotatum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et eidem constabulario percipienti pro vadiis suis 4 s. *st.* Anglie valentes 30 s. *nig.* per diem et pro robis et clericorum suorum ratione dicti officii sui 14 *li. st.* Anglie valentes 105 *li. nig.* per annum in persolucionem dictorum vadiorum et robarum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 3588 *li. 15 s. nig.* per dictas litteras regis patentes in titulo huius compoti annotatas et prout huiusmodi vadia et robe allocantur dicto magistro Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario ibidem in compoto suo predicto rotulo 6 rotulo compotorum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et eidem constabulario percipienti 100 *li. st.* Anglie valentes 750 *li. nig.* per annum de regardo speciali ultra feoda et vadia predicta sicut continetur in quadam indentura inter dominum regem et ipsum constabularium inde confecta data 30 die Augusti predicto anno quinto, scilicet in persolucionem dicti regardi sui per dictum tempus huius compoti, 4125 *li. nig.* sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et Thome Lumbard contrarotulatori regis in dicto castro Burdegale pro vadiis suis 2 s. *st.* Anglie valentes 15 s. *nig.* per diem ac eciam 60 *li. nig.* pro robis suis⁶⁸ per annum ratione officii sui predicti in partem solucionis dictorum vadiorum et robarum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 1396 *li. 18 d. nig.* per breve regis constabulario ibidem qui pro tempore fuerit directum datum primo die Julii anno tercio penes ipsum contrarotulatorem remanens et annotatum in dicto compoto Willelmi Loryng nuper constabularii ibidem et prout huiusmodi vadia et robe allocantur eidem Thome causa officii predicti in dicto compoto ipsius Willelmi dicto rotulo 6 rotulo compotorum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et eidem Thome Lumbard contrarotulatori cui predictus Willelmus le Scrope senescallus per litteras suas patentes datas sub sigillo officii sui⁶⁹ 29 die Septembris⁷⁰ anno 7 constabulario Burdegale qui pro tempore fuerit directas⁷¹ considerans caristiam victualium apud Burdegalam et in partibus vicinis causa guerre necnon magnos sumptus et labores quos dictum contrarotulatorem et clericos suos facere oportet et sustentare ob causam dicti officii per avisamentum ordinacionem et assensum consilii regii apud Burdegalam existentis concessit 100 francas auri per annum de regardo speciali ultra feoda et vadia in officio predicto consueta durante guerra percipiendas per manus constabularii Burdegale qui pro tempore fuerit de exitibus et⁷² revencionibus castri Burdegale quousque dominus rex pro

⁶⁸ MS. *pro robis suis* repeated.

⁶⁹ See Chaplais, 'Chancery of Guyenne', 84; and above, p. 270.

⁷⁰ MS. *die Septembris* interlineated.

⁷¹ MS. *directum*.

⁷² MS. *et* interlineated.

competenti regardo eidem contrarotulatori alibi duxerit ordinandum, scilicet in persolucionem huiusmodi regardi a predicto 29 die Septembris usque predictum quintum Aprilis anno 10, 439 *li.* 11 *s. nig.* virtute litterarum predictarum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et magistro Reymundo Guillelmi de Podio⁷³ bacallario in decretis judici curie Vasconie percipienti pro feodo suo in officio illo 300 *gyen.* auri valentes 375 *li. nig.*⁷⁴ per annum ac etiam pro feodis vadiis et expensis diversorum aliorum iudicum consiliariorum et aliorum officiariorum tam apud Burdegalam existencium quam ad diversa loca in negociis regis, 7471 *li.* 3 *s. 7 d. ob. nig.* per diversas litteras dictorum senescalli gubernatoris et consilii regis et per predictum breve⁷⁵ regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando et per diversas litteras ipsius magistri Reymundi et aliorum iudicum consiliariorum et officiariorum de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi feoda vadia et expense allocantur in dicto compoto magistri Willelmi Loryng dicto rotulo 6 rotulo compotorum.

Summa: 28,166 *li.* 16 *s.* 1 *d. ob.*

EXPENSE NUNCIORUM

Idem computat solucionem diversis nunciis tam equitatis quam peditatis pro vadiis et expensis suis per predictos senescallum gubernatorem consilium regis existentes [apud]⁷⁶ Burdegalam et constabularium missis ad diversas partes ducatus predicti pro diversis negociis regis expediendis per diversas vices infra dictum tempus huius compoti, 2997 *li.* 11 *d. ob. nig.* per litteras predicti Willelmi le Scrope senescalli et dictarum gencium de consilio regis de waranto et per predictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 2997 *li.* 11 *d. ob. nig.*

⁷³ Raimond Guillaume du Puy is listed as early as 1361-62 as *bacallarius in decretis* and *procurator fiscalis officii curie Burdegale* in the account books of the estates of the archbishop of Bordeaux: *AHG* 21 (1881) 677, 681, 699, 702. On 12 April 1373 he was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis Aquitannie*, and reappointed in 1375, 1379, 1381, 1389, 1390 and 1392: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 245-47. For his missions from Bordeaux to London on the king's business in 13-14 Richard II, preserved in the E364 series, see *Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes*, no. XI: *Foreign Accounts* (London, 1900), pp. 76-77; and cf. *CPR* 1388-92, p. 203. He must have died by 1399, for his *heredes* are noted as paying the rent to the archbishop in that year (*AHG* 22 [1882] 536), and in 1400 the corresponding entry is made only in the name of his widow: cf. *AHG* 22 (1882) 640. Also see *MS* 36 (1974) 243 n. 35; and below, p. 297.

⁷⁴ For other equivalents, see above, pp. 259, 263 and below, pp. 280, 297, 303.

⁷⁵ *RV* 98, m. 4.

⁷⁶ Since the ablative of place is not used elsewhere in the account, this emendation seemed to be required.

REPARATIO CASTRI REGIS BURDEGALE ET GARDINI IBIDEM

Idem computat in petris maeremio calce tegulis clavibus ferris bordis lathes et aliis diversis necessariis emptis et expeditis in reparacionibus magne turris infra castrum predictum, diversarum domorum edificiorum et aliarum rerum ibidem una cum vadiis et stipendiis carpentariorum lathaniorum plumbariorum tegulorum et aliorum operariorum et laborariorum diversa opera faciencium ac defectus diversorum domorum murorum et edificiorum eidem castro pertinencium reparancium et emendancium una cum cariagio dictorum petrarum meremi et aliarum rerum de locis ubi emebantur et providebantur usque castrum predictum, ac eciam in rayles stakes virgis et turbis emptis et expeditis in reparacione et arraiacione dicti gardini infra castrum predictum ob causam convocacionis consilii domini regis in estate, et in vadiis operariorum et laborariorum operancium circa reparacionem et arraiacionem predictas per dictum tempus huius compoti, 548 *li.* 9 *s.* 1 *d. nig.* per breve regis sub sigillo curie sue Vasconie de waranto dicto constabulario inde directum et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 548 *li.* 9 *s.* 1 *d. nig.*

DONACIONES ANNUALES

Idem computat solucionem Bertrando domino de Monte Ferandi⁷⁷ militi cui dominus E[dwardus] nuper rex Anglie avus regis nunc concessit 200 marcas *st.* Anglie valentes 1000 *li. nig.* percipiendas annuatim de exitibus ducatus predicti per manus constabularii ibidem qui pro tempore fuerit eidem Bertrando et heredibus suis quousque de 200 marcatis terre et redditus per annum in locis

⁷⁷ Bertrand de Montferrand was a member of the Gascon council. On 4 July 1392 he was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine, and again in 1398, 1399 and 1408: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 247. The payment mentioned in this entry of the text may refer back to a prolonged legal affair of the 1350's regarding the payment of a sixtieth by the inhabitants of Veyrines to Jean de Montferrand, the immediate heir of an earlier Bertrand de Montferrand. The inhabitants of Veyrines claimed that they were free and therefore not obligated to pay the sixtieth. The settlement, which was by arbitration, declared the inhabitants of Veyrines to be free, but directed that they pay a large number of various dues and duties quite in excess of the earlier demand of a sixtieth. The penalty for failure to follow the conditions of this settlement was set at 200 marcs *auri*, the amount mentioned in the text here. *AHG* 17.146 ff. contains the document of this settlement. For the *inspeximus* of Edward III's grant, contained in letters patent of 6 Richard II, see RV 96, m. 3. There is a document relating to an annual payment to Bertrand lord of Montferrand, at the time of 4 Richard II, in E101/182/13. Documents pertaining to the Veyrines affair appear continually throughout the RV. See also *AHG* 26.356-58; and further see Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 266 (index). For the castle of Montferrand, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 184.

competentibus in ducatu predicto in feodo habendis per dictum avum vel heredes suos fuerit provisum in recompensacionem medietatis terre de Verines⁷⁸ que ad manus regis per forisfacturam et rebellionem Gailardi de Duroforti⁷⁹ devenit eidem⁸⁰ Ber[r]trando per ipsum avum concessisse quamque idem Bertrandus ad rogatum Edwardi nuper principis Wallie dum erat capitaneus et locum tenens regis in ducatu predicto prefato Gailardo quando ad obedienciam dicti avi rediit iuxta tractatum inter dictum locum regis tenentem et ipsum Gailardum habitum restituit⁸¹ in partem solucionis dicti anni certi per dictum tempus huius compoti, 3028 *li.* 15 *s. nig.* per duas litteras gencium de concilio regis Burdegale sigillo regio ibidem usitato consignatas de waranto et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum de huiusmodi waranto allocando ac eciam per litteras ipsius Ber[r]trandi de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et Reymundo de Monte Alto domino de Mussidano⁸² et quibusdam aliis diversis militibus scutiferis et

⁷⁸ Veyrines (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Bordeaux). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 232.

⁷⁹ Gaillard II de Durfort was lord of Duras (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Marmande) and of Blanquefort (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Bordeaux). His capture by the French near Bordeaux in 1377, together with Thomas Felton and Raimond de Montaut, in a futile attempt to assist Bergerac cost him his Blanquefort possession. He was also made to renounce his English obedience, but he broke this promise soon after his release. Soon thereafter, partly in retaliation, the French captured his castle of Duras in a famous siege, recounted at length in Froissart's *Chronicles*, ed. Société de l'histoire de France 9 (Paris, 1894), pp. 20-24. The castle was partly destroyed by a mysterious fire at this time, some holding the fire to have been set by the French and others holding it to have been set earlier by the Durfort family as they were evacuating the premises. For a detailed description and plans of the Duras castle before its burning, see P. Lauzun, 'Le château de Duras', *Revue de l'Agenais* 47 (1920) 321-33; and see also Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, pp. 131-32 and cf. pp. 102-103. Durfort, meanwhile, was staying at Bordeaux under English protection. On 15 June 1379 he was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine, and again in 1381 and 1392: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 246-47; and cf. E101/182/3. In 1381 he was commander of Bayonne. His son, Gaillard III, who set out to restore the Duras castle, was seneschal of Gascony from 1399 to probably 1415, following Archambaud de Grailly: Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 245. Further see Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia* 3.436. For a history of the Durfort family (which seems to have been of close relation to Bertrand de Got, Pope Clement V), see P. Lauzun, 'Le château de Duras', *Revue de l'Agenais* 48 (1921) 87-98 and 237-43.

⁸⁰ MS. *eidem* repeated.

⁸¹ For action of Richard II on this matter, see the concession and confirmation of 28 June 1380 printed in Rymer, *Foedera* 3/3.102-103.

⁸² Raimond de Montaut, lord of Mussidan. In March, August and December 1374, war payments were made to him on mandates from the seneschal Thomas Felton: *AHG* 12.328 ff. On 19 April 1375 he was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis*: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 245. For notarial obligation of a repayment owed to Edward III by Montaut and Bernard de Lesparre, dated 1 September 1376, see E30/1683. In September 1377 Montaut was captured by the French, together with Thomas Felton and Gaillard II de Durfort, in a futile attempt to assist Bergerac: Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, p. 211 n. 6. Further see *MS* 36 (1974) 245 n. 41 and *MS* 37 (1975) 70.

aliis hominibus pro consimilibus annuis certis et donacionibus eis ex certis causis et rationibus tam per dictum dominum regem avum loca regis tenentes et senescallos in ducatu predicto concessis in partem solucionis dictorum annuorum certorum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 10,019 *li.* 12 *s.* 5 *d. nig.* per diversas litteras regis senescallorum gubernatoris et consilii regis apud Burdegalam existentis ac eciam per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando et per litteras dicti Reymundi de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 13,048 *li.* 7 *s.* 5 *d. nig.*

VADIA GUERRE

Idem computat solucionem Ricardo Sengleton' capitaneo ville Sancti Emilionis que est in frontario inimicorum regis pro victualibus emendis pro dicto capitaneo et hominibus ad arma ibidem morantibus ad resistendum inimicis regis qui huiusmodi victualibus maxime indigerunt et diversis baronibus et capitaneis certorum villarum castrorum et fortalicionum domini regis infra dominium Aquitanie in auxilium solucionis redempcionum quas ipsi percipere solebant de patria inimicorum apaciata absque quibus redempcionibus gentes suas tenere aut villas castra et fortalicia predicta sustentare non potuerunt tempore paticii sancti inter dominum regem et fideles subditos suos et alios ex parte Francorum, ac eciam Johanni Gedeneye pro expensis suis et hominum ad arma et aliorum defensabilium secum in comitiva sua euncium ad partes et⁸³ villas de Leybourn et Sancti Emilionis et patriam regis d'Entre Dordogne⁸⁴ ad eas visitandas et confortandas et ad resistendum inimicis regis in frontariis ibidem existentibus, et predicto Johanni de Stratton constabulario pro custubus et expensis suis et 20 hominum ad arma secum in obsequio regis guerre in partibus de Basedois⁸⁵ et Ageney⁸⁶ existencium in comitiva predicti Willelmi le Scrope senescalli Aquitanie ad confortandum fideles subditos domini regis et ad resistendum inimicis eiusdem domini regis et pro vadiis suis et 31 hominum ad arma et sagittariorum armatorum quos habuit morantes super defensione et tuicione patrie Inter Duo Maria habitancium ibidem et pro aliis diversis viaggiis per ipsum et homines suos ad arma et sagittarios suos factis in servicio regis, necnon domino de la Sparre⁸⁷ et Gerardo preposito maiori

⁸³ MS. *et* interlineated.

⁸⁴ Entre-Dordogne, district at confluence of Isle and Dordogne rivers. For this area see Trabut-Cussac, *L'administration anglaise en Gascogne*, p. xii.

⁸⁵ Bazadais.

⁸⁶ Agenais.

⁸⁷ Lesparre (*dép.* Gironde). For the castle of Lesparre, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 165. For Florimund de Lesparre, see MS 36 (1974) 250 n. 84. Cf. E30/304: 12 July 1383, notarial

ville Leybourne pro expensis suis et 45 hominum ad arma euncium ad subsidium loci vocati la Farie quem inimici regis ceperunt et tenuerunt, ac eciam Johanni Seynt Andreu maiori et juratis ville de Bourt et aliis cum diversis hominibus ad arma et sagittariis pro vadiis suis existentibus in obsequio regis guerre apud la Bourt tempore quo dux Burbonie et marescallus Francie cum magno exercitu inimicorum de Francia venerunt infra dominium et villam predictam et alias villas et fortalicia domini regis infra dominium predictum ad obsidendum et capiendum⁸⁸ anno 9 regis nunc infra tempus huius compoti, ac eciam pro diversis victualibus ordinatis et liberatis ad diversa castra villas et fortalicia infra dominium Aquitanie et pro vadiis et expensis aliorum militum scutiferorum et sagittariorum proficiscencium in diversis viaggiis et in diversis villis castris et fortaliciis commorantibus in ducatu predicto causa dicte guerre per dictum tempus huius compoti, 13,578 *li.* 12 *si.* 8 *d. nig.* per diversa waranta regis dictorum Willelmi le Scrope et Johannis de Harpeden senescallorum ac eciam predictarum gencium de consilio regis apud Burdegalam existencium dicto constabulario inde directa et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per litteras predicti Ricardi de Sengleton' et aliorum de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et dicto Willelmo le Scrope chivaler nuper senescallo ducatus Aquitanie in partem solucionis 2000 marcarum *st.* Anglie eidem Willelmo assignatarum ad recipiendum de revencionibus domini Aquitannie per manus dicti constabularii super vadiis et regardis hominum ad arma et sagittariorum cum eodem Willelmo moraturorum super defensione domini predicti, 5375 *li. nig.* per litteras domini regis de waranto sub sigillo⁸⁹ et contrasigillo quibus utitur Burdegale ad contractus exemplificatas et virtute cuiusdam indenture inter dominum regem et prefatum Willelmum confecte et sub dicto sigillo exemplificate et⁹⁰ per litteras ipsius Willelmi de recognicione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et⁹¹ per dictum breve de privato sigillo regis in titulo huius compoti annotatum. De quibus quidem 5375 *li.* valentibus 716 *li.* 13 *si.* 4 *d. st.* Anglie predictus Willelmus est responsurus. Et respondit infra.

Summa: 18,953 *li.* 12 *s.* 8 *d. nig.*

acknowledgement by Florimund de Lesparre of a debt of 3500 marcs due to William le Scrope, seneschal of Gascony, by 8 September next, to be distributed by him among the barons of Gascony for carrying on the king's wars; and cf. E30/303, 303A and 306. See also below, p. 301.

⁸⁸ MS. *et capiendum* interlineated.

⁸⁹ MS. *de waranto sub sigillo* repeated.

⁹⁰ MS. *o* (or possibly the *et* symbol made with a heavy flourish).

⁹¹ MS. *et* interlineated.

DONACIONES UNA VICE

Item computat solucionem magistro Petro de Moderano⁹² cui dominus rex per avisamentum co[n]sili sui apud Burdegalam existentis dedit 100 francas auri provenientes de quibuscumque bonis rebellium et inimicorum domino regi pertinentibus pro bono servicio per ipsum Petrum regi et progenitoribus suis impenso. In persolucionem summe predicte per ipsum Petrum recepte de precio 11 doliorum vini regi pertinencium ratione cuiusdam legati per dominam Elizabetham de Alham facti Arnaldo de Reybeyra inimico et rebelli regis, 125 *li. nig.* per litteras regis de waranto sigillo curie sue Vasconie sigillatas necnon per litteras ipsius Petri de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et Roberto Chelmeleye scutifero Anglico venienti ad predictas partes Aquitanie in comitiva Nicholai Dagworthe⁹³ militis ob causam treugarum⁹⁴ inter regem et adversarium suum Francum capto cui dictus Willelmus le Scrope senescallus per avisamentum consilii regii apud Burdegalam existentis ordinav[il]t 100 *gyen.* auri valentes 125 *li. nig.* in partem supposicionis expensarum per ipsum factarum⁹⁵ tempore quo jacebat infirmus in predicta civitate Burdegale et per ipsum faciendarum ab inde redeundo in Angliam. Et

⁹² Peter de Moderano (Maderan), a pontifical and imperial notary, had served as lieutenant to Bernard Brocas, controller of Bordeaux, when the latter was given the functions of constable in 1362: Lodge, 'The Constables of Bordeaux in the Reign of Edward III', 240. As early as 1363 documents refer to him as 'notaire de toute la principalité d'Aquitaine': *AHG* 34.188. He was nominated remembrancer of the castle of Bordeaux by the king on 21 August 1382: RV 96, m. 15. In 1383 Moderano founded a Charterhouse on his own property in the area of the *Palus*, on the Gironde and outside the medieval city of Bordeaux; hence the name of the faubourg of Chartrons: *AMB* 1874 supplementary volume, p. 355; Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, p. 317. For additional documents in which he acts as notary, see *AMB* 1874 supplementary volume, p. 252; and *AHG* 1.66-70, 3.176, 4.125, 17.156, 27.312; and E30/323 and 325. See also M. Gouron, 'Essai de reconstitution du trésor des chartes du château de Bordeaux et de son mobilier au moyen âge', *RHB* 26 (1933) 33.

⁹³ Nicholas Dagworth, a knight of the chamber who served on diplomatic missions for Richard II, was expelled from court by the Merciless Parliament of 1388. See Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*; idem, *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, nos. 24, 74, 95 (note), 112 (note); Steel, *Receipt*, p. 53; Tout, *Chapters* 4.345; and R. H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 134-36.

⁹⁴ For the document of Richard II assigning Dagworth and Chelmeleye to proclaim the truce in Aquitaine, dated 12 February 1384, see Rymer, *Foedera* 3/3.164. Dagworth's expense account for this mission is noted in L. Mirot and E. Déprez, 'Les ambassades anglaises pendant la guerre de cent ans: catalogue chronologique (1372-1450)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 60 (1899) 206, no. 472. Mirot and Déprez state that the mission lasted from 20 February to 16 June 1384, that it included passage from Dover to Calais, that the wages were 20 *d. per diem* and that the expenses were 120 *li.* However, this last item has been corrected by A. Larson, 'English Embassies during the Hundred Years War', *English Historical Review* 55 (1940) 429 to read 121 *li.* instead of 120 *li.*

⁹⁵ MS. *factis*.

Guillelmo de Novo Castro uni de consulibus ville Portus Sancte Marie⁹⁶ cui predictus senescallus Aquitanie per avisamentum consilii predicti assignavit 187 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* percipiendos nomine habitantium ville predictae pro reparatione et clausura eiusdem ville pro eo quod consules et habitatores dicte ville in tanto depauperati existunt quod villam illam reparare seu sustentare nequunt nec inimicis regis aliquo modo resistere possunt absque auxilio dicti domini regis. In persolucionem dictarum summarum, 312 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* per duas litteras senescalli de waranto sigillo regio sigillatas et per duas litteras ipsorum Roberti et Guillelmi de recepcione et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum de allocando huiusmodi waranto sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 437 *li.* 10 *s. nig.*

SOLUCIONES FACTE DIVERSIS PERSONIS PRO DIVERSIS SUMMIS AB EISDEM PRO GUERRA MUTUATIS

Item computat solucionem Bernardo de Salyn, Vidali Carle,⁹⁷ Johanni Scot,⁹⁸ et aliis diversis personis in persolucionem diversarum summarum et precii victualium que ipsi ad opus regis prestiterunt tam pro vadiis hominum ad arma et aliorum defensabilium in diversis locis infra predictum dominium Aquitanie morantium solvendis quam pro vitelamento villarum castrorum et fortalicio-rum ibidem tempore quo dux Burbonie ac marescallus Francie cum magno exercitu venerunt infra predictum dominium ad certa villas castra et fortalicia ibidem capienda et obsidenda, ita quod personis predictis solutio fieret de primis proficuis et revencionibus de castro Burdegale provenientibus, de summis et precio victualium per ipsos dicto domino regi ut premittitur

⁹⁶ Port-Sainte-Marie (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Agen).

⁹⁷ Vital de Carle, wealthy canon precentor of Saint-André in Bordeaux. For documents noting him as canon, see *AHG* 18.243 and 249, 47.104-106. Of a noble family of Lorraine that moved to Bordeaux in the fourteenth century, Carle dispersed his fortune in charitable donations. The most famous of these is the hospital of Saint-André, founded by him in 1390 and considered the only hospital in Bordeaux still surviving from the medieval period. Also in 1390, Carle established a weekly Mass to be said for him by the chapter of Saint-André, beginning in his lifetime. (For the text of this foundation, which gives minute instructions for the celebration, taken from the obituary book of Saint-André, see *AHG* 18.256-61.) See also *AMB* 1874 supplementary volume, pp. 365-67; Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, p. 180; idem, 'Aux origines d'une crise nobiliaire', 165, 169; Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, p. 316; and above, p. 257.

⁹⁸ John Scot, a wealthy English merchant who emigrated to Bordeaux. He was buried in the church of Saint-Pierre, to which he made an endowment in return for chantry prayers. The epitaph of his funerary slab, kept in the *musée lapidaire* of Bordeaux, reads 'Jean Scot, burgeys de Burdeux, et Cristiane, sa femme, gisent icy. Dieu, de lour almes, eit mercy': Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, pp. 134-35.

accomodatis, et de quibus quidem summis predictus constabularius oneratur supra sub titulo recepti denarii de mutuo, 1570 *li. nig.* per litteras patentes predictarum gencium de consilio domini regis in predicto dominio Aquitanie sigillo regio curie sue Vasconie sigillatas ac eciam per alias litteras patentes sigillo et contrasigillo quibus utitur Burdegale ad contractus sigillatas ubi continetur quod persone predictae de quibus summe predictae⁹⁹ mutuate fuerunt venerunt coram magistro Petro de Moderano custode et executore sigilli et contrasigilli predictorum et recognoverunt sibi de summis predictis per predictum constabularium fore solutis sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et solucionem Archibaldo de Grely¹⁰⁰ capitaneo de la Buche pro tot denariis per ipsum accomodatis ad opus regis ad solvendum maiori et juratis ville de Bourt et hominibus ad arma in eadem villa existentibus pro tuicione eiusdem ville et ad resistendum inimicis predictis in valore 300 *gyen.* auri, 500 *li. nig.*¹⁰¹ per predictas litteras gencium de consilio regis necnon per litteras ipsius Archibaldi de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 2070 *li. nig.*

EXPENSE¹⁰² FUNERALES PRO ANIMA EXCELLENTISSIME DOMINE MATRIS REGIS

Et in custubus et expensis funeralibus per ipsum constabularium factis pro anima excellentissime domine matris¹⁰³ domini regis infra tempus huius

⁹⁹ MS. *de quibus summe predictae* interlineated; *summe predictae* conjectured reading.

¹⁰⁰ Archambaud de Grailly, son of Pierre II de Grailly and Ayremburge of Périgord, was a leading citizen of Bordeaux and Capital de Buch in the time of Richard II. On 26 February 1374 war payments were made to a person of this name on mandate of the seneschal Thomas Felton: *AHG* 12.334. He was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine on 15 June 1379, and again in 1389 and 1392: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 246-47. In 1394 he led the resistance against the entry of the duke of Lancaster into Bordeaux. He became seneschal of Gascony in 1398, following Jean de Trailly, and he was succeeded as seneschal by Gaillard III de Durfort in 1399. Further see *CPR 1388-92*, p. 245; Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 262 (index); L. Gardeau, 'Pierre II de Grailly, capital de Buch, chevalier de la Jarretière (vers 1285 – vers 1356)', *RHB* N.S. 10 (1961) 157-61; idem, 'Possessions des Grailly et des St-Symphorien dans la région du Bazadais aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles', *RHB* N.S. 9 (1960) 159-67.

¹⁰¹ For other equivalents, see above, pp. 259, 263, 273 and below, pp. 297, 303.

¹⁰² The second scribal hand begins here, and ends below on our p. 281.

¹⁰³ Richard's mother was Joan, countess of Kent, 1328-85. Known as 'the fair maid of Kent', she was third child of Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent and sixth son of Edward I. William, earl of Salisbury, was defeated in his bid for Joan's hand by Thomas Holand, the steward of his household, who secured matrimonial rights over her by papal judgement. After Thomas Holand's death on 28 December 1360, Joan entered a clandestine love affair with Edward the Black Prince, and they were married on 10 October 1361. From July 1363 until January 1371 Joan was with the Black Prince in Aquitaine, where she bore him two sons: Edward of Angoulême (1365-70) and Richard of Bordeaux, afterwards Richard II. Joan died on 7 or 14 August 1385 at Wallingford Castle, but she was not buried until Richard's return from Scotland.

compoti ut in cera empta et expendita in torcheis cereis et mortario panno nigro empto et dato 2 pauperibus portantibus torcheas predictas et in distribucione pauperacionum ad orandum pro anima sua¹⁰⁴ et omnium fidelium defunctorum ac eciam in uno panno auri empto ad superponendum super herciam predicte domine qui quidem pannus et cera remanent penes fratres minores¹⁰⁵ ad orandum pro anima dicte domine prout moris est patrie, 60 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* per litteras predicti Johannis Harpeden senescalli de waranto sigillo regio curie sue Vasconie sigillatas necnon per testimonium predicti contrarotulatoris sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 60 *li.* 10 *s. nig.*

SUMMA TOTALIS LIBERACIONUM ET EXPENSARUM: 66,798 *li.* 10 *s.* 9 *d. nig.* Et habet de superplusagio 4094 *li.* 10 *s.* 7 *d. nig.* valentes 545 *li.* 18 *s.* 8 *d. ob.* qua *st.* Anglie. Et annotatur in retulo 10 in Adhuc Residuum London.¹⁰⁶

FRUMENTUM¹⁰⁷ RECEPTUM DE MUTUO PRO GUERRIS

Idem respondit de 60 doliis frumenti receptis de diversis personis subscriptis de mutuo pro vitelamento certarum villarum infra dominium Aquitanie tempore quo dux Burbonie et marescallus Francie et alii domini de Francia cum magno exercitu venerunt in dominium predictum ad villas et fortalicia ibidem obsidenda et capienda, videlicet de Johanne Carrers, Johanne de la Crane, Gerardo Rogey, et Angey de la Bay, 20 dolia frumenti precii cuiuslibet dolii 14 *gyen.* auri, de Sanbat de Vegnonche, Ramundo le Moysin, et Angey de les Bay, 10 dolia frumenti precii dolii ut supra, de Bernardo Salin', 10 dolia frumenti precii dolii ut supra, sicut continetur in litteris patentibus gencium de consilio regis Aquitannie sigillo regio curie sue Vasconie sigillatis et sub titulo recepti denarii ex mutuo supra allegatis et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 40 dolia frumenti.

De quibus.

Bordeaux would be an appropriate place for a requiem Mass for her soul, because of Richard's birth there and because of the city's peculiar attachment to the English crown at this point in history. Further see *DNB*; and above, p. 257.

¹⁰⁴ MS. *suus*.

¹⁰⁵ Joan's will ordered that her body be buried in the church of the friars minor at Stamford, where Richard II set up a monument to her memory, and it is possible that she held some partiality to the Franciscans. See *Victoria County History: Lincolnshire 2* (London, 1906), p. 228; and for the Franciscans in Bordeaux, see Lemaitre, 'Géographie historique des établissements de l'ordre de St-François en Aquitaine', 545.

¹⁰⁶ For this formula, see Tout, *Chapters* 4.224.

¹⁰⁷ The first hand resumes here and continues to our p. 284 below.

EXPENSE FRUMENTI PREDICTI

Idem constabularius liberavit maiori juratis et probis hominibus ville de Bourt per manus gencium de consilio regis in partibus Aquitanie apud Burdegalam existencium pro vitelamento eiusdem ville de Bourt tempore adventus dictorum inimicorum regis in dominium regis predictum et ibidem expendita, 20 dolia frumenti prout patet per litteras patentes dictorum¹⁰⁸ gencium de consilio regis et per testimonium predicti contrarotulatoris sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et maiori juratis et probis hominibus ville Sancti Emilionis pro vitalamento eiusdem ville per manus dictarum gencium de consilio regis et in eadem villa tempore predicto expendita prout patet per testimonium predicti contrarotulatoris necnon per litteras predictas, 20 dolia frumenti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa ut supra.

Et est quietus.¹⁰⁹

RECEPCIO VINORUM

Idem reddit compotum de 10 doliis vini provenientius de decima vinorum descendencium de patria Agen' que est de obediencia Francie ad portum Burdegale adductis in anno 6 regis huius remanentibus ibidem non venditis sicut continetur sub titulo decima vinorum Agen' eiusdem anni et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et de 23 doliis vini provenientius de exitibus vinearum Galahardi Vigerii rebellis regis eodem anno remanentibus ibidem non oneratis in precio sicut continetur sub titulo recepte bonorum rebellium eiusdem anni et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et de 4 doliis vini remanentibus non venditis provenientius de decima vinorum Agen' anno 10 sicut continetur sub titulo decima vinorum Agen' eiusdem anni et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 37 dolia vini.

De quibus.

EXITUS VINORUM PREDICTORUM

Item computat liberasse Thome Tyle¹¹⁰ pincerne regis pro expensis hospicii

¹⁰⁸ MS. *dictarum*.

¹⁰⁹ Signifies that this particular entry has been closed satisfactorily.

¹¹⁰ Thomas Tyle, former butler of Edward the Black Prince, was appointed chief butler of the king under letters patent of Richard II dated 12 November 1377: *CPR 1377-81*, p. 60. By letters patent of 19 November of the same year he was appointed to levy and collect for the king a toll of 2 s. per tun on wines imported by merchants of various foreign ports, including Aquitaine: *CPR 1377-81*, p. 67. Letters close dated 28 June 1386 mention an order under letters patent of 23 June 1385 granting Tyle two pipes of red Gascon wine yearly at Christmas 'for good service to the king's father and to the king after his coronation': *CCR 1385-89*, p. 159.

eiusdem domini regis 10 dolia vini per breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario suo Anglie directum datum 13 die Julii anno 10 quod est inter communia de termino Sancti Michelis anno 11 et per indenturam inter ipsum constabularium et dictum Thomam inde confectam sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. De quibus quidem 10 doliis vini predictus Thomas est responsurus. Et respondit infra. Et liberavit Johanni de Gedeney ad adducendum in Angliam pro expensis hospicii eiusdem domini regis 23 dolia vini per breve regis de privato sigillo datum 20 die Novembris anno 6 dicto constabulario inde directum et per indenturam inde inter ipsum constabularium et dictum Johannem Gedeney inde confectam sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. De quibus quidem 23 doliis vini predictus Johannes Gedeney est responsurus. Et respondit infra. Et liberavit eidem Johanni de Gedeney succedenti constabulario ibidem 4 dolia vini per indenturam contentam inter staurum mortuum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. De quibus quidem 4 doliis vini predictus Johannes est responsurus. Et respondit inde inter dictum staurum mortuum.

Summa ut supra.

Et est quietus.

ORNAMENTA CAPELLE¹¹¹ ET STAURUM MORTUUM

Idem respondit quapropter de diversis particulis diversarum rerum subscriptarum remanencium in castro Burdegale, videlicet in capella dicti castri de uno calice argenteo et deaurato, 4 toalliis, 3 vestimentis unde unum novum de panno serico albo et palleo cum amita, 1 alba, 1 stola, 1 fanon et 1 casula, et aliud vestimentum vetus cum apparamentis ut supra, et tercium vestimentum vetus de panno serico cheketo et lineato continens 1 amitam, 1 albam, 1 stolam, 1 fannilam, 1 casulam cum 2 dalmaticis et 1 capam de eodem panno, 2 toalliis pro manibus tergendis, uno corporali incluso in panno veteri de rubio velveto, 1 pixide de stanno pro corpore Christi, 1 crucifixo de eodem metallo, 1 frontali ante altare de panno serico, et 1 frontali super altare de eodem panno, 1 magno missali quod dominus¹¹² de Neville locum tenens Aquitanie habuit in custodia sua,¹¹³ 2 legendis unde 1 de temporali et alia sanctorum de usu curie Romane, 1 gradali parvo, 1 libro antiphonario notato, 1 pulvunari ad ponendum sub libro, 1 panno de panno serico ad ponendum super ambonem, 1 candelibro veteri, 1 pari incensatorum modici valoris, 1 parva campana, 2 fiolis, 1 parvo crucifixo in pergameno. Item in camera constabularii 1 cista Flandrie, 1 candelabro ferri, 1 cista Flandrie et 2 aliis cistis, 1 coffra veteri ligata de ferro, 1 libro scripto de

¹¹¹ For particular discussion of these ornaments, see above, pp. 253-57.

¹¹² MS. *quod tenet dominus*, with *tenet* underlined.

¹¹³ MS. *habuit ... sua* interlineated.

pergamenno vocato livre noir,¹¹⁴ 1 libro rubio de papiro vocato livre rouge,¹¹⁵ 4 libris extractis de thesauro Anglie de diversis memorandis tangentibus principatum Aquitanie titula[tis] A B C D,¹¹⁶ 9 quaternis cum dimidio de pergamenno extractis de libro titulato per A pro copia facienda, 1 registro de diversis donacionibus libertatibus et concessionibus factis per regem Anglie, 22 quaternis in pergamenno de diversis donacionibus et memorandis, 9 quaternis de actibus curie Vasconie. Item in magno solari 13 magnis peciis plumbi vocatis dalphyns, 1 sigillo argenteo vocato sigillum curie superioritatis Acquitanie,¹¹⁷ 4 petris d'alabastre de provisione Willelmi Loryng. Et¹¹⁸ de 8 doliis vini provenientius de terris domini Galahardi Vigerii, 23 doliis vini de terris que fuerunt quondam Johannis Columby et 10 doliis vini de terris domini de Stanks inimici et rebellis regis que quidem 10¹¹⁹ dolia vini ad instanciam Guillelmi Maigner, Petri Reymund' de Missan, et Reymundi Fabri burgensium Burdegale asserencium se ius habere in eisdem in et sub manu iudicis curie Vasconie extiterunt sequestrata quousque per sentenciam discussum fuerit ad quem huiusmodi vina debuerunt pertinere sicut continetur in quadam indentura data 5 die Octobris anno domini 1381 inter ipsum Willelmum et magistrum Petrum de Moderano et Johannem de Gedeney clericum locum tenentes predicti Johannis de Stratton confecta. Et de stauo mortuo per ipsum Johannem de Stratton infra castrum predictum invento ultra res supradictas, videlicet uno corporali de panno lineo de Reynes, uno pixide de ebore, et una cista veteri in camera que est iuxta scaccarium. De quibus.

EXITUS DICTORUM ORNAMENTORUM ET STAURI MORTUI

Idem computat in perusitacione 1 pannum de panno serico ad ponendum super ambonem et 1 candelabrum vetus sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et expendit in predictis operibus castri predicti infra dictum tempus huius compoti 5 pecias plumbi vocatas dalfyns sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et in vendicione causa magna necessitatis guerre tempore quo dux

¹¹⁴ See *MS 36* (1974) 241 n. 31 and 253 n. 90.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*, 253-54 n. 91.

¹¹⁶ See *ibid.*, 254 n. 92; and Cuttino, introduction to *Gascon Register A* 1.xv-xvii.

¹¹⁷ A seal for the *curia superioritatis* had been sent from England, but the ship carrying it was sunk. Very soon, however, a seal in silver was engraved in Gascony for the *curia*, and the constable is responsible for it both in Stratton's account and in Gedeney's. By 1401 it was in the care of one of the judges of the *curia*, under which arrangement it stayed until the fall of Bordeaux in 1453. This seal was used only for judicial matters, in contrast to the seal of the *curia Vasconie*. See above, p. 241 and below, pp. 297-98.

¹¹⁸ The third scribal hand begins here, and finishes the account of Stratton.

¹¹⁹ *MS. 10* interlineated.

Burbonie et marescallus Francie cum eorum exercitu fuerunt in dominio Aquitanie 8 pecias plumbi vocatas dalfyns ponderantes 45 quintallos de quarum precio idem constabularius onerat se supra in recepta denarii sicut supra continetur et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et in vendicione de predictis vinis receptis de predicto magistro Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario per indenturam 8 dolia vini de quorum precio similiter onerat se supra in dicta recepta denarii sicut supra continetur et sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et in vendicione super compotum per auditorem 33 dolia vini que similiter recepit de predicto magistro Willelmo Loryng nuper constabulario per indenturam predictam unde 23 dolia fuerunt de firma terrarum tenementorum vinearum et reddituum que fuerunt dicti Johannis Columby et 10 dolia fuerunt de exitibus terrarum dicti Gailhardi de Preissaco militis olim domini de Stanks de quorum precio idem constabularius oneratur supra in dicta recepta denarii sicut supra continetur ac eciam in dicto libro ipsius constabularii de particulis. Et liberavit predicto Johanni Gedeney succedenti constabulario ibidem unum calicem argenteum et deauratum, 4 toallia, 3 vestimenta unde unum perusitatum de panno serico albo et paleo cum amita 1 alba 1 stola 1 fanona et 1 casula, et aliud vestimentum vetus et perusitatum cum apparamentis ut supra, et tercium vestimentum vetus de panno serico cheketo et lineato continens 1 amitam 1 albam 1 stolam 1 fanulam 1 casulam cum 2 dalmaticis et 1 capam de eodem, 2 toallas pro manibus tergendis, 1 corporale inclusum in panno veteri de rubio velveto, unum aliud corporale de panno lineo de Reynes inventum, 1 pixidem de stanno de corpore Christi, 1 crucifixum de eodem¹²⁰ metallo, 1 pixidem de ebore, 1 frontale ante altare de panno serico et 1 frontale super altare de eodem panno, 1 magnum missale, 2 legendas unde 1 de temporali et alia sanctorum de usu curie Romane, 1 gradale parvum, 1 librum antiphonarum notatum, 1 pulvinare ad ponendum sub libro, 1 par incensatorum modici valoris, 1 parvam campanam, 2 fiolas, 1 parvum crucifixum in pergamenio. Item in camera constabularii 1 cistam Flandrie, 1 candelabrum ferri, 1 cistam Flandrie et 2 alias cistas, 1 coffram veterem ligatam de ferro, 1 librum scriptum de pergamenio vocatum livre noir, 1 librum rubium de papiro vocatum livre rouge, 4 libros extractos de thesauro Anglie de diversis memorandis tangentibus principatum Aquitanie titulatis per A B C D, 9 quaternos cum dimidio de pergamenio extractos de libro titulato per A pro copia facienda, 1 registrum de diversis donacionibus libertatibus et concessionibus factis per regem Anglie, 22 quaternos in pergamenio de diversis donacionibus et memorandis, 9 papiros de actibus curie Vasconie, 1 sigillum argenteum vocatum sigillum curie superioritatis

¹²⁰ MS. *uno eodem* with *uno* underlined and *eodem* interlineated.

Aquitanie. Item in magno selari 4 dolia vini precii cuiuslibet dolii 12 francarum, 4 petras d'alabastre. Item in camera que prope scaccarium unam cistam veterem, per breve regis de waranto datum predicto¹²¹ 5 die Aprilis anno 10 et per indenturam inter eos inde confectam. De quibus quidem calice toailliis vestimentis et aliis ornamentis et rebus predictis idem Johannes Gedeney constabularius dicti castri Burdegale est responsurus. Et respondit infra.

Et est quietus.

Willelmus le Scrope chivaler nuper senescallus ducatus Aquitanie debet respondere de 5375 *li. nig.* valentibus 716 *li. 13 s. 4 d. st.* Anglie receptis de predicto nuper constabulario super vadia et riguarda hominum ad arma et sagittariorum cum eodem Willelmo morancium super defensione domini predicti sicut supra continetur, sed non debet summam de 666 *li. 13 s. 4 d.* inde eo quod idem Willelmus respondit inde in compoto suo in rotulo 7 regis huius rotulo compotorum. Et debet 50 *li.* Et respondit in rotulo¹²² 12 regis huius in Adhuc Item Ebor'.¹²³

Thomas Tyle nuper pincerna domini regis debet de 10 doliis vini receptis de predicto nuper constabulario per indenturam sicut supra continetur, sed non debet inde summam eo quod Willelmus de Pakyngton¹²⁴ custos garderobe hospicii regis respondit in opere de receptis liberatis et expensis in eadem garderoba factis ab ultimo die Septembris anno 6 usque ultimum diem Septembris anno 7 sicut continetur in libro de particulis compoti predicti in custodiam rememoratoris¹²⁵ regis existente sub titulo recepta forinseca.

Et est quietus.

Johannes Gedeney¹²⁶ de 23 doliis vini receptis de predicto nuper constabulario in una particula per indenturam sicut supra continetur.

¹²¹ MS. *predicto* interlineated.

¹²² This is the Pipe Roll of the exchequer.

¹²³ MS. *Et ... Ebor'* is in another and faded ink.

¹²⁴ William de Pakington, since 1364 a clerk of the Black Prince, became general receiver of the Black Prince's widow (Joan of Kent) upon his death. In 1377 Pakington entered Richard's household as keeper of the wardrobe. On 6 January 1381 he was also appointed chancellor of the exchequer, and later the same year he was granted that office for life. He retained both of these posts until his death on 25 July 1390. A king's clerk, his various ecclesiastical preferments included the archdeaconry of Canterbury, deanery of the king's free chapel of Stafford, a prebend of Tamworth and the deanery of St. Martin's le Grand. See Perroy, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, nos. 8, 68; Tout, *Chapters* 3.462 and 4.191-95; *CPR 1377-81*, p. 792; *CPR 1385-88*, p. 694; and *CPR 1388-92*, p. 681.

¹²⁵ The remembrancer was a sort of archivist or keeper of accounts, and was under the direction of the constable. Further see above, p. 262 and below, p. 298.

¹²⁶ Blank spaces of about one inch in length are left at these points after these words in these three places of Stratton's account, presumably for the verbs that would complete the record of Gedeney's actions.

Idem Johannes de Gedeney constabularius Burdegale¹²⁶ de 4 doliis vini receptis de predicto Johanne de Stratton domino de Landirans nuper constabulario in alia particula per indenturam inter staurum mortuum sicut supra continetur.

Idem Johannes de Gedeney constabularius Burdegale¹²⁶ de uno calice argenteo et deaurato, 4 toalliis, 3 vestimentis et aliis diversis rebus receptis de predicto nuper constabulario per indenturam predictam sicut supra continetur.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ End of the second parchment membrane, end of the third hand, and end of Stratton's account.

[GEDENEYE]

P.S.

FORINSECUM COMPOTUM DE ANNO 16

De Receptis Et Expensis In Officio Constabularii Burdegale

A 5 Die Aprilis Anno 10 Usque 4 Diem Septembris Anno 14:

Per Johannem Gedeneye¹

BURDEGALA²

Compotus Johannis de Gedeneye cui rex Ricardus secundus per breve suum patens³ de magno sigillo datum 26 die Decembris anno 10 super hunc compotum liberatum commisit custodiam castri sui Burdegale et officium constabularii ibidem habendo quamdiu regi placuerit, percipiendo in eodem officio vadia et feoda ad illud pertinencia, ita quod de exitibus inde regi respondeat ad scaccarium suum, et cui idem dominus rex per aliud breve suum patens⁴ de eodem sigillo datum 12 die Augusti anno 11 super hunc compotum similiter liberatum concessit quod ipse dictum officium eodem modo quo illud tunc habuit per tres annos tunc proximo futuros haberet et occuparet absque hoc⁵ quod ab inde aliquialiter amoveretur, ita tamen quod bene et fideliter se gereret in officio antedicto, per aliud breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus de scaccario directum datum quarto die Januarii anno 16 quod est inter communia de termino Sancti Hillarii eodem anno et irrotulatum eodem termino rotulo secundo per quod rex mandavit eisdem quod in dicto compoto allocari faciant eidem Johanni nuper constabulario Burdegale per sacramentum suum et per testimonium contrarotulatoris ibidem omnes soluciones quas eis constare poterit quod fecit rationabiliter virtute sufficiencium warantarum locum tenentis senescalli et gubernatoris existencium in partibus Aquitannie, videlicet computando a quinto die mensis Aprilis dicto anno 10 usque quartum diem mensis Septembris anno 14 quo tempore exoneratus fuit de officio predicto ac eciam allocari faciant eidem Johanni per dictum sacramentum suum et per testimonium dicti contrarotulatoris soluciones per ipsum factas Johanni de Harpedenn tunc senescallo dicte patrie Aquitannie ut de feodis et vadiis ad

¹ The preceding section is placed upside down at the end of Gedeney's account, as a title on the flap.

² The fourth hand begins here, and continues throughout Gedeney's account. The scribe's intended grammatical sense in the following paragraph is not entirely clear.

³ RV 99, m. 6.

⁴ RV 100, m. 11; cf. *CPR 1385-89*, p. 350.

⁵ MS. *hoc* interlineated.

dictum officium pertinentibus et ad alios officarios ordinarios et ad certos barones annuitates super dictum castrum Burdegale habentes, proviso semper quod si constare poterit eisdem thesaurario et baronibus per sacramentum ipsius Johannis nuper constabularii quod per concordiam inter ipsum et dictum Johannem Harpedenn et alios officarios et barones predictos idem constabularius solvit eisdem seu alicui eorum minorem summam quam feoda vadia et annuitates predicta se extendunt quod dictus nuper constabularius non habeat allocationem in compoto suo predicto nisi de summis per ipsum sic solutis, videlicet de receptis et expensis suis in officio predicto per visum et testimonium Thome Lumbard contrarotulatoris regis ibidem a predicto quinto die Aprilis anno 10 ante quem diem Johannes de Stratton dominus de Landirans nuper constabularius ibidem alias inde computavit rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum usque supradictum quartum diem Septembris anno 14 per tres annos 21 septimanas et 5 dies ad quod tempus dictus Johannes Gedeney nuper constabularius exoneratus fuit de officio predicto virtute dicti brevis regis de privato sigillo superius annotati et rex dedit et concessit carissimo avunculo Johanni duci Lancastrie⁶ nomen ducis Aquitannie et omnia proficua ad ducatum predictum pertinencia habenda ad terminum vite sue salvo domino regi tum regi Francie recto dominio superioritate et resorto ducatus predicti sicut continetur in litteris regis patentibus⁷ prefatis baronibus constabulario et omnibus subditis dicti ducatus directis datis secundo die Marci anno 14 quarum transcriptum super hunc compotum liberatur.

Idem reddit compotum de 84 *li.* 12 *s.* 4 *d. nig.* de redditu assiso librorum tenencium in civitate Burdegale et villa de Leyburna infra ducatum predictum pro diversis domibus terris et feodis que de rege tenentur ad terminos Pasche, Decollacionis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, Sancti Michelis, Sancti Severini, Sancti Martini, Natalis Domini, et Sancti Thome Martiris accidentes infra tempus huius compoti computatis 7 *d. ob. nig. gven.* pro qua *d. Anglie* sicut continetur⁸ in libro predicti constabularii ac eciam in libro predicti contrarotulatoris de particulis in thesauro liberatis. De annuo redditu 32 *li.* 12 *s.* 8 *d. nig.*

⁶ John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster and second oldest son of Edward III; see above, pp. 240-42.

⁷ Rymer, *Foedera* 3/4.53-54; *AMB* 1 (1867) 224-27 and cf. 230-32. In May 1388, John of Gaunt had been appointed as king's lieutenant in Aquitaine. Then, in an instrument under the great seal dated 2 March 1390, the 'duchy' of Aquitaine was conferred upon him. Made for the totality of his life, it conferred upon Gaunt privileges similar to those formerly held in Aquitaine by the Black Prince; only *dominium*, *superioritas* and *resortum* were reserved to the king. All local rights were transferred to Gaunt: to coin money, to confer titles of nobility, to appoint and revoke public officials, to pardon offenders, to confer privileges and to draw the revenues of the duchy into his own exchequer. As with the Black Prince, the obligation to defray all expenses of the duchy was placed upon Gaunt. Upon his death, the duchy was to revert to the crown. See also Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*.

⁸ MS. *continetur* repeated.

habitatorum ville de Leyburna pro tenementis et placeis que tenent de domino rege in eadem villa non respondit eo quod dominus Johannes de Neville nuper locum tenens regis in ducatu Aquitannie dedit et concessit dictum redditum Geraldo preposito dicte ville ad terminum vite ipsius Geraldi adhuc superstitis per warantum ipsius nuper locum tenentis in compoto Ricardi Rotour nuper constabularii ibidem allegatum et allocatum rotulo 4 rotulo compotorum ac eciam in compoto dicti Johannis Stratton domini de Landirans nuper constabularii ibidem post dictum Ricardum rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 84 *li.* 12 *s.* 4 *d. nig.*

Et de 1984 *li.* 12 *s.* 6 *d. nig.* tam de redditibus diversorum hospiciorum et shoparum quam de exitibus et proficuis diversorum prepositurarum ballivarum officiorum et quorundam aliorum terrarum et tenementorum ad predictum castrum regis Burdegale pertinencium una cum exitibus sigilli curie Vasconie per predictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in predictis libris de particulis. De aliquibus exitibus unius hospicii cum shopis subtus magnam turrin castri Burdegale scituatis quod Robertus Lincoln' scissor pannorum nuper tenuit, unius hospicii cum shopis subtus novam turrin castri predicti in vico Peytenyno scituatis quod Johannes Barneby scissor pannorum nuper tenuit, unius hospicii cum shopa ibidem quod Johannes Bulnerie nuper tenuit, unius shope subtus murum castri Burdegale prope Umbrariam quam Forcius Austence nuper tenuit, unius shope prope portam communem castri predicti versus partem australem scituate quam magister Elyas Lamberti nuper tenuit, prepositure Umbrarie Burdegale nuper assensate domino de Fargiis, custume vocate isak, vinorum in villa Burdegale ad tabernam venditorum, prepositure de Inter Duo Maria, quarte partis fori Burdegale cum vicaria et prepositura eiusdem, scribanie curie Vasconie, prepositure Aquensis, prepositure Sancti Severi, ballivarum de Touloset et Sancti Mauricii, ballive de la Bourt, terrarum et ballive de Marensino in Landis seu terrarum et tenementorum que fuerunt Bernardi Bruterii rebellis, non respondit ob diversas donaciones inde diversis personis ad huc superstitibus ad terminum vite earundem ante tempus huius compoti per regem et suum locum tenentes factas sicut continetur in predictis libris ipsorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis. Nec respondit de exitibus unius shope situate subtus quandam turrin castri predicti versus pontem Sancti Johannis Jerosolam⁹ quam Petrus de Gardela cambiator nuper tenuit, seu ballive de Cauberton¹⁰ a quarto die Octobris anno 11, seu deinceps

⁹ See *MS* 36 (1974) 238 n. 16.

¹⁰ Probably Caudéran (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Bordeaux).

eo quod Thomas Mewe¹¹ et Johannes Waryn¹² valetti camere regis ad huc superstites habent shopam¹³ predictam et Garcius Arnaud de Salies ad huc superstes habet¹⁴ ballivam predictam ad terminum vite eorum de dono regis¹⁵ sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Nec respondit de aliquibus proficuis pontis de Mixta et de Meos et coste maris, guydonagii vaccarum veniencium ad partes Landarum tempore yemis de partibus Arragonie et Navarre ad pascendum in pastura ibidem, seu columbaris infra castrum Burdegale per tempus huius compoti eo quod nullum proficuum inde recepit vel recepisce potuit causis in dictis libris de particulis contentis ut dicitur per sacramentum suum et per testimonium predicti contrarotulatoris.

Summa: 1984 *li.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* *nig.*

MAGNA CUSTUMA VINORUM ET MELLIS

Et de 22,495 *li.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* *ob. nig.* receptis de magna custuma vinorum et mellis infra predictum castrum Burdegale custumatorum infra dictum tempus huius compoti una cum custuma killagii ibidem sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et in 8 grossis papiris ipsorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis similiter in thesauro liberatis. De aliqua custuma vinorum et mellis in portu Leyburne seu custume vocate la gauge in dicto castro Burdegale non respondit ob causas annotatas in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 22,495 *li.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* *ob. nig.*

DECIMA VINORUM

Et de 724 *li.* *nig.* receptis de decima vinorum descendencium de¹⁶ obediencia Francie usque Burdegalam infra predictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et in papiris predictis.

Summa: 724 *li.* *nig.*

¹¹ One Thomas Mewe, groom of the king's chamber, was granted various properties in Kent in 1384 and 1385: *CPR 1381-85*, pp. 460, 525.

¹² One John Waryn, yeoman of the late Queen Anne's chamber, was granted an annuity for life by the king under letters patent of 24 April 1394: *CPR 1391-96*, p. 421. Tout (*Chapters* 5.264) notes a John Waryn who was the tailor to Richard II's second wife Isabella.

¹³ Richard II on 20 August 1387 under letters close granted for life to Thomas Mewe and John Waryn, yeomen of the king's chamber, 'a basement shop under a tower in the castle of Bordeaux, which used to serve as an exchange and which does not exceed the yearly value of 9½ marks': *CCR 1385-89*, p. 347. These two yeomen seem to have been closely associated, for the king on 28 September of the same year made another grant to them jointly, this time in London: *CCR 1385-89*, p. 356.

¹⁴ MS. *habent*.

¹⁵ By writ of privy seal dated 26 August 1386: RV 99, m. 7.

¹⁶ MS. *et*

VENDITA ET REVENDITA

Et de 380 *li. nig.* receptis de venditis et revenditis in civitate Burdegale per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in predictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 380 *li. nig.*

FINES REDEMPCIONES ET PERQUISICIONES

Et de 1455 *li. nig.* receptis de diversis finibus et condempnacionibus in ducatu predicto infra dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 1455 *li. nig.*

CONFISCACIONES

Et de 1276 *li. 12 s. 6 d. nig.* receptis de diversis bonis et catallis confiscatis infra ducatum predictum per dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 1276 *li. 12 s. 6 d. nig.*

MONETAGIUM AURI ET ARGENTI

Et de 937 *li. 13 s. 9 d. nig.* de proficuo proveniente de monetagio¹⁷ auri et argenti fabricati et facti in civitate Burdegale per tempus huius compoti receptis de Benducho Avansak magistro monetario auri et argenti in civitate predicta per 4 indenturas inter ipsum constabularium et dictum magistrum inde factas et super hunc compotum liberatas sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 937 *li. 13 s. 9 d. nig.*

FOCAGIUM¹⁸

Et de 1331¹⁹ *li. 5 s. nig.* receptis de quodam subsidio vocato focagium tam de qualibet domo ubi focus fieri solet quam de aliis habentibus hereditatem infra preposituram predictam de Inter Duo Maria qua francis valentibus 25 *s. nig.* domino regi in auxilium guerre sue ibidem sustentandum concessis infra preposituram predictam ad resistendum inimicis regis et obsidium faciendum circa locum castrum fortalicium de Monntroch²⁰ existentem infra prepositu-

¹⁷ MS. *manitagio*.

¹⁸ This is the *fouage*, or hearth-tax. See above, p. 240.

¹⁹ MS. *MCCCCXXI*, probably scribal error for *MCCCCXXII*; see below, n. 21.

²⁰ Montarouch, area within Entre-Deux-Mers; cf. Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, p. 208 n. 1; and below, p. 303.

ram predictam infra dictum tempus huius compoti sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 1431²¹ *li. 5 s. nig.*

EXITUS ET PROFICUA LOCI ET DOMINII DE URNONA²²

Et de 237 *li. nig.* receptis de exitibus et proficuis loci et dominii de Urnona infra tempus huius compoti tam in precio vini quam frumenti et siliginis per indenturam inter dominum Willelmum Scrope senescallum Aquitannie et dictum nuper constabularium factam recepcionem predictam testificantem sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 237 *li. nig.*

CASTRUM DE FRONSACO²³

Et de 524 *li. 6 s. 6 d. nig.* receptis de certis vinis redditibus et aliis proficuis provenientibus de exitibus castri regis de Fronsaco per manus Thome Percy²⁴ capitanei castri predicti, videlicet a 23 die Maii anno domini 1388 et anno regni regis Ricardi secundi 12 [usque] ultimum diem Augusti anno domini 1390 per unum annum et unum quartum anni infra tempus huius compoti accidentes prout patet per compotum dicti Thome Percy coram dicto nuper constabulario redditum²⁵ virtute brevis regis de privato sigillo eidem constabulario inde directi et super hunc compotum liberati sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 524 *li. 6 s. 6 d. nig.*

²¹ MS. *MCCCCXXI*; see above, n. 19. The latter of these figures is probably correct, as the sum of all receipts only totals correctly if the *fouage* is figured at 1431 *li. 5 s.* See below, p. 294.

²² Ornon (*dép. Gironde, arr. Bordeaux*).

²³ Fronsac (*dép. Gironde, arr. Libourne*). Richard II stipulated in his grant of Aquitaine to John of Gaunt that Fronsac could never be alienated: *AMB* 1 (1867) 226. For this castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 137.

²⁴ Thomas Percy, 1345-1403, was second son of Henry, third Baron Percy of Alnwick. Thomas Percy served under John of Gaunt, was left in charge of Poitiers and Saintonge in 1371, and marched with Jean de Grailly to the relief of Saint-Sève in 1372. In 1377 he served with Geoffrey Chaucer on mission to Flanders, and in following years he served on numerous other missions to France. In 1388 he succeeded William le Scrope as keeper of the king's castle of Fronsac. In 1390 he was made vice-chamberlain to the king, in which office he was himself succeeded by William le Scrope in 1393. In 1394 he was appointed seneschal of the royal household, and in 1397 he was made earl of Worcester. Further see *DNB*; Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*; Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*, especially p. 255; E. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, eds., *John of Gaunt's Register 1379-1383*, 2 vols. (Camden Third Series 56; London, 1937), nos. 258, 950, 951, and p. 417; Perroy, *Diplomatic Correspondence of Richard II*, nos. 120, 126, 134 (note), 135 (note), 151, 198; Tout, *Chapters*; J. H. Ramsay, *The Genesis of Lancaster*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1913), 2.432-33 (index).

²⁵ MS. *reditu*.

ONERATA SUPER COMPOTUM DE ANTIQUO DEBITO INSTALLATA

Et de 500 *li. nig.* de precio 400 francarum auri oneratis super compotum de illis 700 francis auri in quibus heredes Petri Caynak' nuper burgensis Burdegale defuncti condempnati fuerunt ad solvendum domino per sentenciam datam in curia Vasconie pro tanta summa per ipsum Petrum cuidam rebello in ultimo testamento suo legato ad solvendum inde 100 francas per annum ad festum Sancti Michelis primo termino dicte solucionis incipiente in festo Sancti Michelis anno domini 1384 et anno regni regis nunc 8 sicut continetur in anno tercio et in aliis annis sequentibus particularum compoti Johannis de Stratton domini de Landirans nuper constabularii ibidem inmediate ante dictum Johannem Gedeneye nuper constabularium, et de quibus 700 francis dictus Johannes de Stratton onerat se per testimonium contrarotulatoris sui de 300 frankis pro tribus festis Sancti Michelis accidentibus infra tempus compoti sui, scilicet in annis dicti regis 8, 9, et 10, et supradicte 400 france superius onerate remanserunt ibidem ad solvendum in 4 annis tunc proximo sequentibus que hic onerantur pro festis Sancti Michelis annis 11, 12, et 13 accidentibus infra tempus huius compoti et pro festo Sancti Michelis anno 14 accidente quasi in fine huius compoti sicut continetur in dicto libro ipsius constabularii de particulis.

Summa: 500 *li. nig.*

VENDICIO VINORUM

Et de 60 *li. nig.* receptis de 4 doliis vini venditis que quidem dolia vini recepit de predicto Johanne de Stratton domino de Landirans nuper constabulario ibidem per indenturam sicut continetur inferius inter mortuum staurum, precii dolii 15 *li. nig.*, et sicut continetur in dictis libris ipsorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris de particulis.

Summa: 60 *li. nig.*

SUMMA TOTALIS RECEPTARUM: 32,090 *li.* 6 *s.* 6 *d. ob. nig.* valentes 4278 *li.*²⁶ 14 *s.*²⁷ 2 *d.*²⁸ *ob. st. Anglie.*

EXPENSE CAPELLE ET SCACCARII INFRA CASTRUM REGIS BURDEGALE

Idem computat in torcheis cereis, minutis candelis et aliis diversis necessariis emptis pro divino servicio in capella predicti castri regis Burdegale una cum

²⁶ MS. *li.* interlineated.

²⁷ MS. *s.* interlineated.

²⁸ MS. *d.* interlineated.

vadiis et robis cuiusdam capellani in eadem capella divina celebrantis necnon in pergamento incausto cera papiris et aliis necessariis officia dictorum constabularii et contrarotulatoris concernentibus similiter emptis et expensis a predicto quinto die Aprilis anno 10 usque predictum quartum diem Septembris anno 14 per tres annos 21 septimanas et 5 dies, 253 *li.* 2 *s.* 2 *d. ob. nig.* dicto capellano capiente per diem 22 *d. ob. nig.* valentes 3 *d. st.* Anglie et pro roba sua per annum 7 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* valentes 20 *s. st.* Anglie per breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum et in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per testimonium contrarotulatoris ibidem ac eciam per litteras Johannis Lytill' capellani ibidem de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris ipsorum collectoris et contrarotulatoris de particulis in thesauro liberatis et prout huiusmodi expense vadia et robe allocantur in compoto Johannis de Stratton domini de Landirans nuper constabularii ibidem rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum. Summa: 253 *li.* 2 *s.* 2 *d. ob. nig.*

FEODA ET VADIA OFFICIARIORUM ORDINARIORUM

Et computat solucionem Johanni Harpeden militi senescallo predicti ducatus Aquitanie percipienti 500 *li. st.* Anglie valoris 3750 *li. nig.* per annum pro vadiis et feodis suis, in persolucionem dictorum vadiorum et feodorum suorum a predicto quinto die Aprilis anno 10 usque 25 diem Junii anno 13 per duos annos 11 septimanas et 4 dies, 8344 *li.* 15 *s.* 7 *d. ob. nig.* per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum datum 4 die Januarii anno 16 et in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per testimonium contrarotulatoris predicti et per litteras ipsius Johannis de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi feoda et vadia allocantur in dicto compoto predicti Johannis de Stratton dicto rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum. Et Johanni Trayly²⁹ gubernatori senescalcie predictae percipienti consimilia vadia et feoda per annum in officio predicto, videlicet in partem solucionis dictorum vadiorum et feodorum a 26 die Junii anno domini 1389 et anno regni regis nunc 13 usque predictum quartum diem Septembris anno 14, 876 *li.* 5 *s. nig.* per litteras ducis Lancastrie locum tenentis regis Aquitanie de waranto dicto constabulario inde directas datas 17 die Octobris dicto anno 13 et per litteras dicti Johannis Trayly de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

²⁹ Jean de Traily, mayor of Bordeaux, served as interim governor of the duchy from 25 June 1389 to 4 September 1390 under appointment of John of Gaunt. In this post he followed seneschal John Harpeden and preceded William le Scrope's second term as seneschal. Then, in 1393, he himself was named seneschal. In this post he now followed Scrope and was succeeded in 1398 by Archambaud de Grailly. Further see Dupont-Ferrier, *Gallia Regia* 3.436; and *CCR 1389-92*, pp. 227, 393, 436. For the office of mayor, see *MS 37* (1975) 53 n. 54; and Renouard, *Bordeaux sous les rois d'Angleterre*, pp. 443-44.

Et eidem constabulario percip[pi]enti pro vadiis suis 4 s. *st.* Anglie valentes 30 s. *nig.* per diem et pro robis suis et clericorum suorum ratione dicti officii sui 14 *li. st.* Anglie valentes 105 *li. nig.* per annum in persolucionem dictorum vadiorum et robarum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 2221 *li.* 14 s. 9 d. *nig.* per dictas litteras regis de magno sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatas sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi vadia et robe allocantur dicto Johanni de Stratton domino de Landirans nuper constabulario ibidem in predicto compoto suo dicto rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum. Et Thome Lombard contrarotulatori in dicto castro Burdegale percipienti pro vadiis suis 2 s. *st.* Anglie valoris 15 s. *nig.* per diem ac eciam 60 *li. nig.* pro robis suis per annum ratione officii sui predicti in persolucionem dictorum vadiorum et robarum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 1141 *li.* 9 s. *ob. nig.* per breve regis constabulario ibidem qui pro tempore fuerit directum datum primo die Julii anno tercio penes ipsum contrarotulatorem remanens et annotatum et allocatum in dicto compoto Johannis de Stratton nuper constabularii dicto rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi vadia et robe allocantur eidem Thome causa dicti officii sui in dicto compoto ipsius de Stratton nuper constabularii. Et eidem Thome Lombard cui Willelmus le Scrope nuper senescallus Aquitanie per litteras suas patentes datas sub sigillo officii 29 die Septembris anno 7 constabulario Burdegale qui pro tempore fuerit directas in dicto compoto Johannis de Stratton allocatas considerans caristiam victualium apud Burdegalam et in partibus vicinis causa guerre necnon magnos sumptus et labores quod dictum contrarotulatorem et clericos suos facere oportet et sustentare ob causam dicti officii per avisamentum ordinacionem et assensum consilii regii apud Burdegalam existentis concessit 100 francas auri per annum de regardo speciali ultra feoda et vadia in officio predicto consueta durante guerra percipiendas per manus constabularii qui pro tempore fuerit de exitibus et revencionibus castri predicti quousque dominus rex pro competenti regardo eidem contrarotulatori aliter duxerit ordinandum, scilicet in persolucionem dicti regardi per dictum tempus huius compoti, 427 *li.* 10 s. 7 d. *ob. nig.* virtute dictarum litterarum de waranto sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et eidem Thome Lombard contrarotulatori cui debebantur 439 *li. nig.* de arreragiis sibi aretro existentibus de tempore predicti Johannis de Stratton nuper constabularii Burdegale prout patet per litteras ipsius³⁰ Johannis sigillo suo sigillatas ratione officii sui contrarotulatoris, scilicet in persolucionem summe predictae, 439 *li. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo datum 6 die Octobris anno 11 regis nunc prefato Johanni Gedeneye nuper constabulario directum de solucione facienda de arreragiis predictis et per acquietanciam ipsius Thome sicut continetur in dictis libris de

³⁰ MS. *ipsius* repeated.

particulis. Et magistro Reymundo Guillelmi de Podio³¹ bacallario in decretis uni 4 presidencium et iudicum curie superioritatis Aquitanie³² et consiliariorum domini regis in eisdem partibus percipienti 300 *gyen*. auri valentes 375 *li. nig.*³³ ac eciam 100 francas de incremento valentes 125 *li. nig.* per annum pro vadiis et feodis suis, Bernardo abbati Sancti Severi³⁴ alteri iudicum curie superioritatis Aquitanie percipienti 200 francas auri per annum, venerabili patri Roberto Waldeby³⁵ episcopo Adurensi³⁶ in sancta theologia³⁷ professori uni de iudicibus

³¹ Raimond Guillaume du Puy, who in Stratton's account was called only *iudex curie Vasconie*, was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine on 12 April 1373, and again in 1375, 1379, 1381, 1389, 1390 and 1392. He had a distinguished diplomatic career, and was sent on embassies to the French in 1381, 1390 and 1393. Further see Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 245-47; and above, p. 273.

³² For the *curia superioritatis*, see above, pp. 241, 284.

³³ For other equivalents, see above, pp. 259, 263, 273, 280 and below, p. 303.

³⁴ Bernard III de Meurio or de Meunio, abbot of the monastery of Saint-Sever-sur-l'Adour (départ. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan), was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine on 15 June 1379, and again in 1381: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, pp. 245-47. He died in May 1388. For more on Bernard as abbot, see P. D. DuBuisson, *Historiae monasterii sancti Severi*, ed. J. F. Pèdegert and A. Lugat, 2 vols. (Aire-sur-l'Adour, 1876), 2.77-78.

³⁵ Robert Waldeby, an Austin friar, went to Gascony in the train of the Black Prince. After some study at Oxford he studied theology at Toulouse, where he incepted as doctor in theology. On 1 January 1380 he was appointed by John de Neville, lieutenant of Aquitaine, as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis*, and was reappointed by the king in 1381: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 246. In 1382 he sat as one of the four representatives of the Austin order at the council convened to repress Wyclifism, and he is possibly the author of a book *Contra Wiclevistas*. On 4 June 1386 he was provided to the see of Aire-sur-l'Adour in Gascony, and thus has been seen as an example of the English policy of urging the replacement of Clementist prelates by supporters of Urban VI. By 1389 he was being styled *cancellarius Aquitanie*: Rymer, *Foedera* 3/4.46. On 20 August 1389 he was given custody of the *sigillum nostrum pro officio senescalli nostri Aquitannie assignatum*: RV 101, m. 15. Boniface IX translated him to the archbishopric of Dublin on 14 November 1390, and he subsequently became chancellor of Ireland. Richard II had him translated to the see of Chichester on 5 November 1395, and about a year later (on 5 October 1396) the pope translated him to the archbishopric of York. In 1395-96 he assisted in the negotiations for the marriage alliance of Richard II and Isabella of France. He died on 6 January 1398, and he was buried in Westminster Abbey where his memorial brass is still extant. Further see Emden, *Oxford* 3.1958; DNB; Perroy, *Diplomatic Correspondence*, nos. 40, 223; J. Raine, ed., *The Historians of the Church of York and Its Archbishops*, 3 vols. (RS 71; London, 1879-94), 2.427; H. T. Riley, ed., *Chronica monasterii s. Albani: Thomae Walsingham Historia Anglicana*, 2 vols. (RS 28.1; London, 1863-64), 2.218; and W. W. Shirley, ed., *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif* (RS 5; London, 1858), pp. 286, 499. For events leading up to Waldeby's appointment to the see of Aire and for his activities at Dublin, see Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident*, pp. 125, 126, 265, 340, 341; see also below, pp. 299, 304.

³⁶ Aire-sur-l'Adour (départ. Landes, arr. Mont-de-Marsan). This see was suffragan to Auch. For its episcopal succession and a map of the diocese, see *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 1 (Paris, 1912), cols. 1210-15; and C. Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi* 1 (Münster, 1913), p. 72.

³⁷ MS. *theologia*.

curie superioritatis Aquitanie percipienti 150 *li. nig.* per annum, magistro Reginaldo Andree³⁸ iudici appellacionum³⁹ curie Vasconie percipienti 250 *li. nig.* per annum, Johanni Gedeneye⁴⁰ uni consiliarium domini regis in partibus Aquitanie loco Arnaldi de Calynet⁴¹ qui antea de consilio regis extitit percipienti 200 *li. nig.* per annum, Gerardo prepositi burgensium ville Leyburne uni consiliarium regis ibidem percipienti 150 *li. nig.* per annum, Petro de la Rue bacallario in legibus procuratori fiscali generali in civitate Burdegale et in patria Burdegale percipienti 100 *li. nig.* per annum, magistro Helie de Brolio⁴² uni consiliarium regis ibidem percipienti 150 *li. nig.* per annum, et Willelmo Haysarm⁴³ armigero rememoratori et custodi papirorum notariorum mortuorum in castro Burdegale percipienti 12 *d. st.* Anglie valentes 7 *s.* 6 *d. nig.* per diem pro vadiis et feodis suis, videlicet in partem solucionis eorumdem vadiorum et feodorum eis separatim debitorum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 4696 *li.* 3 *s.* 5 *d. ob.* qua *nig.* per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum per litteras acquietancie ipsius magistri Reymundi et aliorum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis et prout huiusmodi vadia et feoda allocantur predicto magistro Reymundo et aliis in dicto compoto Johannis de Stratton nuper.⁴⁴

Quere residuum huius compoti in dorso rotuli proximi sequentis post residuum compoti Johannis Gedeneye de receptis et expensis suis in officio constabularii Burdegale a quinto die Aprilis anno 10 usque 4 diem Septembris anno 14.⁴⁵

Residuum⁴⁶ compoti Johannis Gedeneye de receptis et expensis suis in officio constabularii Burdegale a quinto die Aprilis anno 10 usque 4 diem Septembris anno 14.

³⁸ Commissioned by the king on 25 January 1387: RV 99, m. 6.

³⁹ Probably the *judex Vasconie*, whose full title was *judex appellacionum ad curiam Vasconie interpositarum et aliarum causarum quarumcumque auditor*. See above, pp. 261-62.

⁴⁰ Actually, Gedeney was one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis*. He was appointed on 22 August 1389 by the king, who had specified that the constable of Bordeaux must be a judge of that court at that time: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 246. See below, n. 48.

⁴¹ Guillaume Arnaud de Cailynet, appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* on 21 August 1381: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 246.

⁴² Hélie de Breuil was appointed by the king as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine on 22 August 1389: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 246. Breuil must have died sometime before 1400, as the account books of the estates of the archbishop of Bordeaux for that year note only his wife and heirs, although he himself had been listed in earlier years: *AHG* 22 (1882) 548, 586. See also *MS* 36 (1974) 243 n. 37.

⁴³ William Haysarm, knight, was named remembrancer of the castle of Bordeaux by the king on 12 March 1385: RV 98, m. 2. See above, pp. 262, 286.

⁴⁴ Gedeney's account is interrupted here and the following note is inserted.

⁴⁵ End of the third parchment membrane.

⁴⁶ Beginning of the fourth parchment membrane.

constabularii⁴⁷ ibidem dicto rotulo 10 rotulo compotorum. Et predicto venerabili patri Roberto Waldeby episcopo Adurensi cui debebantur 167 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* de arreragiis sibi aretro existentibus de tempore predicti Johannis de Stratton nuper constabularii ibidem prout patet per litteras ipsius Johannis sigillo suo sigillatas ratione officii judicis curie superioritatis Aquitanie,⁴⁸ scilicet in persolucionem summe predictae, 167 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo datum tercio die Septembris anno 11 regis nunc prefato constabulario directum de solutione facienda de arreragiis predictis necnon per indenturam inde inter predictum episcopum et dictum constabularium confectam solutionem predictam testificantem sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 18,324 *li.* 8 *s.* 6 *d.* qua *nig.*

VADIA ET EXPENSE NUNCIORUM

Et solutionem diversis nunciis tam equitatis quam peditatis pro vadiis et expensis suis per dictos Johannem ducem Lancastrie locum tenentem regis Aquitanie, Johannem Harpeden senescallum, Johannem Trayly militem gubernatorem senescalcie predictae, et constabularium missis ad diversas partes ducatus predicti et ad partes Francie et alia loca extra ducatum predictum per diversas vices infra tempus predictum cum 318 scutiferis, solutionem magistro Reymundo de Podio in partem solutionis diversarum summarum sibi debitarum, 2287 *li.* 12 *s.* 6 *d. nig.* per diversas litteras dictorum locum ten[en]tis senescalli et gubernatoris de waranto et per predictum breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum et in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando et per litteras acquietancie⁴⁹ diversarum personarum in separali diversas summas recipiendum sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 2287 *li.* 12 *s.* 6 *d. nig.*

REPARACIO CASTRI REGIS BURDEGALE ET GARDINI IBIDEM

Et computat in maeremio calce tegulis clavibus ferris bordes lathes et alijs diversis necessariis emptis et expenditis circa reparacionem magnarum portarum del Vaute et aliorum edificiorum et aliarum rerum infra castrum regis Burdegale una cum vadiis [et] stipendiis cementariorum carpentariorum

⁴⁷ Regular text of Gedeney's account resumes here.

⁴⁸ On 21 August 1381, the king had appointed the constable of Bordeaux for the time being as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis*. Stratton, appointed constable on 5 October of the same year, probably took over the position. See above, n. 40.

⁴⁹ MS. *acquient*. For letters of quittance see MS 36 (1974) 241 n. 29.

plumbariorum tegulatorum et aliorum et laborariorum conductorum diversa opera faciencium ac defectus diversorum domorum murorum et edificiorum dicto castro pertinencium reparancium et emendancium infra tempus huius compoti, 152 *li.* 17 *s. nig.* per litteras Johannis de Harpeden nuper senescalli de waranto et per breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum pro huiusmodi waranto allocando et per testimonium contrarotulatoris sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 167 *li.*⁵⁰ 17 *s. nig.*

DONACIONES ANNUALES

Et computat solucionem Bertrando domino de Monte Ferandi militi cui dominus E[dwardus] nuper rex Anglie avus regis nunc concessit 200 marcas *st.* Anglie valentes 1000 *li. nig.* percipiendas annuatim de exitibus ducatus predicti per manus constabularii ibidem qui pro tempore fuerit eidem Bertrando et heredibus suis quousque de ducentis marcatibus terre et redditus per annum in locis competentibus in ducatu predicto in feodo habendis per dictum regem avum vel heredes suos fuerit provisum in recompensacionem medietatis terre de Verynes que ad manus regis per forisfacturam et rebellionem Gailardi de Dureforti devenit eidem Bertrando per dictum avum concessisse quamque idem Bertrandus ad rogatum Edwardi principis Wallie dum erat capitaneus et locum tenens regis in ducatu predicto prefato Gailardo quando ad obedienciam dicti regis avi rediit iuxta tractatum inter dictum locum regis tenentem et ipsum Gailardum habitum restituit in partem solucionis dicti annui certi per predictum tempus huius compoti, 886 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo thesaurario et baronibus directum in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per litteras dicti Bertrandi de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et Reymundo de Monte Alto domino de Mussidano et quibusdam aliis dominis militibus et aliis hominibus pro consimilibus annuis certis et donacionibus eis ex certis causis tam per dictum regem avum et dominum Edwardum nuper principem patrem regis nunc et dictum regem⁵¹ nunc concessis in partem solucionis dictorum annuorum certorum per dictum tempus huius compoti, 2484 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum et per alia brevia regis de magno sigillo constabulario ibidem pro tempore existenti directa et per litteras dicti Reymundi et aliorum hominum predictorum de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 3371 *li. nig.*

⁵⁰ This figure of 167 *li.*, rather than that of 152 *li.* given within the paragraph, is probably correct, as the sum of all expenses only totals correctly if the castle repairs are figured at 167 *li.* 17 *s.* For the sum, see below, p. 306.

⁵¹ MS. *regem* repeated.

EXPENSE CAPITANEORUM ET ALIORUM HOMINUM AD ARMA ET VADIA GUERRE

Et computat solucionem Willelmo Malpas armigero quem predictus senescallus per avisamentum consilii regis existentis apud Burdegalam ordinavit capitaneum ville de Salvetat⁵² in Agenesio existentis in fruntura inimicorum regis cum numero 10 hominum armatorum ad morandum in eadem villa pro custodia et tuicione eiusdem ad resistendum inimicis regis pro vadiis suis et hominum suorum per duos menses, consulibus et gentibus ville Portus Sancte Marie quibus predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis ordinavit 100 *li. nig.* tam pro fortificatione eiusdem ville quam ad emendandum artillariam et alias res necessarias ad resistendum malicie inimicorum regis. Thome Venables armigero quem predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii cum numero 10 hominum armatorum ordinavit ad morandum in villa de Sancto [E]milione per unum mensem capienti 100 *gyen.* auri pro vadiis et expensis suis et dictorum hominum suorum, Johanni Fonteyns capitaneo loci de Puy Guilham⁵³ capto per inimicos regis Anglie cui predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis ordinavit 108 *gyen.* auri ob causam relevacionis status sui et in recompensacionem bonorum et gratuitorum serviciorum per ipsum dicto domino regi et ministris suis ante hec tempora factis et imposterum faciendis, maiori et gentibus ville de Burgh⁵⁴ quibus predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii ordinavit 214 *gyen.* auri valentes 267 *li. 10 s. nig.* pro fortificatione eiusdem ville ad resistendum malicie marescalli Francie existentis in partibus Xantonge⁵⁵ cum magna potencia inimicorum regis, Petro Adam scutifero moranti super salva custodia turris vocate le Campaigne existentis in fruntura inimicorum regis in partem solucionis vadiorum sibi et sociis suis debitorum, maiori et gentibus ville Sancti Emilionis quibus predictus senescallus per avisamentum consilii regis ordinavit 40 *li. nig.* pro reparacione et fortificatione eiusdem ville pro eo quod marescallus Francie cum magna multitudine gencium armatorum et balistariorum erat in partibus predictis ad gravandum subditos predicti regis et precipue dictam villam existentem in fruntura inimicorum regis, Bernardo de la Sparre⁵⁶

⁵² La Sauvetat-de-Savères (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Agen). For Sauvetat during the Middle Ages, see J. Marboutin, 'Notice historique sur la Sauvetat-de-Savères', *Revue de l'Agenais* 28 (1901) 158-78.

⁵³ Puyguilhem (*dép.* Dordogne, *arr.* Bergerac). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 202.

⁵⁴ Bourg-sur-Mer (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Blaye). For medieval Bourg, see Bémont, 'La mairie et la jurade dans les villes de la Gascogne anglaise'. For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 108.

⁵⁵ Saintonge.

⁵⁶ Bernard de Lesparre, lord of Laborde and of Montignac, was governor of Blaye and seneschal of the Agenais 1401-15. For his will and testament, see *AHG* 34.289. Further see

capitaneo loci ville Portus⁵⁷ Sancte Marie existentis in fruntura inimicorum regis cui predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis assignavit 600 *gven.* auri tam pro vadiis dicti Bernardi aretro⁵⁸ existentibus quam pro eo quod moraretur in eadem villa cum hominibus suis propriis pro tuicione eiusdem a 12 die Julii anno 1387⁵⁹ usque festum Pasche tunc proximo sequentem, Thome Venables armigero Anglie cui predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii assignavit 135 frankas valentes 1293 *li.* 15 *s. nig.* pro vadiis et expensis suis et hominum suorum ad arma existencium super salva custodia et tuicione ville Sancti Emilionis ad resistendum inimicis regis, eidem constabulario cui predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis ordinavit 260 francos auri valoris 325 *li. nig.* pro vadiis et expensis suis et 35 hominum ad arma secum morancium pro salva custodia et tuicione predictae ville Sancti Emilionis et ville de Leyborna et de tota patria ibidem adjacente ad resistendum inimicis regis, Willelmo Syfrewast quem predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii ordinavit cum 9 hominibus armatis ad morandum in comitiva sua super salva custodia et tuicione predictae ville Sancti Emilionis ad 100 *gven.* auri pro vadiis suis et hominum suorum predictorum per mensem, scilicet per 6 menses infra predictum tempus huius compoti, maiori et consulibus ville de Sancto Emiliano quibus predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii ordinavit 37 *li.* 10 *s. nig.* pro reparacione murorum eiusdem ville, Reymundo de Monte Alto domino de Mussidano cui predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis ordinavit 265 *li.* 15 *s. nig.* ad emendandum canones pulverem et artillariam pro defencione et tuicione loci de Blaye, Bernardo domino de la Sparre domino d'Aguillon⁶⁰ et Numpar de Camont⁶¹ quibus predictus senescallus per ordinationem et avisamentum dicti consilii assignavit 800 *gven.* auri, videlicet cuilibet eorum 400 *gven.* in recompensacionem magnorum gravaminum et expensarum per ipsos factorum tam resistendum comiti Armoniacy⁶² et senescallo Agenesii qui ceperunt cum

Boutruche, *La crise d'une société*, pp. 273 n. 1, 284, 294 n. 1; Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 185; *AMB* 1 (1867) 260; J. P. Trabut-Cussac, 'La seigneurie et les seigneurs de Lesparre', *AM* 78 (1966) 305-30.

⁵⁷ MS. *Pontis*; cf. above, p. 279.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. Delpit, ed., *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre* (Paris, 1847), p. 205, no. 287.

⁵⁹ MS. etc. *lxxxvii*^o.

⁶⁰ Aiguillon (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Agen). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, pp. 83-84.

⁶¹ Nompars I de Caumont, seneschal of the Agenais 1395-1401. Further see Vale, *English Gascony*, p. 247 and index. For the concessions made to him by John of Gaunt, see *AMB* 1 (1867) 260. Caumont (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Marmande); for its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 123.

⁶² Armagnac (*dép.* Gers). This is probably Jean III, count of Armagnac 25 May 1384 - 25 July 1391.

magna multitudine gencium armatorum et balistariorum villas et loca de Monclar⁶³ et de Cassanulh⁶⁴ et deinde fortificaverunt se cum predicta potestate capere villas et loca Portus Sancte Marie Castelmauron⁶⁵ Clayrak⁶⁶ et plura alia fortalicia ibidem de obediencia dicti domini regis, predictis senescallo constabulario baronibus et aliis hominibus ad arma sagittariis et pilardis cum eis existentibus circa obsidium loci castris et fortalicii de Monnteronch⁶⁷ quibus predictus senescallus per avisamentum dicti consilii regis ac gencium ecclesiasticorum baronum nobilium communium juratorum civitatis Burdegale et de tota patria Burdegale ordinavit 2398 francas auri tam pro vadiis et expensis predictorum senescalli constabularii baronum et aliorum hominum ad arma sagittariorum et pilardorum quam pro expensis et solucionibus factis circa reparacionem machinorum bridorum canonorum et aliarum rerum necessariarum ad obsidium predictum de quibus quidem predictorum 2398 francorum de hominibus commorantibus infra preposituram de Inter Duorum Maria concesse fuerunt 1145 france in auxilium obsidii predicti de quibus dictus constabularius onerat se superius inter recepta denarii, Willelmo Maynwaring armigero cui predictus locum tenens ordinavit 200 *gyen.* auri valentes 250 *li. nig.*⁶⁸ pro vadiis et expensis suis et sociorum suorum secum existencium super custodia et tuicione villarum et locorum Portus Sancte Marie et Castilionos⁶⁹ ad resistendum inimicis regis pro salva custodia et tuicione eorumdem, scilicet pro se et 10 hominibus armorum in comitiva sua ibidem existentibus per duos menses quolibet capiente per mensem 15 *gyen.* auri; 8094 *li. 10 s. nig.* per litteras predictorum locum tenentis et senescalli de waranto necnon per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum ad allocanda waranta predicta et per litteras ipsorum Willelmi Malpas et aliorum de recepcione sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis.

Summa: 8094 *li. 10 s. nig.*

[Ex]PENSE FORINSECE⁷⁰

Et computat in custubus et expensis factis circa vineas magistri Guillelmi

⁶³ Monclar-d'Agenais (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Villeneuve-sur-Lot).

⁶⁴ Casseneuil (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Villeneuve-sur-Lot). For its castle, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 113.

⁶⁵ Castelmoron-sur-Lot (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Marmande).

⁶⁶ Clairac (*dép.* Lot-et-Garonne, *arr.* Marmande).

⁶⁷ See above, p. 292.

⁶⁸ For other equivalents, see above, pp. 259, 263, 273, 280, 297.

⁶⁹ Castillonès (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Villeneuve-sur-Lot).

⁷⁰ See *MS* 37 (1975) 53 n. 53.

Bonelli⁷¹ in manu regis per forisfacturam ipsius Guillelmi existentes in diversis locis, videlicet ad loca vocata Sederak⁷² Palu⁷³ et⁷⁴ Gravys⁷⁵ Burdegale ut in cultura dictarum vinearum et reparacione trulorum cuvorum et aliorum vasorum necessariorum pro vindemiacione dictarum ac eciam in custubus factis circa easdem vindemiaciones infra tempus huius compoti, 304 *li. 13 d. nig.* per litteras dicti locum tenentis de waranto et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo pro huiusmodi waranto allocando de quarum exitibus receptis inter diversa bona et catalla confiscata in ducatu predicto sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et in custubus et expensis circa facturam listarum infra corderiam Burdegale pro quodam duello inter Johannem Bispham Anglicum et Willelmum Mareschal de Vasconia facto coram duce Lancastrie locum tenente domini regis ibidem infra tempus huius compoti, 45 *li. nig.* per litteras ipsius locum tenentis de waranto et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo de huiusmodi waranto allocando sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et solucionem venerabili patri Roberto Waldeby episcopo Adurensi pro custubus et expensis per predictum Robertum factis circa deshumacionem corporis Edwardi⁷⁶ fratris domini regis nunc mortui et sepulti quondam in patria Acquitanie necnon circa translacionem et conductionem eiusdem corporis de eadem patria usque regnum Anglie ad ibidem inter progenitores suos honorabiliter sepeliendum infra dictum tempus huius compoti, 600 *li. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo datum quinto die Octobris anno 12 prefato

⁷¹ A clerk of the Black Prince in Aquitaine was named Bonelli: Tout, *Chapters* 5.415 n. 2. One Guillaume Bonelli on 20 July 1400 was appointed by Henry IV as one of the judges of the *curia superioritatis* of Aquitaine: Chaplais, *Gascon Appeals*, p. 248.

⁷² Sadirac (*dép.* Gironde, *arr.* Bordeaux). For a possible castle there, see Gardelles, *Les châteaux*, p. 210.

⁷³ The *Palus* were regions along the banks of the Garonne river near Bordeaux, chiefly vineyards. Further see Baurein, *Variétés bordelaises* 2.176-87.

⁷⁴ MS. *de*.

⁷⁵ The *Graves* were regions on the outskirts of Bordeaux, away from the river, chiefly vineyards. Further see Baurein, *Variétés bordelaises* 2.401-403. In general, the *Palus* were characterized by more fertile land and more commercial advantages than the *Graves*.

⁷⁶ Edward of Angoulême, elder brother of Richard II by Joan of Kent and the Black Prince, was born in 1365 but died prematurely late in 1370, leaving Richard in line for the succession after the Black Prince. Edward was buried at Bordeaux, with John of Gaunt in charge of arrangements, Joan and the Black Prince having already left for England with Richard. Later during the twelfth year of Richard's reign (22 June 1388 – 21 June 1389), Edward's body was removed to England by order of Richard. Further see Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 86; Galbraith, *Anonimale Chronicle*, p. 51; E. M. Thompson, ed., *Chronicon Angliae, ab anno Domini 1328 usque ad annum 1388, Auctore Monacho quodam Sancti Albani* (RS 64; London, 1874), p. 56; and Tout, *Chapters* 5.384 n. 1. For the account of Bishop Robert Waldeby's mission to Aquitaine for this purpose, see *Public Record Office, Lists and Indexes*, no. XI: *Foreign Accounts*, p. 76. Also see above, pp. 246, 257.

constabulario directum et per indenturam inter predictum Robertum et ipsum constabularium confectam sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et in custubus et expensis factis circa capcionem castri et loci de Urnona iuxta Burdegalam captorum per constabularium ibidem 7 die Junii anno domini 1390 pro eo quod domina predicti loci de Urnona obiit sine herede super gentes armorum sagittariorum balistariorum et plurimorum aliorum serviend[um] existencium super custodia et tuid[i]o[n]e dicti castri simul cum reparacione fortificacione et vitallamento eiusdem ad opus predicti domini regis, videlicet a predicto 7 die Junii quo die idem locus erat captus ut predictur usque predictum quartum diem Septembris proximo sequentem, 800 *li. nig.* per litteras Johannis Trailly gubernatoris ibidem de waranto dicto constabulario directas et per dictum breve regis de privato sigillo in titulo huius compoti annotatum de allocando waranto ipsius gubernatoris sicut continetur in dictis libris de particulis. Et Thome Percy nuper capitaneo castri regis de Fronsaco pro vadiis hominum ad arma et sagittariorum existencium in eodem castro a 23 die Maii anno domini 1388 et anno regni regis Ricardi 12 usque ultimum diem Augusti anno domini 1390 per unum annum et unum quarterium anni infra tempus huius compoti pro salva custodia castri predicti ac pro diversis custubus et expensis per dictum Thomam Percy factis circa reparacionem castri predicti per idem tempus sicut continetur in compoto ipsius Thome de receptis et expensis suis ibidem coram dicto Johanne de Gedeney nuper constabulario reddito et super hunc compotum liberato virtute brevis regis de privato sigillo dicto constabulario directi dati 16 die Julii anno 14 et super hunc compotum liberati et per litteras acquietancie ipsius Thome, 5884 *li. 12 s. 6 d. nig.* sicut continetur in dicto libro ipsius nuper constabularii de particulis. Et solucionem Johanni Holand⁷⁷ comiti Huntyngdonie cui dominus rex de gracia sua speciali per litteras suas patentes⁷⁸ datas 17 die Septembris anno 4 concessit terram et ballivam sive balbagium de Marensino cum pertinenciis in dicto dominio Aquietanie habendas quamdiu domino regi placuerit absque aliquo inde domino regi reddendo, scilicet in persolucionem 498 *li. 18 s. nig.* de quibus responsurus est regi de exitibus terre et ballive predictarum per compotum magistri Willelmi Loryng nuper constabularii ibidem computantis de exitibus eiusdem constabularii a 17 die Novembris anno tercio dicti regis nunc usque

⁷⁷ John Holand, 1352(?)–1400, was third son of Thomas Holand, earl of Kent, and half brother of Richard II. On 2 June 1387 he was created earl of Huntingdon, and in 1389 he was made chamberlain of England for life. He served on various missions in France, as constable to John of Gaunt and as captain of Brest and Calais. Further see Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*; DNB; Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme*, pp. 85, 147; and A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941).

⁷⁸ RV 94, m. 9.

quintum diem Octobris anno quinto rotulo 6 rotulo compotorum a predicto 17 die Septembris anno quarto usque finem dicti compoti predicti magistri Willelmi, 498 *li.* 18 *s. nig.* per breve regis de privato sigillo dicto Johanni Gedeney nuper constabulario directum datum 5 die Septembris anno 18 et per litteras acquietancie Johannis Bodilby generalis receptoris ipsius comitis habentis potestatem ad huiusmodi acquietanciam faciendam sicut continetur in commissione sua sub sigillo eiusdem comitis annotata in memorandis de termino Sancti Hilarii anno 17 ex parte rememoratoris thesauri super hunc compotum liberata et sicut continetur in dicto libro de particulis.

Summa: 8132 *li.* 11 *s.* 7 *d. nig.*

SUMMA TOTALIS EXPENSARUM ET LIBERACIONUM: 40,631 *li.* 21 *d. ob.* qua *nig.* Et habet de superplusagio 8540 *li.* 15 *s.* 3 *d. qua nig.* valentes 1138 *li.* 15 *s.* 4 *d. ob. st. Anglie.*

Inde debentur Johanni de Holand comiti Huntynghdonie pro exitibus terre et ballive de Marensino superius dicto nuper constabulario allocatis 498 *li.* 18 *s. nig.* valentes 66 *li.* 10 *s.* 4 *d. ob. qua st. Anglie.* Et debentur Thome Percy nuper capitaneo castri regis de Fronsaco pro vadiis et expensis suis ibidem 5360 *li.* 6 *s. nig.* valentes 714 *li.* 14 *s.* 1 *d. ob. st. Anglie.* Et debentur dicto nuper constabulario ultra dictas duas summas 2681 *li.* 11 *s.* 3 *d. qua nig.* valentes 357 *li.* 10 *s.* 10 *d. qua st. Anglie.* Quod quidem superplusagium prout hic annotatur quarto die Julii anno 18 regis huius certificatur in officio privati sigilli regis per breve regis de privato sigillo irrotulatum in memorandis de anno 17 regis huius termino Trinitatis rotulo tercio in officium predictum liberatum.

STEURUM MORTUUM

Idem respondit de diversis particulis diversarum rerum subscriptarum remanencium in castro Burdegale receptorum per indenturam de Johanne de Stratton domino de Landirans nuper constabulario ibidem immediate ante dictum Johannem Gedeneye, videlicet in capella dicti castri⁷⁹ de uno calice argenteo deaurato, 4 mappis sive tohallis, tribus vestimentis unde 1 perusitato de panno serico albo palleo cum amicta, una alba, una stola, 1 phanona, et una casula, et alio vestimento veteri perusitato cum apparamentis ut supra, et tercio vestimento veteri de panno cerico cheketo et liniato continente unam amictam, unam albam, unam stolam, unam fanulam, unam casulam cum duobus dalmaticis, et unam capam de eodem panno, 2 tohallis pro manibus tergendis, 2

⁷⁹ For particular discussion of these ornaments, see above, pp. 253-57.

corporalibus uno incluso in panno veteri de rubeo velveto et altero de panno lineo de Reyns, 1 pixide de stanno pro corpore Christi, 1 pixide de yvore, 1 crucifixo, 1 frontali ante altare de panno cerico, et 1 frontali super altare de eodem panno, 1 missali magno, 2 legendis una de temporalibus et altera sanctorum usu curie Romane, 1 gradali parvo, 1 libro antiphonario notato, 1 pulvinari ad ponendum sub libro, 1 turibili sive incensario modici valoris, 1 parva campana, 2 foliis, uno parvo crucifixo in pergamento. In camera constabularii et botellario 1 cista Flandrie, 1 candelabro ferri, 1 cista Flandrie, 2 aliis cistis, 1 cofra veteri ligata de ferro, uno libro scripto in pergamento vocato le libre noir, uno libro de papiro vocato le libre rouge, 4 libris extractis de thesauro Anglie de diversis memorandis tangentibus principatum Aquitannie titulatis per A B C D, et 9 quaternis cum dimidio de pergamento extractis de libro titulato per A pro copia facienda, uno registro de diversis donacionibus libertatibus et concessionibus⁸⁰ factis per regem Anglie, 22 quaternis in pergamento de diversis donacionibus et memorandis, 9 papiris de actibus curie Vasconie, uno sigillo argenteo vocato sigillo superioritatis Aquitannie, 4 petris alabastris. In camera que est prope scaccarium 1 cista veteri sicut continetur in dictis libris ipsius Johannis Gedeneye nuper constabularii et dicti contrarotulatoris de particulis.

Et remanent.

VINUM

Idem respondit de 4 doliis vini receptis de predicto Johanne de Stratton nuper constabulario ibidem per indenturam predictam.

Summa recepte: 4 dolia vini.

Et computat in vendicione predicta 4 dolia vini pro 60 *li. nig.* de quibus idem nuper constabularius onerat se in recepta denarii sicut supra continetur.

Summa exitus: 4 dolia vini.

Et est quietus.⁸¹

General Theological Seminary, New York.

⁸⁰ MS. *concessionibus et.*

⁸¹ End of the fourth parchment membrane, end of the fourth scribal hand, and end of Gedeney's account.

'ALIA LECTURA FRATRIS THOME' ?

(*Super 1 Sent.*)

H.-F. Dondaine, O.P.

DANS son *Histoire ecclésiastique*, Ptolémée de Lucques note que saint Thomas d'Aquin, lors de son séjour à Rome, a commenté une seconde fois le premier livre des Sentences: 'Scriptis etiam eo tempore quo fuit Rome ... iam magister existens, primum super Sententias, quem ego vidi Luce sed inde subtractum nusquam ulterius vidi'.¹ Bernard Gui explique: '... clam sublatum fuisse creditur et ideo non fuit multiplicatum'.² Quelques travaux modernes ont fait appel au témoignage de Ptolémée, pour éclairer les problèmes du texte du Commentaire conservé;³ mais on n'avait pas jusqu'ici trouvé d'autres traces de l'ouvrage disparu. En voici une peut-être: les recherches de la Commission Léonine ont repéré un manuscrit du *Super primum Sententiarum*, qui fait mention d'une *alia lectura fratris Thome*.

Le manuscrit Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 95, fin du XIII^e siècle, parch., 279 × 200 mm., de mains italiennes, 126 folios, 2 colonnes avec d'amples marges, contient aux folios 3r-122ra le *Super primum Sententiarum* de saint Thomas; la dispute sur les attributs divins (d. 2 a. 3) y figure à sa place normale,⁴ ff. 9vb-11va.

Dans les marges de ce premier ouvrage, une autre main italienne à plume souple⁵ a inscrit, au plus tard vers 1300,⁶ une centaine d'articles d'un second

¹ Ptolémée de Lucques, *Historia ecclesiastica nova* 23.15 (Rerum italicarum scriptores 40.1172-73); éd. critique par A. Dondaine dans *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 31 (1961) 155.

² Bernard Gui, *Legenda sancti Thomae Aquinatis* 53, éd. D. Prümmer, *Fontes vitae s. Thomae Aquinatis* (Toulouse, [1912-37]), p. 217; A. Ferrua, *Thomae Aquinatis vitae fontes* (Alba, 1968), p. 189.

³ On peut voir ceux qu'a mentionné F. von Gunten dans sa recension de P. Vanier, *Théologie trinitaire chez saint Thomas d'Aquin. Évolution du concept d'action notionnelle* (Montréal-Paris, 1953): 'Gibt es eine zweite Redaktion des Sentenzenkommentars des hl. Thomas von Aquin?', *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 3 (1956) 137-68.

⁴ Mais son article 2 arrête le texte après *diuersa ratione* (f. 9vb).

⁵ Nommons cette main: main B, pour laisser A aux écritures du premier Commentaire (texte et corrections).

⁶ Peut-être dès avant 1286, si la main B est intervenue avant l'achat du volume consigné dans la note grattée du haut du folio 2r; à la lumière infra-rouge, on peut lire en cette note: 'Frater

commentaire du livre 1, poursuivi jusqu'à la distinction 18, avec un supplément de quatre articles (ff. 67-69) à la distinction 23. Ces articles, insérés suivant les places disponibles au voisinage du premier commentaire, occupent les marges latérales ou inférieures des folios 4r-54v et 67v-69v (autre main en folios 68v-69v), ainsi que les pages libres du début et de la fin du manuscrit: ff. 1v-2r et ff. 123vb-125ra.

Or en trois endroits, une addition marginale (main B, ou assimilée) fait mention d'un *frater T.*:

f. 2vb (fin de colonne, au bas de notre pièce VI): *Isti articuli possunt poni in distinctione secunda primi libri secundum aliam lec. fratris T.*

f. 30va: *Hic queritur utrum filius possit dici alius a patre secundum aliam let. f. t.*

f. 123vb (en marge du titre de notre pièce VIII, se perdant dans le pli du ms.): *d. ij^a. secundum <aliam> lecturam < >.*

Le renvoi à *frater T.* désigne assez clairement l'auteur du Commentaire A, qui est de fait celui de saint Thomas; la main B dit donc qu'elle ajoute copie d'une *alia lectura* du même auteur. Que faut-il entendre par là?

Des quelque quatre-vingt-dix articles du Commentaire B, nous en avons transcrit intégralement quarante-cinq; nous en éditons ici quinze, à titre de document pour éclairer la question. Afin de distinguer ces quinze articles de ceux du Commentaire copié à pleine page ou en haut des pages, et qui est celui connu comme de saint Thomas, nous parlerons de quinze pièces du texte B. Onze de ces pièces concernent les trois premières distinctions du Lombard; les quatre autres sont prises aux distinctions 8, 9 et 10. Outre les trois textes mis en évidence par *aliam lecturam*, à savoir nos pièces VI, VIII et XIII, nous retenons ceux dont le contenu semble offrir quelque élément de comparaison avec les ouvrages contemporains, avec ceux de Frère Thomas d'abord.

L'inscription des articles du début, gênée par la présence du premier Commentaire, ne donne pas une idée claire de l'ouvrage; pour la comparaison avec le texte du Lombard, nous proposons de lire les premiers textes de B dans l'ordre suivant, à partir du '*principium*' *Ego in altissimis habito*:

Ego in altissimis habito... . Omnium hominum qui aliquas scientias tradiderunt... (f. 2ra)

Videtur quod ueritas nulli possit esse odiosa (f. 2rb)

Di. prima. Videtur quod non sit uerum quod dicit Augustinus. In quantum sumus boni sumus (f. 2rb)

Iacobbus Ray (nucii) perusinus /// .xlj. sol. pro isto libro et pro predictae pecunie predictus...'
Fr. Iacobus Raynucii mourut en 1286; cf. Stephanus de Salaniaco et Bernardus Guidonis. *De quatuor in quibus Deus Praedicatorum Ordinem insigniuit*, éd. Th. Kaeppli dans *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum historica* 22 (Rome, 1949), p. 88.

- I Videtur quod hec doctrina non sit scientia (f. 4ra)
 Vtrum deus sit subiectum huius scientie (f. 4va)
 Vtrum hec scientia sit pratica (f. 4va)
 Videtur quod modus procedendi in hac scientia sit inconueniens (ff. 4v-5r)
- II Vtrum homo debeat impendere ad ea que supra ipsum sunt (f. 5va)
- III Videtur quod in sacra scriptura non liceat uti auctoritatibus philosophorum
 (f. 6ra)
- IV Hic queritur utrum in sacra scriptura liceat uti auctoritatibus sanctorum (f. 6rb)
- V Di.ij^a. articulus primus. Videtur quod nullum sit summum bonum (f. 2va)
- VI Di.ij^a. art. 3^{us}. Videtur quod non sit tantum unum summum bonum (f. 2vb)
- VII Di.ij^a. art. iij^{us}. Videtur quod in summo bono non sit pluralitas personarum
 (f. 1va)
 Videtur quod hoc nomen deus sit nomen operationis et non nomen nature
 (f. 1vb)
- VIII Di.ij^a. Videtur quod hoc nomen deus predicetur de tribus personis in plurali
 (f. 123vb)
- IX Videtur quod hoc nomen deus non sit magis proprium nomen ipsius quam alia
 (f. 123vb)
 Queritur de ymagine et de mente ... queruntur duo: primo quid sit mens...
 (f. 124ra)
- X Ad secundum sic proceditur. Videtur quod non sit ymago trinitatis in mente
 secundum ista tria: scilicet memoriam, intelligentiam et uoluntatem
 (f. 124rb)

(les pièces XI-XV se lisent dans l'ordre du Lombard).

Présentant nos quinze textes ou pièces sur la base de l'unique témoin B, nous essayons de serrer de près les particularités de la copie.⁷ L'écriture régulière, avec *qui* italien, est ordinairement lisible; nous signalons tous les incidents de copie dans un premier apparat. Un deuxième apparat note les références utiles. Au texte ainsi équipé nous ajoutons, s'il y a lieu, un commentaire explorant les sources apparues et la position de la pièce vis-à-vis de saint Thomas.

⁷ Nous avions projeté de reproduire la ponctuation de B. Nous avons dû y renoncer à raison de son inconstance, et aussi de l'interférence ou cumul probable de deux, sinon trois, systèmes de signes: point, légère barre oblique et quelques crochets bruts qui suppléent peut-être l'un ou l'autre pied-de-mouche.

I
(f. 4ra)

Videtur quod hec doctrina non sit scientia. Scientia enim est demonstratiua. demonstratio autem procedit ex principiis per se notis. Igitur cum ista procedit ex principiis non omnibus notis sicut sunt articuli fidei, uidetur quod non sit scientia.

5 Preterea. Nulla scientia est de particularibus etc.

Preterea. Philosophia determinat de omnibus partibus entis; ergo preter scientias philosophicas non oportuit esse aliquam aliam scientiam: ergo non est scientia uel superflua.

10 Preterea. Singule scientie sunt de singulis rebus, sicut naturalis de naturis, moralis de moribus. Sed in ista scientia determinantur quedam que pertinent ad mores, quedam que ad naturas rerum, quedam que ad deum. Ergo non est scientia, uel si est scientia non est una sed plures.

Contra. Augustinus xiii De trinitate: Huic scientie tribuo illud tantum quo fides saluberrima nutritur, roboratur et gignitur.

15 Ad primum ergo dicendum quod scientiarum alique sunt subalternantes, alique subalterne. Scientie autem subalternantes procedunt ex principiis omnibus per <se> notis, subalterne autem non procedunt ex principiis per se notis omnibus, sed habenti scientiam superiorem. Ista autem scientia subalternatur quodammodo scientie dei ex qua dependet, deriuatur per reuelationem. Et ideo principia eius non sunt nota cuilibet, sed illis tantum qui
20 uere credunt reuelationi diuine.

Responsio. Ad illud quod queritur utrum hec doctrina scientia sit, dicendum est sine dubio quod hec doctrina scientia est; ubicumque enim inuenimus quod aliquid probatur ex aliquo, ibi est inuenire scientie modum. Hoc autem
25 manifeste apparet in sacra scriptura. Nam prophete ex iustitia dei probauerunt penas impiorum, et Apostolus ex resurrectione Christi probauit resurrectionem nostram corporum futuram. Sed aliter est in ista scientia quam in aliis, et aliter sumuntur principia huius quam aliarum. Principia enim aliarum scientiarum sunt communia hominibus et proportionata intellectui nostro, et ideo lumen
30 naturale intellectus nostri sufficit ad comprehendendum ea. Principia autem huius scientie sunt supra naturam humanam et improporcionata humano intellectui. Et ideo ad comprehendendum ea uel ad habendum aliqualem notitiam de eis, exigitur aliquod lumen supernaturale proportionatum eis, scilicet lumen fidei.

35 Ad secundum dicendum est quod particularia traduntur in ista scientia, non autem ut de quibus est scientia principaliter, sed ut quasi exempla uirtutis et ut quibus manifestatur uirtus diuina et prouidentia.

Ad tertium dicendum quod scientie ille non sufficiunt, quia beatitudo nobis diuinitus promissa consistit in eo quod est supra homines. Et ideo oportuit esse
40 aliquam scientiam supra hominem proportionatam illi fini in quem tendit, sicut scientie alie sunt proportionate naturali perfectioni hominis.

Ad quartum dicendum est quod quanto uirtus cognoscitiua est altior, tanto simplicior est et ad plura se extendit, ut patet de ymaginatiua que se extendit ad obiecta quinque sensuum. Vnde cum ista scientia principiis altioribus innitatur,

- 45 altior est omnibus aliis: et ideo sub uno omnia comprehendit, in quantum scilicet habent ordinem ad Deum.

17 <se> suppl.

13 Aug., *De Trin.* 14.1.3 (PL 42.1037; CCL 50A.424), apud Petrum Lomb., *Sent.* 3 d. 35 c. 1 n. 244 (ed. Ad Claras Aquas, 1916, p. 708). 26 Apostolus: 1 Cor 15.

L'Ad primum (15-21) fait écho à *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 2 ad 5^m.

II

(f. 5va)

Hic queritur utrum homo debeat impendere ad ea que supra ipsum sunt. Et uidetur quod non. <...>

- Preterea. Perfectio debet esse proportionata perfectibili. Perfectio intellectus est ueritas, ergo debet esse proportionata intellectui. Illud autem quod est supra
5 rationem non est ei proportionatum: ergo etc.

Preterea. Maius periculum est deficere in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus. Sed intendere ad ea que sunt supra homines in corporalibus est temptare deum, ergo et in spiritualibus; et sic homo etc.

- Contra. Yllarius: Qui pie infinita prosequitur, etsi non perueniat comprehendendo, tamen perficiet prodeundo.
10

- Responsio. Dicendum quod fuit quidam Symonides, qui dixit quod nullo modo homo deberet se intromittere de rebus diuinis et que sunt supra ipsum. Sed hoc est falsum, quia perfectio hominis consistit in intellectu, qui maxime perficitur in contemplatione diuinorum et altissimarum causarum; et ideo
15 exigitur ad perfectionem hominis ut inquirat ea que supra se sunt. Sciendum tamen est quod aliquid dicitur esse supra hominem dupliciter: uno modo dicitur aliquid esse supra hominem id quod est supra dignitatem hominis, sicut omnes superiores nature; et quantum ad hoc dico quod homo debet intendere ad ea que sunt supra se, id est supra dignitatem suam, quia in hoc consistit perfectio
20 intellectus. Alio modo dicitur esse supra hominem id quod est supra facultatem suam ut nullo modo possit, nec per se nec per aliud, ad illud peruenire; uel quantum ad se tantum, ita scilicet quod hoc non per se, per amicos tamen potest ad illud peruenire. Dico ergo quod non debet homo tendere ad illud quod omnino est supra facultatem suam. Quia uero quod facimus per amicos dicimus
25 per nos fieri, ideo ad illud quod ita est supra facultatem nostram quod per amicos possumus consequi illud, licet homini intendere. Et ideo dicendum est quod licet homini intendere de ueritate que est isto modo supra rationem cum adiutorio dei, ad quam ipso iuuante peruenitur.

- Ad primum ergo dicendum quod perfectio debet proportionata <esse> perfectibili, non tamen adequata: ueritas autem que est supra hominem, etsi
30 non sit adequata intellectui hominis, est tamen sic proportionata quod cum adiutorio dei ad illam possumus peruenire. Et sic patet solutio ad obiecta.

- Ad secundum dicendum quod intendere ad inuestigationem ueritatis que est supra hominem cum fiducia diuini auxilii non est temptare deum, cum sit
35 paratus iuare.

2 <...> vacat finis lineae
19 suam] hominis praem. et exp.

9-10 non ... prodeundo fine lin. om.] add. infra (in fine art.)
29 <esse> suppl.

9-10 Qui ... prodeundo: cf. Hilarius, *De Trin.* 2.10 (PL 10.58C); vide Thomam, *Contra Gent.* 1.8 et *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 1 ad 7^m. 11-12 Symonides ... supra ipsum: cf. Thomas, *Sent. lib. Ethic.* 10.11 (1177b31), *Contra Gent.* 1.5, *Super Metaph.* 1.3 (982b30). 13-14 perfectio hominis ... contemplatione diuinorum: cf. *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 1 resp.

On peut relever quelques traits communs avec saint Thomas: *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 1 et *Contra Gent.* 1.5 et 8.

L'appel à *Symonides* (11) paraît bien avoir été introduit en cette matière par saint Thomas: il a mis sous le nom du poète Simonide le propos anonyme des *suadentes humana sapere hominem entem* mis en cause par Aristote dans *Ethic.* 10.11 (1177b31); voir le commentaire de saint Thomas sur ce passage dans *Sententia libri Ethic.* (ed. Leonina 47/2.588, lignes 112-113, avec la note du P. R.-A. Gauthier). Saint Thomas lisait le nom de Simonide en Aristote, *Metaph.* 1.3 (982b30), mais il l'a indûment associé aux *poetae* qui disent les dieux jaloux (982b32).

III

(f. 6ra)

Hic queritur utrum in sacra scriptura liceat uti auctoritatibus philosophorum. Videtur quod in sacra scriptura non liceat uti auctoritatibus philosophorum. Dicitur enim II Cor. i: Non sapientia uerbi, id est in sapientia philosophorum.

Preterea. Cor. i dicitur: Perdam sapientiam etc.

- 5 Preterea. De Ieronimo dicitur quod, quia innitebatur dictis gentilium, fuit uerberatus.

Preterea. Constat quod illa scientia que accipit ab alia, subalternatur illi a qua accipit; si igitur sacra scriptura accipit dicta philosophorum, subalternatur scientie philosophorum: quod est inconueniens.

- 10 Contra. Cor. II^a: In captiuitatem redigentes omnem intellectum, id est philosophorum et omnium qui aliquid dixerunt; in obsequium Christi, id est christiane religionis.

- Responsio. Dicendum quod, sicut Ieronimus dicit in quadam epistola, licet uti in sacris scripturis auctoritatibus philosophorum: nam ipse Paulus usus est uersibus cuiusdam poete, sicut: Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia praua; et illud: Cretenses male bestie etc. Et necessitas huius sumitur ex tribus. Primo per hoc quod conueniens est: illa que dicuntur a philosophis non contraria <sunt> rationi; gratia autem non destruit naturam sed perficit; et ideo, cum sint accepta per rationes naturales, non ab eis destruuntur que sunt a deo, nec excluduntur. Secundo quod hoc est debitum: nam quicquid ueritatis dixerunt philosophy, totum est a deo; et ideo cum sumus filii dei per fidem et adoptionem, et per consequens heredes, quia si filii et heredes, possumus eis uti tamquam nostris. Tertio quia est efficax ad disputandum contra infideles, quia innituntur dictis gentilium solum: cum enim non acquiescunt dictis sanctorum et auctoritati sacre scripture, nichil contra eos habemus efficacius quam dicta philosophorum, quibus et ipsi innituntur, sed falso exponunt et peruerse intelligunt.

Sciendum tamen quod aliquis potest uti eis dupliciter: uel ut regulantibus, uel ut regulatis. Si ut regulantibus, sic errabit et deficiet; cum enim dicta philoso-

30 phorum non excedant naturalem rationem, non poterit cum eis ultra quod est rationis procedere, et sic deficientibus illis deficient. Si autem utatur eis ut regulatis, in quantum scilicet regulat ipsorum philosophorum dicta secundum doctrinam sacre scripture, tunc non errat sed utitur eis debite.

Et sic patet solutio ad omnia obiecta.

35 Ad illud quod dicitur de Ieronimo, dicendum est quod tam sapiebant ei uerba Ciceronis quod dissipiebant ei uerba sacre scripture, et contempnebat ea; et hoc inconueniens est. Nec licet uerba gentilium preponere sacre scripture; uerbis sacre scripture ea regulantur, ut dictum est. Sed tamen sciendum est quod Rufinus inuehit contra Ieronimum, ostendens eum fecisse contra iuramentum
40 quo promiserat numquam in dictis libris legere; qui respondit quod non tenetur seruare iuramentum quod fecerat in sompnis.

Ad ultimum dicendum quod aliquid dicitur occultum dupliciter: uel propter se, uel propter nos. Quandoque enim scientia subalternans accipit aliquid a subalternata, quando scilicet probat id quod est notum quo ad se, nobis tamen
45 minus notum, per aliquid quod est nobis notius; quandoque autem subalternata accipit a subalternante, quando scilicet probat aliquid quod est nobis minus notum per id quod est in se magis notum. Sacra autem scriptura accipit a scientiis philosophicis primo modo.

3 Non ... uerbi: 1 Cor 1:17. 4 Perdam sapientiam: 1 Cor 1:19. 5 Ieronimo: cf. Hier., *Epist.* 22 Ad Eustochium 30 (PL 22.416-17; CSEL 54.189-91). 10-11 In captiuitatem ... Christi: cf. 2 Cor 10:5. 13 epistola: Hier., *Epist.* 70 Ad Magnum (PL 22.664-68; CSEL 54.700-708). 15 Corruptunt ... praua: 1 Cor 15:33. 16 Cretenses ...: Tit 1:12. 22 si filii ...: Rom 8:17. 39 Rufinus, *Apologia in Hieron.* 2.7 (PL 21.588D). 40 qui respondit: Hier., *Apologia adv. libros Rufini* 3.32 (PL 23.481A).

On relève plusieurs traits de parenté avec *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 3: 'Utrum in scientia Dei quae est de Deo liceat rationibus philosophicis et auctoritatibus uti'.⁸ Voici les références du texte III à l'*In Boetium De Trin.* q. 2 a. 3:

- 3 Non sapientia ... philosophorum: cf. *In Boet.* arg. 1.
- 5-6 De Ieronimo ... uerberatus: cf. arg. 4.
- 10-12 In captiuitatem...: cf. resp. (*in fine*).
- 13 epistola...: cf. sed contra 2.
- 14 ipse Paulus...: cf. sed contra 1.
- 18 gratia ... perficit: cf. resp. (*initio*).
- 36 dissipiebant ... contempnebat: cf. ad 4^m.

L'Anonyme se montre informé: il évoque en quatre lignes (38-41) la controverse Jérôme-Rufin, à propos du songe raconté par Jérôme dans sa lettre à Eustochium.

⁸ *Expositio super Librum Boethii De Trinitate*, éd. B. Decker (Leiden, 1955), pp. 90-97.

IV
(f. 6rb)

Hic queritur utrum in sacra scriptura liceat uti auctoritatibus sanctorum. Et uidetur quod non. Maximus enim dicit super Dyonisium quod ratio precedit auctoritatem; ergo non debemus in ea auctoritate sanctorum uti sed rationibus.

Preterea. Hec est perfectissima scientiarum; sed perfectissima scientiarum debet perfectissima probatione uti. Inter omnes autem probationis modos debilior est ille qui fit per auctoritatem; ergo non debet uti auctoritatibus sanctorum.

Preterea. Fides nostra non est alligata expositionibus sanctorum, sed auctoritatibus canonice scripture. Sed hec procedit ex principiis fidei; ergo non debet procedere ex auctoritatibus sanctorum.

Preterea. Sancti in multis discordant, sicut Ieronimus et Augustinus circa obseruantias legalium. Sed quod est dissonum non potest esse ex omni parte uerum, non ex eorum dictis est argumentandum.

Responsio. Dicendum quod sicut est in aliis scientiis, ita etiam est in ista doctrina. In aliis enim scientiis sunt demonstrationes que procedunt ex principiis per se notis, et probabiles rationes que procedunt ex hiis que uidentur pluribus et sapientibus et maxime notis. In hac etiam loco principiorum per se notorum sunt regule et articuli fidei, que traduntur in canonicis scripturis; et ideo argumentatio que procedit ex illis habet locum demonstrationis. Auctoritates uero sanctorum sunt sicut probabiles rationes; unde licet eis uti ut non necessitatem sed probabilitatem quandam facientibus: sola enim illa que pertinent ad regulam fidei et in canonica scriptura traduntur, quantum ad fidem necessitatem inducunt.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod est duplex auctoritas: scilicet humana, et hec preceditur ratione; et est diuina, et hec superat rationem humanam sed sequitur rationem diuinam. Et ideo cum sanctorum dicta sint a deo inspirante, inde habent auctoritatem diuinam, que precedit et superat humanam rationem.

Ad secundum dicendum quod modus argumentationis qui est per auctoritatem humanam debilior est, non tamen ille qui est ex auctoritate diuina, a qua sunt dicta sanctorum; et ideo cum sint a deo, firmissimum locum tenent.

Ad tertium dicendum quod fides nostra non est alligata dictis sanctorum ita quod inducant necessitatem in nobis, sed probabilitatem quandam, ut dictum est.

Ad quartum dicendum quod nulli sacre scripture expositores sibi ad inuicem contrariantur in hiis que fidei sunt, sed in hiis tantum de quibus licet diuersis diuerse opinari.

16 hiis] principiis *praem. et exp.*

2-3 Maximus ... ratio precedit auctoritatem: cf. Thomas, *Super 3 Sent.* d. 24 a. 2 qc 2 arg. 3: 'Commentator super 1 *De div. nomin.* dicit quod ratio est prior auctoritate'.

11 Ieronimus ...: cf. Thomas, *Super 4 Sent.* d. 1 q. 2 a. 5 qc 3: 'Super hoc Hieron. et Augustinus diversa sensisse dicuntur'.

L'Anonyme donne un clair exposé de la question *Uti auctoritatibus sanctorum*. Elle n'est pas traitée explicitement par saint Thomas; mais ses *divisiones textus*, au Commentaire des Sentences, savent distinguer les deux

registres: *auctoritas canonis*, *auctoritates sanctorum*, par exemple *Super 1 Sent.* d. 10, *Super 3 Sent.* d. 13, *Super 4 Sent.* d. 35.

La citation de Maximus (2-3) reproduit quasi à la lettre celle du 'Commentator' donnée par saint Thomas *Super 3 Sent.* d. 24. Cette formule simplifie une glose qui se lit en marge du Pseudo-Denys dans le Corpus dionysien du ms. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17341 (f. 201va): 'Rationem priorem esse natura, auctoritatem vero tempore didicimus'; cette glose est un extrait de Scot Érigène, *De divisione naturae* 1.69 (PL 122.513B).

V

(f. 2va)

Dist. ii^a articulus primus.

Videtur quod nullum sit summe bonum. Bonum enim habet rationem appetibilis; appetitus autem tendit de uno semper in aliud et ita in infinitum: non est ergo inuenire unum primum quod sit summe bonum.

- 5 Preterea. Bonum opponitur malo; sed non est inuenire aliquid quod sit summe malum: ergo nec aliquid quod sit summe bonum.

- Preterea. Maior perfectio inuenitur in effectibus quam in principiis; homo enim perfectior <est> quam semen et gallina perfectior quam ouum. Sed bonum habet rationem effectus; cum igitur in effectibus non sit inuenire summe
10 bonum, uidetur etiam quod nec in principiis: et sic nullum erit summe bonum.

- Preterea. Si aliquid sit summe bonum, aut erit simplex aut compositum. Sed simplex non est, quia cum nichil adderet supra bonum non esset summe bonum; compositum uero esse non potest, quia sic componeretur aliquo alio bono quod esset melius eo, et sic non esset summe bonum. Non <est> igitur
15 inuenire aliquid summe bonum.

Contra. In quolibet genere est inuenire unum primum ad quod reducuntur omnia que sunt in genere illo; et hoc est summum in genere. Est igitur in genere boni inuenire unum primum ad quod reducuntur omnia alia: quod <est> summe bonum.

- 20 Responsio. Dicendum quod firmiter tenendum est esse aliquod summe bonum. Et hoc probatur tribus uis, quarum due sunt Aristotilis et una est Augustini. Prima quidem uia sumitur ex ipso ordine uniuersi. Vbicumque enim est ordo, ibi est inuenire duplex bonum, unum in ipsis rebus coordinatis ad inuicem, et aliud in eo a quo dependet ordo illarum partium: sicut in exercitu
25 est ordo et partium exercitus ad inuicem et ordo exercitus ad ducem; unde est ibi et duplex bonum, scilicet bonum exercitus et bonum ducis, et hoc est melius quia totum bonum exercitus ordinatur ad bonum ducis, scilicet ad uictoriam. Cum igitur uideamus partes uniuersi ordinatas ad inuicem, quia non omnia que sunt in uniuerso casualiter accidunt, de necessitate erit ponere ibi duplex
30 bonum: unum quod resultat ex ordine partium uniuersi, et aliud quod est in illo a quo dependet bonum et ordo partium: et ad hoc ordinatur bonum partium sicut in finem et summum bonum.

Secunda uero sumitur ex ipsa ratione boni. nam bonum habet rationem finis. Sed ut Philosophus probat, in causa finali non est procedere in infinitum, quia

35 sic auferret rationem finis; erit igitur deuenire ad aliquid unum quod sit primum et summum bonum.

Tertia ratio est Augustini. Et est quia imperfecta sumunt originem ex perfectis; sed nos uidemus in mundo isto multa bona imperfecta, sicut particularia bona: oportet igitur quod omnia sumunt originem ab uno principio quod sit
40 summe bonum. Et ideo dicit Augustinus vii De Trinitate: Bonum hoc, bonum illud; tolle hoc, tolle illud, et inuenies bonum omnis boni.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod hoc accidit in bono particulari; sicut enim intellectus, cum sit cognoscitiuus omnium ueritatum, tendit de una ueritate in
45 aliam quousque perficiatur, ita uoluntas cum sit appetitiua omnium bonorum, cum non impleatur in uno particulari bono, tendit de uno bono in aliud quousque deueniatur in illud in quo sunt omnia bona: quod dicitur summum bonum.

Ad secundum dicendum quod, cum malum non sit nisi in bono aliquo, non tamen sibi opposito sed in aliquo alio, nam cecitas non est in bono uisus quod
50 priuat, sed est in bono uite quod numquam est sine amixtione boni: et ideo non est inuenire aliquod summe malum. Bonum autem cum inueniatur absque adiectione mali est summe bonum.

Ad tertium dicendum quod hec fuit deceptio Pittagore, qui dicebat quod principia sunt imperfectissima; et fuit deceptus ex hoc quia in hiis que
55 procedunt de potentia ad actum, potentia precedit actum tempore et imperfectum perfecta. Sed tamen simpliciter loquendo imperfectum procedit a perfecto, sicut semen ab animali; et ideo licet in generabilibus et corruptibilibus principia sint imperfecta, tamen principia omnium rerum oportet esse perfectissima.

Ad quartum dicendum quod illud summe est simplex, et in uno simplici esse
60 habet omnimodam perfectionem. Et dico quod non dicitur summum bonum per additionem, sed per priuationem omnis additionis et addibilitatis, cum nichil ei addatur nec possibile sit addi.

22 ordine uniuersi: cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 12.12 (1075a11-1076a6) et Thomas in Commento. 34 Philosophus: Arist., *Ethic.* 1.2 (1094a18-22). 40-41 Bonum ... boni: Aug., *De*

Trin. 8.3.4 (PL 42.949; CCL 50.272). 53 Pittagore: cf. Arist., *Metaph.* 12.8 (1072b31-1073a1).

VI (f. 2vb)

Dist. ii^a articulus 3^{us}.

Ad tertium sic proceditur. Videtur quod non sit tantum unum summum bonum. In quolibet enim genere est unum primum ad quod omnia que sunt illius generis reducuntur. Sed constat quod sunt plura genera rerum; ergo sunt
5 plura prima genera rerum ad que omnia reducuntur: et sic cum ens et bonum conuertantur, sunt plura prima genera bonorum et non unum tantum.

Preterea. Primum et principium sunt idem; sed constat quod sunt plura genera principiorum; et in quolibet istorum est unum primum principium: ergo non est unum tantum primum et summum bonum.

10 Preterea. Vnum non causat contraria, quia ab uno non est nisi unum, sed bonum producit contrarias res in esse; quia bonum est, est causa productionis rerum in esse: ergo non est unum tantum.

Contra. Quod per superhabundantiam dicitur uni soli conuenit; sed
 15 summum bonum, quia per superhabundantiam dicitur, uni soli conuenit: est
 igitur unum summum bonum et non plura.

Responsio. Dicendum, quod sit unum tantum summum bonum, probatur
 tribus rationibus. Vna ratio sumitur ex ipsa ratione summi boni. Nam summum
 bonum est illud proprie quod in se comprehendit omnem bonitatem; unde si
 20 esset aliquid aliud quod esset summum, non comprehenderet istud omnem
 bonitatem, sed aliqua deficeret ei quam illud summum bonum haberet, et e
 conuerso: et sic neutrum esset summum. Vnde cum necessarium sit esse
 aliquod summum bonum, ut probatum est, et summum bonum comprehendit
 in se omnem bonitatem, de necessitate oportet quod sit unum tantum.

Secunda sumitur ex simplicitate sua, quia in uno esse simplici habet
 25 omnimodam bonitatem; quod autem in se est unum et simplex per nichil
 indiuiduatur, et inde est quod in simplicibus naturis inuenitur unum in specie
 una tantum. Ergo cum sit simplicissimum, est unum tantum per nichil
 indiuiduatum, nichil habens superadditum.

Tertia ratio est quia, ut dictum est, totus ordo uniuersi ordinatur ad unum
 30 primum quod est summum bonum; unde cum Philosophus probet quod
 impossibile <est> esse plures mundos, impossibile est quod sit nisi unum
 tantum primum quod est summum bonum.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod omnia genera reducuntur ad genus
 substantie, et huiusmodi reducuntur ad primum ens quod est causa omnis esse.

35 Ad secundum dicendum quod omnia illa principia reducuntur ad unum,
 nam finis et forma et efficiens reducuntur ad unum.

Ad tertium dicendum quod ad hoc potest dupliciter responderi. Vel
 secundum philosophiam, quia ab uno non est immediate nisi unum; sed
 mediante uno quod mouetur in contraria, potest ab eo esse contrarietas et
 40 pluralitas, sicut mediante corpore celesti. Vel dicendum quod unum per
 seipsum et immediate potest facere contraria et plura: nam que in materia sunt
 plura et contraria, in intellectu sunt unum; et sicut intellectus diuinus est
 comprehensiuus contrariorum, ita etiam est causatiuus: et ideo contraria et
 plura producit in esse.

45 Isti articuli possunt poni in distinctione secunda primi libri secundum aliam
 lec<uram> fratris T.

30 Philosophus: cf. *De caelo et mundo* 1.16 sq. (276a18 sq.).

31 <est> suppl.

38 est] nisi add. et exp.

VII

(f. 1va)

Dist. ii^a articulus iiii^{us}.

Ad quartum sic proceditur. Videtur quod in summo bono non sit pluralitas
 personarum. Vnumquodque enim in tantum est bonum in quantum est unum;
 igitur quod est summe bonum oportet esse summe unum. Sed pluralitas
 5 opponitur unitati: ergo in summo bono non est aliqua pluralitas.

Preterea. Omne quod constat ex pluribus subsistentibus actu, sunt unum
 collocatione tantum; sed in diuinis sunt tres persone subsistentibus actu <...>.

Preterea. Omnis numerus et omne numeratum sunt finita; sed in deo nichil est finitum, ergo nec numerale: ergo nec pluralitas.

10 Contra. In deo est summa perfectio, quia nulla perfectionum deest ei: sed ternarius est numerus perfectus, quia perfecte representat ipsum in partibus suis: ergo in deo est numerus ternarius.

Responsio. Dicendum quod sicut fides ponit, ita et ratio, licet non usque-
 15 quaque perfecte, potest considerare trinitatem personarum in diuinis in unitate essentie. Quia enim deus est perfectissimus, nulla ei perfectio deest, sicut infra ostendetur; inter omnes autem perfectiones rerum sunt precipue intelligere et uelle, unde nec deo deesse possunt. Omnis autem intelligens, eo quod intelligit,
 20 aliquid format in mente sua; et similiter qui uult et amat, habet in mente sua rem amatam. Deus autem perfecte intelligit se et amat se; in quantum igitur intelligit se, habet conceptum intellectus sui. In quantum uero amat, habet in mente sua rem amatam; nam amatum in quantum amatur oportet esse in amante, mouetur enim quodammodo ab amato quadam intrinseca motione: unde cum mouens contingat id quod mouetur, necesse est amatum intrinsecum
 25 amanti esse. Intellectum autem, siue conceptio intellectus prout est in intelligente, est uerbum quoddam intellectus; hoc enim exteriori uerbo significamus, quod interius intellectu comprehendimus: sunt enim secundum Philosophum uoces signa intellectuum. Illud autem quod est in mente ut res amata est quo mouemur ad operandum, in quantum amatum trahit et mouet amantem secundum quandam motionem, ut dictum est, ad operandum.

30 Dico ergo quod cum deus intelligat seipsum, est ibi uerbum dei; et cum amet seipsum perfecte, est in seipso ut amatum in amante. Et ideo oportet ponere in diuinis unum quod procedit per modum intellectus, et hoc est uerbum dei; et aliud quod procedit per modum amoris, et hoc est spiritus sanctus. Et dicitur spiritus in hoc quod perficitur in attractione amantis ad ipsum amatum, in quo
 35 uidetur quidam impulsus esse; sanctus uero dicitur in quantum ipse amor, quo summum bonum amatur, eminentem quandam optinet bonitatem. Ipsum igitur a quo est principium intellectus et uoluntatis siue amoris, patrem; ipsum intellectum siue uerbum, filium; ipsum amorem quo pater et filius perfecte amant se, spiritum sanctum dicimus.

40 Notandum autem quod differentia est inter intelligere dei et inter intelligere nostrum, et inter amare dei et amare nostrum. Nam cum in nobis aliud sit esse naturale et intelligere, oportet quod uerbum in intellectu nostro conceptum, habens esse intelligibile tantum, alterius nature et essentie sit quam intellectus noster, qui habet esse naturale; in deo autem idem est esse et intelligere: unde
 45 uerbum dei quod est in deo, cuius est uerbum secundum esse intelligibile, idem esse habet cum deo cuius est uerbum; et per hoc oportet quod sit eiusdem essentie et nature cum ipso. Et similiter cum res amate sint in nobis amantibus accidentaliter et intentionaliter, non sunt essentie nostre; in deo autem sicut intelligere est suum esse, ita et amare: non enim amat seipsum secundum
 50 aliquid sue essentie superueniens, sed secundum essentiam suam. Non igitur est deus in seipso ut amatum in amante accidentaliter, sed substantialiter, sicut uerbum dei est eiusdem nature et essentie cum deo patre et spiritu sancto. Et cum in diuina natura nichil sit nisi subsistens, oportet quod uerbum dei et spiritus sanctus habeant esse subsistens, et quecumque dicuntur de deo istis
 55 conueniant. Sed quia ista omnia sunt unum in deo que ad essentiam pertinent, ideo conuenienter dicitur quod pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sunt unus deus.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod pluralitas opponitur unitati que est principium numeri. sed non unitati essentie qua unum conuertitur cum ente; et hoc modo summum bonum est maxime unum.

60 Ad secundum dicendum quod licet sint in diuinis tres subsistentes actu, non tamen differunt per essentiam sed per relationes; et ideo sunt maxime unum quantum ad essentiam, licet quantum ad modum procedendi differant, ut dictum est.

Ad tertium dicendum quod iam patet qualiter in diuinis est numerus
65 ternarius. Et si queratur quare non <alius>, dicendum est quod cum in diuinis non possit esse distinctio nisi per relationes, quia sola relatio multiplicat trinitatem ut dicit Boetius. et relationes in diuinis non diuersificantur nisi per modum intellectus et per modum uoluntatis. non possunt esse ibi nisi tres persone, scilicet pater, et filius qui procedit per modum intellectus, et spiritus
70 sanctus per modum uoluntatis et amoris.

7 actu] *lineae finis vacat; conclusio deest* 23 amatum] amantem in *praem. et exp.*
33 per modum in *marg.] om. p.m.* 34 hoc quod *con.*] quod quid *p.m.* 65 <alius>
suppl. 69-70 spiritus sanctus *scripsi]* spiritum sanctum *cod.*

11 numerus perfectus: cf. *In Boetium De Trin.* q. 1 a. 4 arg. 2: 'Ternarius est numerus perfectionis omnis rei, ut dicitur in I Caeli et mundi'. 27 Philosophum: Arist., *Periherm.* 2.14 (24b1-2). 67 Boetius, *Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus* 6 (PL 64.1255A).

Cette pièce VII reproduit sept extraits du *Compendium theologiae (De fide)*,⁹ ch. 37, 41 et 45-48:

21-24 amatum ... amanti esse: cf. *Compendium* I 45.2-7.

24-27 Intellectum ... signa intellectuum: *ibid.* 37.7-11.

34 perficitur ... ipsum amatum: *ibid.* 46.12.

35-36 amor ... bonitatem: *ibid.* 47.4-6.

41-47 cum in nobis ... cum ipso: *ibid.* 41.1-11.

47 res amate ... accidentaliter: *ibid.* 48.8.

48-50 in deo ... essentiam suam: *ibid.* 48.1-4.

Soit quelque vingt-six lignes du *Compendium*.

Le *Dico ergo* (30) de l'Anonyme fait contraste avec la discrétion de l'article correspondant de saint Thomas *Super I Sent.* d. 2 a. 4; la *Responsio* de ce dernier article se contente d'affirmer la pluralité des personnes 'non propter rationes inductas, quae non necessario concludunt, sed propter fidei veritatem'. L'Anonyme inaugure une autre méthode: c'est peut-être le premier commentateur des *Sentences* à poser d'emblée, dès la distinction 2, que 'sicut fides ponit, ita et ratio ... potest considerare trinitatem personarum ... in unitate essentie' (13-15); il le fait à partir des perfections divines d'*intelligere* et *amare*, empruntant ses développements au texte du *Compendium (De fide, ch. 36.14-15)*, avec son projet de considérer le contenu du mystère 'quantum possibile est nobis'.

⁹ Cf. ed. Leonina 42 (Roma, 1979), pp. 93 sqq.

VIII
(f. 123vb)

Videtur quod hoc nomen deus predicetur de tribus personis in plurali. Damascenus enim dicit quod hoc nomen deus ita est commune patri et filio et spiritui sancto, sicut homo est commune abraam, ysaac et iacob; sed illi sunt tres homines, ergo et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sunt tres dii.

5 Preterea. Omne quod predicatur de aliquibus, diuiditur secundum naturam eorum de quibus predicatur. Sed hoc nomen deus per se predicatur de patre et filio et spiritu sancto; ergo multiplicatur secundum numerum istorum. Cum igitur isti sint tres, uidetur quod sint tres dii.

10 Preterea. Deus non est aliud quam habens deitatem uel diuinitatem; sed pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sunt tres habentes diuinitatem, ergo sunt tres dii.

Contra. Exo. Audi israel, dominus deus tuus. unus est.

Responsio. Dicendum quod in diuinis est pluralitas personarum et unitas essentie; et quedam predicantur de diuinis secundum quod est ibi pluralitas
15 personarum, et quedam secundum essentie unitatem. Sciendum autem quod omne nomen significans substantiam aut significat substantiue, aut adiectiue: substantiue sicut ea que sunt de essentia rei, ut homo; adiectiue uero sicut ea que adiacent extra, unde hoc ipsum adiectiuum nomen importat. Dico ergo quod omne nomen substantiuum in diuinis predicatur tantum in singulari,
20 adiectiuum uero in plurali. Cuius ratio est quia nomen substantiuum includit in sua significatione suppositum, et ideo oportet quod habeat numerum secundum formam significatam per ipsum; forma autem significata per ipsum nomen est una, et ideo nomen substantiuum non predicatur nisi de uno. Adiectiua uero non includunt in se subiectum quod sit de significatione eorum, sed adiacent extra,
25 et possunt applicari ad omnia illa de quibus predicantur. Cum ergo hoc nomen deus dicatur substantiue de essentia diuina, et hec non sit nisi una que significatur per ipsum nomen, non potest predicari de singulis personis in plurali ita quod dicatur: pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sunt tres dii; sed tantum in singulari, ut scilicet dicatur: pater et filius et spiritus sanctus sunt unus deus.
30 Ex hoc sciendum quod quia omnia que dicuntur de deo quantum ad diuinam essentiam est idem cum essentia diuina, omnia nomina que hec significant predicantur in diuinis tantum in singulari, sicut increatus et immensus et eternus et huiusmodi.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod dictum Damasceni est simile quid ad
35 distinctionem personarum in una natura; quia sicut isti tres homines distinguuntur in natura humana, ita et tres persone distinguuntur in natura diuina. Sed est dissimile, quia in hominibus natura non est una numero sed tantum specie; alia enim numero est humanitas abrae, ysaac et iacob. Personis uero diuinis est una natura numero communis, que est natura diuina simplicissima et
40 maxime una.

Ad secundum dicendum quod natura diuina que significatur per hoc nomen deus, non multiplicatur secundum numerum personarum; sed cum predicetur substantiue, dicitur tantum in singulari.

Ad tertium dicendum quod habens diuinitatem adiectiue predicatur in

- 45 diuinis, et ideo potest dici tres habentes diuinitatem: deus uero, ut dictum est, predicatur substantiue, et ideo non predicatur nisi in singulari tantum.

1 plurali: *marg.* d.ij^a. sec. /// *lec.* 12 Exo.: *cum lac.* 20 in²] *se suppositum add. et exp.*

2 Damascenus: *non inuenimus.* 12 Audi ... unus est: cf. Dt 6:4.

La *Responsio* de la pièce VIII expose la doctrine de *I^a pars* q. 29 a. 2, qui est déjà celle de *Super I Sent.* d. 9 q. 1 a. 2.

Mais l'*Ad primum* est surprenant; l'Anonyme donne une explication bénigne du *dictum Damasceni*, sans soupçonner ce que l'attribution au Damascène a d'in vraisemblable. Nous ignorons d'où provient ce *dictum*, avec pareille attribution.

On touche là une limite des moyens critiques dont dispose notre Anonyme.

IX

(f. 123vb)

Ad tertium sic proceditur. Videtur quod hoc nomen deus non sit magis proprium nomen ipsius quam alia. Damascenus enim dicit quod qui est est maxime nomen dei proprium.

- 5 Preterea. Dyonisius ponit bonum primum nomen dei inter alia diuina nomina; sed quod primo ponitur uidetur magis proprium, ergo etc.

Preterea. Exo. iiii. dicitur: Et nomen meum maximum adonay non manifestaui eis; ergo istud uidetur magis proprium.

- 10 Contra. Quanto aliquod nomen est incommunicabile, tanto magis conuenit deo et appropriatur ei; sed hoc nomen deus est magis incommunicabile, ergo magis appropriatur deo.

- Responsio. Dicendum quod ordo istorum nominum potest considerari et quantum ad id a quo imponuntur, et quantum ad id ad quod significandum imponuntur. Si autem consideremus quantum ad id a quo imponuntur, tunc hoc nomen <qui> est et bonus sunt magis propria dei, quia imponuntur ab hoc effectu qui est esse et producere res in esse, que maxime deo conueniunt: et sic non imponuntur nisi ab operationibus diuinis. Si uero consideremus quantum ad id ad quod significandum imponuntur, dico quod hoc nomen deus est maximum nomen dei, quia imponitur ad significandam naturam diuinam.

- 20 Ad primum ergo dicendum quod hoc nomen qui est est maximum nomen dei quantum ad id a quo imponitur tantum.

Ad secundum dicendum quod bonum primum imponitur inter diuina nomina quantum ad rationem causalitatis, quia bonitas dei est ratio producendi res in esse.

- 25 Ad tertium dicendum quod iudei habebant in libris suis quoddam maximum nomen dei, scilicet tetragrammaton, et erat eis ineffabile: unde quia non licebat eis nominare illud nomen, loco illius legunt adonay, quod sonat dominus. Non ponitur ibi ad significandum hoc nomen dominus, sed significat naturam diuinam que significatur per hoc nomen deus.

14 <qui> *suppl.* 24 iudei] diuina *praem. et exp.* 28 que significatur per] quam nos significamus per *praem. et exp.*

2 Damascenus: cf. *De fide orthodoxa* 1.9 (PG 94.836A); Burgundione interpr.: 'Videtur ... omnibus principalius ... esse qui est' (ed. Buytaert, p. 48). 4 Dyonisius: cf. *De divinis nominibus* 2.1 (PG 3.636C). 6 Ex 6:3.

L'Anonyme est d'accord avec *I^a pars* q. 13 a. 8 et 11, bien que sa rédaction concise semble mettre en avant *Deus* plutôt que *Qui est*.

Son *Ad tertium* (24-28) le montre bien informé, tel que pouvait le renseigner Rabbi Moyses, *Dux neutrorum* 1.60 (éd. Paris, 1520, f. 24).

X

(f. 124rb-va)

Ad secundum sic proceditur. Videtur quod non sit ymago trinitatis in mente secundum ista tria, scilicet memoriam, intelligentiam et uoluntatem. Vbicumque enim est ymago, ibi est similitudo: sed dei ad homines non est aliqua similitudo, cum <non> participant in una forma communi: nam similitudo
5 est rerum differentium eadem qualitas. Ergo in homine non <est> ymago trinitatis.

Preterea. Participatio diuine sapientie peruenit usque ad sensum. Sed mens non est ymago dei nisi in quantum participat diuinam sapientiam; ergo si ymago dei est in mente, est etiam in sensu; sed in sensu non est, ergo nec in
10 mente.

Preterea. Videtur quod tres potentie, scilicet memoria, intelligentia et uoluntas, non sint ymago trinitatis. In diuinis enim una persona est ex alia, sicut filius a patre et spiritus sanctus ab utroque; sed una potentia non est ex alia, ergo huiusmodi tres potentie non representant illas tres personas.

Preterea. Si memoria representat patrem, intelligentia filium, eodem modo se habebunt ad inuicem sicut pater ad filium. Sed nos uidemus contrarium, quia intelligentia est ex memoria et memoria ex intelligentia; pater autem non est a filio, licet filius sit a patre: ergo uidetur quod non sit in hiis ymago patris et filii.

Preterea. Dicere nichil aliud est summo spiritui quam cogitando intueri, ut
20 dicit Dyonisius; sed cogitatio in nobis representat uerbum dei: ergo ad representandum uerbum dei, magis debuit poni cogitatio quam intelligentia.

Preterea. Voluntas mouet alias potentias; sed cum motor superior sit rebus motis, uoluntas est maior aliis potentiis: ergo non debuit poni ad representandum spiritum sanctum, sed patrem.

25 In contrarium est quod dicitur Gen. i: Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram.

Responsio. Dicendum quod ymago nichil aliud proprie est quam representatio alicuius rei per aliquam similitudinem, et per illam similitudinem tantum que speciem rei demonstrat: non enim si aliquid esset simile mei quantum ad albedinem, diceretur ymago mei propter hoc esse in eo; sed ad hoc quod
30 illa similitudo habeat rationem ymaginis, oportet quod sit simile mei in figura: nam figure uidentur quedam signa specierum, et ex figurarum diuersitate significatur diuersitas specierum. Species autem uniuscuiusque rei est ultima perfectio eius: unde species hominis sumitur ex eo quod intelligit, eo quod est
35 ultima perfectio hominis. Quia ergo ultima perfectio quam possumus considerare in ipso deo est quod sit perfectissime intelligens, dicendum quod solum

ymitatio alicuius creature ad deum quantum ad intelligere solum constituit ymaginem dei in ipsa creatura; unde quia huius modi ymitatio in creaturis inferioribus solum inuenitur in homine, cum cetera creature irrationales careant intellectu, homo autem ex intellectu suo intelligit et uult et amat, ideo solum in homine dicitur esse ymago trinitatis secundum illa tria, scilicet memoriam, intelligentiam et uoluntatem. Que quidem cum sint in mente, dicitur ymago trinitatis esse in mente.

Ad primum ergo dicendum quod similitudo aliquorum ad inuicem adtenditur dupliciter: aut ex eo quod participant unam formam communem, et hoc modo ferrum ignitum et es ignitum dicuntur similia quia participant formam ignis; aut ex eo quod unum est ad ymitationem alicuius forme per se existentis, sicut res alba dicitur similis albedini quia ymitatur ipsam formam albedinis per se existentis. Dico ergo quod creature non dicuntur similes deo quantum ad primum modum, cum nullam formam communem participant cum deo; sed dicuntur habere aliquam similitudinem in quantum ymitantur deum in aliquo, sicut in bonitate et in aliis. Vnde cum homo ymitatur ipsum deum quantum ad hoc quod intelligens, dicitur habere similitudinem dei; et hec similitudo habet rationem ymaginis, ut dictum est.

Ad secundum dicendum quod in sensu non potest esse ymago trinitatis propter duas rationes. Vna ratio est quia sensus illud quod cognoscit uenit ab extrinseco, non habet in se unde perficiatur nisi ab exteriori, sicut oculus non potest uidere nisi mediante luce; in intellectu autem est ab intrinseco et ab ipsa essentia sua: unde quantum ad hoc representatur consubstantialitas in diuinis. Item in sensu non est reflexio supra seipsum, oculus enim non uidet se; sed in intellectu est reflexio, quia intelligit se intelligere, et uult se intelligere et intelligit se uelle, et memoratur se intelligere et intelligit se memorari, cum capiant se huiusmodi partes. Et ideo licet ymago non sit in sensu, non tamen propter hoc est remouenda a mente.

Ad tertium dicendum quod, si recte considerentur uerba Magistri et uerba Augustini, non uidentur sonare idem, et uidetur quod Magister non intellexerit intentionem Augustini. Magister enim uult quod illa tria, scilicet memoria, intelligentia et uoluntas, sint tres uires anime et tres potentie; sed hoc Augustinus non uult, immo uult quod nullum istorum sit potentia: ipse enim per memoriam nichil aliud intelligit hic quam habitualement notitiam ad cognoscendum aliquid, per intelligentiam uero actualement cogitationem ex illa notitia procedentem, per uoluntatem uero actualement uoluntatis motum ex cogitatione procedentem.

Vel quantum ad argumentum dicendum est quod una potentia non est ex alia, sed eque sunt ab essentia anime; sed tamen una est mediante alia, sicut nos uidemus quod ex una substantia sunt multa accidentia, unum mediante alio: nam in aliqua substantia est calor et eo mediante procedit sapor, et sic de aliis.

Ad quartum dicendum quod memoria est ex intelligentia in illis que cognoscimus per acquisitionem, non autem in illis que naturaliter cognoscimus.

Ad quintum dicendum quod secundum Augustinum non bene poneretur cogitatio ad representandum uerbum, quia quandiu aliquid cogito nondum determinatum est et completum; sed tunc determinatur et completur quando uideo quod iam est uerum <quod> intelligitur, quia tunc illud quod est in uerbo est simile ei quod est in notitia: unde uerbum non est in ipsa cogitatione

85 sed in termino cogitationis, et terminus cogitationis est quando res iam intelligitur. Et ideo ad representandum uerbum intelligentia ponitur, et non cogitatio.

Ad sextum dicendum quod uoluntas mouet alias potentias solum quantum ad exteriora, et non quantum ad interiora.

4 similitudo^{1]} preparatio *praem. et exp.* <non> *suppl.* 5 <est> *suppl.* 70 per]
uult *praem. et exp.* habitualement *s.m.]* habitudinem *p.m.* 81 uerbum *coni. (ex lin. 20)]*
deum *cod.* 83 <quod> *suppl.* 89 exteriora] actum *praem. et exp.*

19 Dicere ... intueri: ad uerbum legitur in Anselmi *Monologion* 63 (PL 158.208D).
25 Gen 1:26. 67-68 Magister ... uires: cf. *Sent.* 1 d. 3 c. 2 n. 6: 'Illa uero tria naturales
proprietates seu vires sunt ipsius mentis' (ed. Grottaferrata, 1971, p. 73). 70-73 per
memoriam ... procedentem: cf. Thomas, *Q.d. De ueritate* q. 10 a. 3 resp.: 'Assignat Augustinus
imaginem in his tribus ... prout memoria importat habitualement notitiam, intelligentia uero
actualement cogitationem ex illa notitia prodeuntem, uoluntas uero actualement uoluntatis motum ex
cogitatione procedentem' (ed. Leonina 22.2, p. 304, 96-102).

La *responsio* donne l'essentiel de *I^a pars* q. 93 a. 2 et 6.

Dans son *Ad tertium* (65-73), l'Anonyme oppose la notion d'*imago Trinitatis* selon Pierre Lombard à celle de saint Augustin. Pour définir celle-ci, il emprunte – sans le dire – au *De ueritate* (q. 10 a. 3 resp.) la définition qu'en donne saint Thomas; le décalque est suffisamment clair.

Nous avons signalé plus haut (apparat 19) l'erreur du rédacteur attribuant au Pseudo-Denys (20) un extrait du *Monologion*.

Notons encore que l'Anonyme n'hésite pas à s'exprimer à la première personne: 'simile mei ... ymago mei ... simile mei in figura' (29-31).

XI

(ff. 9va-10va)

Hic queritur utrum nomina de deo dicta significant unum in deo uel multa. Ad quod sic proceditur.

Videtur quod multa nomina de deo dicta non significant unum et idem in deo sed multa. Quaecumque enim nomina diuersa significant unam rationem sunt
5 synonyma; si ergo multa nomina dicta de deo significant unum et idem, sunt synonyma: quod est inconueniens.

Si tu dicas quod differunt per rationes diuersorum effectuum, contra: si huiusmodi nomina differunt per rationes effectuum, dicitur bonus deus quia facit bonos, pari ergo ratione corpus quia facit corpora, et lapis quia facit
10 lapides: quod est inconueniens. Non ergo differunt per rationes effectuum.

Preterea. Effectus magis assimilantur causis quam cause effectibus; non ergo deus bonus est quia facit bona, sed quia bonus est ideo bona facit. Et sic idem quod prius.

Si tu dicas quod huiusmodi nomina differunt tantum ratione, contra: ratio
15 illorum omnium est in intellectu nostro; si ergo solum ratione differunt, non sunt in deo sed in intellectu nostro.

Preterea. In omni propositione oportet esse duo, scilicet unum quod

subicitur et aliud quod predicatur; si ergo huiusmodi nomina non differunt, (f. 9vb) nulla propositio poterit formari de deo.

- 20 Contra: Boetius dicit quod illud est uere unum et idem in quo nullus est numerus; sed in deo non <est> aliquis numerus, cum in eo nulla sit diuersitas; ergo in deo <nomina> significant unum.

- Responsio. Dicendum quod omnia nomina de deo dicta significant unum et idem in deo, et quod non sunt synonyma, et quod differunt ratione tantum. Ad
25 cuius euidenciam, quia quasi totius primi summa pendet ex hoc, sciendum est quod quanto aliquis est magis eleuatus et altus, tanto in uno simplici plura comprehendit. Et hoc patet inspicientibus in potestatibus: nam in regia potestate cum sit una includitur omnis potestas que per diuersa officia distribuitur sub dominio regis. Patet etiam in scientiis: nam cum diuerse scientie secundum
30 diuersa genera rerum circa que eorum uersatur intentio multiplicentur, una tamen scientia, que <est> eis superior, est ad omnia se habens, scilicet philosophia prima. Patet etiam in uiribus cognoscitiuis: nam superior uis secundum unum et idem est cognoscitiua omnium que ab inferioribus uiribus secundum diuer(f. 10ra)sa cognoscuntur: omnia namque illa que uisus, auditus
35 et ceteri sensus percipiunt, intellectus una et simplici uirtute diiudicat. Sic ergo oportet quod omnes perfectiones quas res inferiores secundum diuersas naturas et formas consequuntur, in illo summo uno et simplici et eleuato omnium rerum uertice, scilicet deo, perfectissime uniantur.

- Quomodo autem differant ratione, sic ostenditur. Nam deus sua bonitate
40 uoluit huiusmodi perfectionem suam, que in se omnimoda et simplex <est>, creaturis secundum eorum capacitatem communicare; et ideo cum nulla creatura excedat terminatum modum sue nature in perfectione sua, quod in deo est unitum et simplex, in creaturis inuenitur multiforme et diuersum. Intellectus enim noster quia diuinam essentiam in seipsa capere non sufficit, in eius
45 cognitionem consurgit ex rebus creatis que apud nos sunt. Non autem possumus aliquid nominare nisi secundum quod intelligimus, cum nomina sint signa intellectuum; non autem possumus nominare deum nisi ex perfectionibus in huiusmodi rebus inuentis. Et cum huiusmodi perfectiones in rebus istis multiplices sint, oportuit multa nomina (f. 10rb) deo imponere quibus diuersas
50 conceptiones quas intellectus noster de deo concipit manifestaremus, que in deo unum sunt. Si autem essentiam eius immediate uideremus in seipsa, non requi<re> retur nominum multitudo, sed esset simplex notitia eius sicut est et simplex essentia: quod quidem in die nostre glorie expectamus, quando erit dominus unus et nomen eius unum, sicut dicitur in Zach.

- 55 Ad primum ergo dicendum quod ad hoc quod nomina aliqua sint synonyma, oportet quod significant eandem rem et eandem intellectus conceptionem representent. In deo autem huiusmodi nomina licet significant rem, significant eam mediantibus diuersis conceptionibus quas intellectus noster habet de deo: et ideo non sunt synonyma.

- 60 Ad secundum dicendum quod nos cognoscimus deum bonum ex hoc quod facit bona, et gubernationem ex eo quod gubernat, regit et disponit omnia, cum non possimus eum cognoscere per essentiam suam. Et ideo licet huiusmodi diuersitas sit ex parte nostra, in quantum per effectuum diuersas perfectiones deuenimus in cognitionem eius, ipse in se est unum et idem, omnimodam
65 habens perfectionem, ut dictum est.

Et per hoc (f. 10va) patet solutio ad tertium.

Ad quartum dicendum quod licet conceptiones diuerse sint in intellectu nostro, res tamen que respondet eis est eterna in deo, scilicet una et simplex substantia eius, in qua est omnimoda perfectio respondens perfecte conceptionibus intellectus nostri.

Ad quintum dicendum quod licet significant in deo unum et idem, nichil tamen prohibet propositionem formare de deo: sicut enim dicuntur de deo diuersa nomina, ita potest de eo formari diuersa propositio.

28 distribuitur *post regis s.m.* 31 <est> *suppl.* 51 immediate *p.m.] exp. s.m.*
uideremus *p.m.] post seipsa s.m.* 60 hoc *s.m.] eo p.m.*

20 Boetius: *Quomodo Trinitas unus Deus* 2 (PL 64.1250C), apud Petrum Lomb., *Sent.* 1 d. 8 c. 2.
25 quasi ... ex hoc: cf. Thomas, *Super 1 Sent.* d. 2 q. 1 a. 3 sol. (*initio*). 54 Zach 14:9.

Cet article de l'Anonyme se lit aux folios 9va-10va, en marge du Commentaire thomiste (d. 2 q. 1 a. 3) intitulé: 'Utrum pluralitas rationum secundum quas attributa differunt sit aliquo modo in Deo vel tantum in intellectu ratiocinantis' (ff. 9vb-11va).¹⁰ L'Anonyme offre un écho assez clair de cette dispute, écho perceptible dès sa ligne 25; mais il emprunte ses matériaux au *Compendium theologiae* (*De fide*, ch. 22, 24 et 25): cinq extraits presque littéraux:

27-35 hoc patet ... diiudicat: *Compendium* I 22.9-23.
35-38 Sic ergo ... uniantur: *ibid.* 22.23-26.
43-49 Intellectus ... imponere: *ibid.* 24.3-14.
51-54 Si autem ... in Zach.: *ibid.* 24.14-20.
55-59 ad hoc ... non sunt synonyma: *ibid.* 25.4-6 et 10-13.

soit plus de quarante lignes du *Compendium* reproduites par la pièce XI.

Elle emprunte, ai-je dit: au vrai, il est difficile de reconstruire l'ordre de genèse entre les deux textes, celui du *Compendium* et celui de la pièce XI. L'un et l'autre déroule sa suite logique propre; ainsi l'extrait 27-35 se présente chez XI en ordre inversé par rapport au chapitre 22 du *Compendium* (voir l'Appendice ci-dessous): lequel des deux est originel? Nous inclinons pourtant à comprendre la pièce XI comme utilisant des extraits de l'opuscule.

Alors quoi? La pièce XI reproduirait-elle saint Thomas composant son nouveau commentaire de *I Sentences*?... Pour saint Thomas, pareil procédé demande à être prouvé: à savoir, remployer quasi tels quels des matériaux pris à un autre de ses ouvrages. On pensera aussi bien à quelque disciple disposant du *Compendium*.

¹⁰ C'est la dispute des attributs divins. — Sur l'origine de ce monumental article 3. cf. A. Dondaine, 'Saint Thomas a-t-il disputé à Rome la question des attributs divins?', *Bulletin thomiste* 10 (1933), Notes et Communications. 173*-182*; et 'Saint Thomas et la dispute des attributs divins (I *Sent.*, d.2, a.3), authenticité et origine', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938) 253-62.

XII

(f. 24va-b)

Hic queritur utrum hoc nomen qui est sit proprium nomen dei.

Et uidetur quod non. Qui est est enim communissimum, quia conuenit omni rei que habet esse; sed quod est communissimum est minime proprium, ergo non est proprium nomen dei.

- 5 Preterea. Hoc nomen deus est incommunicabile, quia nulli conuenit nisi deo: sed qui est communicatur et non equiuoce: ergo hoc nomen deus est magis proprium nomen ipsius quam qui est.

Preterea. Dionysius ponit nomen dei scilicet bonum ante hoc nomen qui est; ergo bonum est magis proprium nomen ipsius quam qui est.

- 10 Preterea. Sicut bonitas dei est aliud quam bonitas creature, ita et esse dei est aliud quam esse creature; sed bonum non <est> proprium nomen dei, ergo nec qui est.

- Responsio. Dicendum quod quanto aliquod nomen minus importat aliquid repugnans ei cuius est nomen, tanto magis illud nomen est sibi proprium. Illa
15 uero que sunt in creaturis dissimiliter se habent ad deum, et ideo deus per ea proprie non potest nominari; unde quanto aliquod nomen pauciora significat in actu, tanto magis est communicabile deo, quia minus est ibi deo dissimile. Quia uero quanto aliquid est commune, (f. 24vb) tanto pauciora significat in actu, ideo quanto aliquid est communius tanto proprius attribuitur deo; unde cum
20 nomen qui est sit communius, ideo hoc nomen proprius est attribuibile deo: et propter hoc dicit Damascenus quod ideo hoc nomen qui est est proprium dei, quia significat pelagus substantie infinite. Potest et aliter sumi ratio huius ex parte forme. Cum enim omne proprium nomen sumatur a forma siue ab essentia rei, et in deo sit idem esse et essentia, magis proprium nomen dei erit
25 qui est quam aliquod aliud; et sumetur hoc proprie in respectu ad alia nomina quibus a nobis nominatur deus.

- Ad primum ergo dicendum quod hoc nomen qui est magis est proprium deo quia pauciora determinat, cum sit communissimum. Vel potest dici quia esse
30 alio modo est in deo et in creaturis: in deo enim est ut subsistens, in creaturis uero est ut adiacens; et ideo deus non determinatur ab esse secundum quod est in creaturis.

- Ad secundum dicendum quod hoc nomen deus est incommunicabile quantum ad id ad quod significandum imponitur, scilicet quantum ad substantiam diuinam, et hoc modo nulli conuenit; quantum uero ad <id a>
35 quo imponitur est communicabile multis, quia multi sunt uidentes et prouisoires a quibus hoc nomen deus imponitur.

- Ad tertium dicendum quod Dionysius ponit bonum ante esse siue qui est propter rationem finis quam habet bonum. Ipse enim tractat ibi de diuinis nominibus secundum quod manifestantur in participatione creaturarum; et in
40 hoc bonum uidetur prius habere rationem causalitatis.

Ad quartum dicendum quod nec bonum nec qui est est proprium nomen dei; sed qui est dicitur proprium nomen dei quia est inter alia nomina dei magis proprium, ut dictum est.

11 <est> *suppl.*25 *sumetur hoc scripsi]* *sumatur hic cod.*34 <id a> *suppl.*

8 Dionysius: cf. *De divinis nominibus* 2.1 (PG 3.636A). 21 Damascenus: cf. *De fide orthodoxa* 1.9 (PG 94.836A; Burgund., ed. Buytaert, p. 49).

Aux Sentences (d. 8 q. 1 a. 3), saint Thomas raisonne sur *ens* comparé à *bonum*, *unum* et *verum*: 'Absolute ens est prius aliis ... ex quo etiam habet quandam decentiam ut sit propriissimum divinum nomen'. Ici l'Anonyme présente sobrement la doctrine thomiste, telle qu'on la lit en *I^a pars* q. 13 a. 11, et déjà au *De potentia*: 'Proprium nomen ipsius est *Qui est* ... quia sic denominatur quasi a propria forma' (*De potentia* q. 2 a. 1 resp.).

XIII

(f. 30va)

Hic queritur utrum filius possit dici alius a patre secundum aliam lec. f. t.

Et uidetur quod non. Alius enim nomen partituum in diuinis etc.

Preterea. Sicut dicit Priscianus, alius est relatiuum diuersitatis etc.

Preterea. Alius et aliud differunt sola consignificatione; sed constat quod
5 filius non potest dici aliud a patre etc.

Contra. Nulla res seipsam generat; sed in diuinis est perfecta generatio: ergo generans est alius a generato.

Responsio. Dicendum quod, sicut dictum est, in generatione eterna non remanet distinctio nisi secundum relationes, cum pater det totam substantiam
10 suam filio; et huiusmodi relationes sunt reales et subsistentes secundum hoc quod est esse patrem et filium, quia paternitas est pater et filiatio est filius. Huiusmodi relationes in quantum sunt subsistentes sunt ypostases. Ex hoc ergo apparet quod in diuinis substantia dicitur dupliciter, scilicet de essentia et de ypostasibus, siue de personis, et sic est inuenire ibi distinctionem ypostasum; et
15 quantum ad hanc distinctionem possumus dicere quod alius est pater et alius est filius, quia alia est ypostasis patris ab alia ypostasi filii. Non autem possumus dicere quod aliud est pater et aliud filius; cuius ratio est quia neutrum genus pertinet ad naturam in se consideratam absolute, et ideo aliud importat diuersitatem simpliciter et absolute, que est diuersitas essentie: et ideo non
20 potest pater dici aliud a filio. Masculinum uero genus dicit quoddam in se formatum, et ideo trahitur ad significandum pro persona: et hoc modo dicitur filius alius a patre, quia alia est ypostasis filii, alia patris.

Ad primum ergo <dicendum> quod in diuinis non est diuisio aliqua, sed est ibi distinctio personarum et ypostasum; et ideo ad personas designandas
25 possumus uti hoc nomine alius.

Ad secundum dicendum quod licet non sit in diuinis diuisio substantie que <est> essentie, est tamen ibi distinctio substantie que est ypostasis, ut iam patet.

Ad tertium dicendum quod in diuinis potest dici alius et aliud, sed unum
30 pertinet ad naturam et aliud ad ypostasim; et pater non potest dici aliud, quia pertinet ad naturam: tamen alius a filio et e conuerso, quia alius pertinet ad ypostasim. Vnde patet quod non differunt tantum <quantum> ad consignificandum in diuinis aliud et alius, sed etiam quantum ad diuersam relationem etc.

10 suam] filio *praem. et exp.*

23 <dicendum> *suppl.*

27 <est> *suppl.*

32 <quantum> *suppl.*

3 Priscianus: *non invenimus*.

L'Anonyme est plus clair que le Commentaire de saint Thomas (d. 9 q. 1 a. 1). Cette question n'obtient que quelques lignes en *I^a pars* q. 31 a. 2.

XIV

(ff. 31va-32rc)

Nunc uero etc. D. x.

Hic queritur utrum spiritus sanctus procedat ut amor.

Et uidetur quod non. Amor enim est passio quedam; sed in deo non est aliqua passio, ergo nichil procedit in diuinis ut amor.

5 Preterea. Spiritus sanctus est persona subsistens. Amor non nominat personam subsistentem, sed magis actionem siue passionem quandam; non ergo spiritus sanctus procedit ut amor.

Preterea. Processiones diuinarum personarum representantur in sacra scriptura per similitudines in creaturis, sicut dicitur in Eph. iii: Omnis paternitas etc.

10 Sed nulla res subsistens inuenitur in creaturis que procedat per modum amoris; non igitur procedit aliquid in diuinis per modum amoris.

Preterea. Amor est uoluntate. Sed nulla persona diuina procedit uoluntate, cum hoc sit proprium creature. ut dicit Augustinus; ergo spiritus sanctus non procedit per modum amoris.

15 Contra est ratio Augustini quam ponit in littera.

Responsio. Dicendum quod in qualibet natura intellectiua necesse est ponere duas operationes, unam scilicet intellectus et aliam uoluntatis. Cum igitur deus sit maxime intelligens, oportet istas operationes in ipso ponere: non quod differant in deo, sed differunt ex parte nostra secundum rationem tantum; quia

20 cum loquimur de deo, oportet nos loqui de ipso ut de intelligente et uolente, cum tamen intellectus et uoluntas sint unum in deo. Quandocumque autem intelligitur aliquid, oportet ipsum intellectum siue ipsam rem intellectam esse in intelligente. Similiter autem et quandocumque aliquid amatur, oportet ipsum esse in amante, iuxta quod etiam Apostolus loquitur ad Phil. dicens: Eo quod

25 habeo uos in uisceribus ca. etc. Quando ergo homo intelligit siue cognoscit se, est in seipso secundum esse intelligibile, et hoc uocatur uerbum suum; quando ergo amat se, est in seipso ut in amante. Deus ergo cum perfecte intelligat se, est in seipso ut intellectum in intelligente, et hoc est uerbum suum, scilicet conceptio intellectus sui; cum uero perfecte amet se, est in seipso ut amatum in

30 amante, et hoc uocatur spiritus sanctus. Et quia in deo suum intelligere et suum amare est suum esse, ideo et uerbum et spiritus sanctus habent naturam et totam substantiam patris; sed differunt relationibus, ut supra dictum est. Patet ergo, sicut in diuinis uerbum procedit per modum intellectus, ita spiritus sanctus per modum amoris.

35 Ad primum ergo dicendum quod est duplex appetitus: scilicet sensibilis, qui diuiditur per irascibilem et concupiscibilem, intellectualis qui per electionem siue uoluntatem. Sunt autem quedam operationes communes utrique, scilicet amare et irasci et huiusmodi, que possunt dupliciter accipi: scilicet prout referuntur ad partes sensibiles et sunt passionem quedam, et ideo amatum isto modo sumptum non est in deo. Item prout referuntur ad intellectiuam, et sic

sunt sine passione: et hoc modo amor est in deo, prout scilicet referuntur ad intellectiuam.

Ad secundum dicendum quod proprie persona spiritus sancti dicitur procedere per modum amoris, sicut filius per modum intellectus, non quia filius sit ipsum intelligere, sed quia est ipsa res intellecta siue ipsum intellectum. Ita et spiritus sanctus est ipsa res amata siue ipsum amatum; et ideo amor qui est spiritus sanctus non dicit actionem, sed rem quandam et rem subsistentem, cum id quod est in deo amante subsistat. Et ideo spiritus sanctus est persona subsistens.

Ad tertium dicendum quod in creaturis bene inueniuntur aliqua procedere per modum uoluntatis, sed tamen non subsistunt; cuius ratio est quia nulla creatura inuenitur cuius amare sit suum esse.

Ad quartum dicendum quod aliud est procedere a uoluntate sicut res operata per uoluntatem, et aliud est procedere a uoluntate sicut per modum uoluntatis. Primo modo procedunt creature, in quantum scilicet uoluntate dei create sunt; secundo modo procedit spiritus sanctus, in quantum scilicet procedit per modum amoris. Et quia uoluntas in diuinis est naturalis, ideo amare quo deus amat se spiritu sancto est a uoluntate diuina naturaliter; propter quod et spiritus sanctus dicitur naturaliter procedere, quia scilicet procedit per uoluntatem naturalem.

18 istas] *vel fort. illas* 31 ideo] *et praem.*

9 Eph 3:15. 13 Augustinus: *non inuenimus*. 15 Augustini: *De Trin.* 15.17.29 (PL 42.1081; CCL 50A.504), apud Petrum Lomb., *Sent.* 1 d. 10 c. 1 n. 4 (ed. Grottaferrata, 1971, p. 111). 24 Cf. Phil 1:7-8: 'Habeo vos in corde ... in visceribus Christi'.

Comme la pièce VII, la pièce XIV présente le couple des processions trinitaires 'per modum intellectus ut verbum, per modum voluntatis ut amor', dans le plein développement qu'on trouve en *De potentia* q. 9 a. 5, puis en *I^a pars* q. 27. Elle les présente même avec une rigueur intrépide, qui pourrait donner le change et méconnaître la situation délicate de l'essai rationnel à la recherche d'un *intellectus fidei*. La *responsio* procède ici d'emblée, sans préambule: 'in qualibet natura intellectiua necesse est ponere...' (16), et elle enchaîne les déductions: 'oportet ponere..., oportet ... etc.'. Ce climat strictement rationnel détonne un peu dans un commentaire des Sentences.

Il y a lieu d'y insister. L'argument trinitaire élaboré par saint Thomas sur *intelligere* et *amare* – dans *Compendium*, *Contra Gentiles*, *De potentia*, *I^a pars* – se présente toujours chez lui sous la régulation et la requête expresse de la foi *quaerens intellectum*.¹¹ Par contre, notre Anonyme laisse à sous-entendre ici cette requête; et si sa pièce VII a mentionné la foi en tête de la *responsio*, son articulation sommaire entend donner champ libre à la *ratio*: 'sicut fides ponit, ita et ratio ... potest considerare...' (VII 13-14).

Il y a là, nous semble-t-il, une différence de climat: comme si le succès de l'argument thomiste absorbait l'attention et l'intérêt du disciple inconnu.

¹¹ Voir surtout *De potentia* q. 9 a. 5 resp., mais aussi plus bref *Compendium*, ch. 36.

XV

(f. 32va-b)

Hic queritur utrum amor in diuinis dicatur essentialiter uel personaliter. Et uidetur quod personaliter tantum. Sicut enim filius in diuinis procedit ut uerbum, ita spiritus sanctus ut amor; sed uerbum in diuinis dicitur tantum personaliter, ergo et amor.

- 5 Preterea. Omne quod procedit in diuinis semper personaliter dicitur, essentia enim non procedit; sed amor designatur ut procedens ab amante, ergo amor dicitur semper personaliter.

- Preterea. Si caritas quandoque dicitur in diuinis essentialiter et quandoque personaliter, ergo <eodem> modo sapientia et bonitas et huiusmodi attributa.
10 Sed huiusmodi attributa non dicuntur personaliter, eo quod dicuntur essentialiter in diuinis; caritas ergo cum dicatur essentialiter, nullo modo dicitur personaliter in diuinis.

Contra. Diligere in diuinis dicitur essentialiter, quia in deo suum diligere est suum esse; amor ergo in diuinis dicitur essentialiter.

- 15 Responsio. Dicendum quod in actione intellectus intelligentis et in actione uoluntatis uolentis est inuenire aliquid simile: hoc scilicet quod sicut per actionem intellectus intelligentis oportet quod intelligatur res intellecta in intellectu intelligentis existere, ita per actionem uoluntatis que est amare, oportet quod res amata intelligatur in ipso amante existere. Est etiam inuenire
20 aliquid dissimile, hoc scilicet quod res intellecta existens in intellectu intelligentis habet proprium nomen, scilicet hoc nomen uerbum: hoc enim nomine nominamus conceptionem intellectus. Res autem amata in ipso amante existens non habet proprium nomen, quo ipsam rem amatam in ipso amante existentem nominemus; unde aliter oportet nos loqui ibi, et aliter hic. Quia enim
25 in ipsa actione intellectus res intellecta habet proprium nomen distinctum ab ipsa actione, ideo dicimus quod intelligere quod est actio intellectus dicitur essentialiter in diuinis; sed uerbum est personale. Quia uero in actione uoluntatis res amata prout est in amante non habet proprium nomen, non potest significari nisi nomine communi et ipsi operationi et ipsi rei amate, scilicet
30 nomine amoris; et ideo amor et essentialiter et personaliter <dicitur>. Si enim haberet proprium nomen, amare in diuinis diceretur solum essentialiter; sed quia non habet, ut dictum est, ipsa res amata uocatur amor. Sic ergo si amor in diuinis sumatur pro ipsa actione uoluntatis que est amare, dicendum est quod est essentialiter; si uero pro eo quod procedit per modum amoris, sic est personale.
35 Ad primum ergo dicendum quod non est simile, quia in diuinis uerbum duo habet: unum scilicet quod procedit per modum intellectus, aliud uero quod habet proprium nomen; et ideo uerbum dicitur personaliter tantum. Spiritus uero sanctus, licet procedat per modum amoris, non tamen hoc habet proprium nomen, ut dictum est, sed commune; et ideo non dicitur tantum personaliter
40 amor in diuinis, sed est etiam essentialiter, ut dictum est.

Ad secundum dicendum quod in processione que est per modum amoris in diuinis, potest amor dupliciter significari: uel <ut> ipsa actio amantis, et sic amor est essentialiter; uel ut ipsa res amata, et sic cum sit persona subsistens, ut iam patet, amor est personale. Amoris tamen sic accepti aut sic, non est

45 differentia realis sed tantum secundum rationem; et hoc causatur ex intellectu nostro.

Ad tertium dicendum quod si caritas acciperetur semper pro ipsa actione uoluntatis que est amare, diceretur tantum essentialiter et <non> personaliter in diuinis. Nunc autem accipitur etiam pro ipsa re que procedit ut amor, eo
50 quod non habet proprium nomen, ut dictum est: et ex hoc habet amor quod sit personale in diuinis.

9 <eodem> suppl. 19 etiam] autem *praem. et exp.* 30 <dicatur> suppl.
34 amoris] uoluntatis *praem. et exp.* 42 <ut> suppl. 47 si] sit *praem. et exp.*
48 <non> suppl.

La pièce XV exploite sans doute *I^a pars* q. 37 a. 1.

Elle le fait avec un déploiement verbal qui n'est guère dans la manière sobre de saint Thomas. Pour un simple article de cinquante-et-une lignes, onze emplois du mot *actio*, dont quatre *actio intellectus* et cinq *actio uoluntatis (que est amare)*.

Dans ce contexte précis des processions trinitaires, saint Thomas n'emploie le terme *actio* qu'en *I^a pars* (q. 27 a. 3 et q. 37 a. 1), où il lui arrive d'évoquer le double registre de l'action immanente: *intelligere, velle*. Pour la procession de l'amour, il préfère *operatio voluntatis* (q. 27 a. 3 arg. 3 et resp.); je ne connais chez saint Thomas qu'un seul exemple de l'expression *actio voluntatis* en contexte trinitaire, à savoir dans le couple *actio intellectus et actio voluntatis* (q. 27 a. 3 resp.).

Recueillons encore quelques données de la copie.

Avons-nous affaire à un simple copiste, ou bien à quelqu'un qui rédige? – Les incidents de copie par nous notés ne sont point rares; plusieurs se révèlent être des corrections de première main, probablement intervenues en cours même d'inscription, et certains engagent un choix de rédaction:

homo ... que sunt supra se, id est supra dignitatem ~~hominis~~ suam (II 18-19)
demonstrationes ... ex principiis per se notis, et probabiles rationes que procedunt
ex ~~principiis~~ hiis que uidentur pluribus (IV 15-17)
ab uno non est ~~nisi~~ immediate nisi unum (VI 38)
includit in ~~se suppositum~~ sua significatione suppositum (VIII 20-21)
significat naturam diuinam ~~quam nos significamus per~~ que significatur per hoc
nomen deus (IX 27-28)
Si autem essentiam eius ~~immediate~~ "uideremus" in seipsa (XI 51)
ipse enim ~~uit~~ per memoriam nichil aliud intelligit hic quam ... notitiam (X 69-70)
procedit per modum ~~uoluntatis~~ amoris (XV 34).

Nous avons donc affaire à un rédacteur qui surveille l'expression de sa pensée; il a pu introduire quelque distance vis-à-vis de son modèle ou de ses sources.

Par ailleurs, bien que la copie ait bonne tenue, il apparaît que ce qui intéresse notre Anonyme, ce sont les *responsiones* qu'il propose et la discussion des arguments; les éléments qui servent à introduire la question: arguments et *auctoritates*, sont moins soignés, parfois sommaires, ou traités avec les moyens du bord:

- argument absent: II 2
- sans conclusion: VII 7
- abrégé par etc.: I 5; II 5, 8; III 4; XIII 2, 3, 5
- citation abrégée: XIV 9
- de mémoire ou altérée: III 3; VIII 12; XIV 24
- non contrôlée: VIII 2; X 20.

Le cas X 19-20 est typique: la main B transcrit bravement 'Dicere nichil aliud est summo spiritui quam cogitando intueri, ut dicit Dyonisius' (f. 124rb). Cet extrait du *Monologion* 63 (PL 158.208D) est cinq fois cité par saint Thomas sous le nom exact Anselmus.¹²

Le cas VIII 2 est plus compromettant: l'Anonyme explique benigne (VIII 34-40) un soi-disant *dictum Damasceni* qui n'est ni authentique ni vraisemblable; voir ci-dessus p. 322.

Ces faiblesses occasionnelles laissent à l'ensemble des quinze pièces leur tenue et leur intérêt. La doctrine est évidemment celle de Frère Thomas, puisée à bonnes sources. La *I^a pars* est exploitée dans nos pièces VIII, IX, X, XII, XIV et XV; le *Compendium* est utilisé en extraits pour les pièces VII et XI; l'*In Boetium De Trinitate* est au moins consulté pour I, II et III; du *De veritate* est transcrit un extrait en pièce X. On peut donc parler d'un disciple de saint Thomas; disciple inconnu et discret, qui fait son profit des clairs chapitres du *Compendium* pour enrichir le Commentaire thomiste du premier livre des Sentences.¹³

Et maintenant quel sens donner aux indications du manuscrit: *secundum aliam lecturam fratris T*?

La note marginale du folio 123vb, face au titre de notre pièce VIII, est trop mutilée et incertaine pour venir ici en discussion. Restent les deux mentions des folios 2vb (pièces V et VI) et 30va (pièce XIII). Les pièces V et VI n'ont pas de parallèle formel dans les œuvres de saint Thomas; à première vue donc, rien ne

¹² *Super I Sent.*, d. 27 q. 2 arg. 3; *De veritate* q. 4 a. 1 arg. 9 et art. 2 arg. 2; *I^a pars* q. 34 a. 1 arg. 2; *In Iohan.* cap. 1 lect. 1.

¹³ Il y a une quinzaine d'années, mon frère, le Père Antoine Dondaine, avait soumis au Père Santiago Ramírez une transcription de nos pièces V, VI, XIV et XV. Le P. Ramírez répondit: 'Doctrina equidem est s. Thomae, vel saltem omnino consona doctrinae eius in aliis operibus traditae. Modus tamen componendi et redigendi articulos ... non videtur sapere stylum neque indolem s. Thomae in ceteris operibus Sed fortasse est "reportatio" quaedam, non ad unguem exacta' (communiqué par le P. Antoine Dondaine).

s'oppose à l'attestation *secundum aliam lecturam*: il est possible, sans plus, que ces pièces procèdent d'une autre *lectura fratris Thome*. Rien non plus ne semble s'y opposer pour la pièce XIII; il est vrai que la thèse qu'elle défend: *dicitur filius alius a patre* (XIII 21-22), est déjà celle du Commentaire authentique juxtaposé à B (f. 30va), mais la rédaction qu'en propose B est plus claire: il n'est pas impossible qu'il l'ait recueillie d'une *alia lectura*, quoi qu'il en soit de la marge d'initiative aperçue en B (auto-corrections), marge non exclue par l'imprécision de la formule *secundum (lecturam)*.

Mais on doit insister: s'agit-il vraiment d'une *lectura* sur les Sentences, comme Ptolémée l'entendait (voir ci-dessus p. 308)? Si la position de la note *Isti articuli*, au-dessous du double commentaire, l'admet en quelque mesure et le suggère pour les pièces V et VI, elle ne nous éclaire pas pour l'ensemble des pièces. Or cet ensemble ne favorise guère l'idée d'une intervention personnelle de saint Thomas. Comment l'entendre pour les pièces VII et XI, farcies d'extraits du *Compendium* et engageant à plein un rôle de compilateur? Comment l'entendre pour les pièces VIII et X, avec leurs attributions erronées *Damascenus* (VIII 2), *Dyonisius* (X 20)? Et même comment l'entendre pour la pièce XIV, au climat rationnel si différent du *Super Sententias*? Ou pour la pièce XV, dont le vocabulaire nous a fait difficulté?

La base critique de notre inférence en faveur d'une *alia lectura* se réduit ainsi de telle sorte, qu'il reste peu d'espoir de trouver appui dans le manuscrit d'Oxford pour l'hypothèse d'un second Commentaire thomiste du premier livre des Sentences.

APPENDICE

XI

Compendium 22

... sciendum est quod quanto aliquis est magis eleuatus et altus, tanto in uno simplici plura comprehendit. Et hoc patet inspicientibus ¹in potestatibus: nam in regia potestate cum sit una includitur omnis potestas que per diuersa officia distribuitur sub dominio regis. Patet ²etiam in scientiis: nam cum diuerse scientie secundum diuersa genera rerum circa que eorum uersatur intentio multiplicentur, una tamen scientia, que <est> eis superior, est ad omnia se habens, scilicet philosophia prima. Patet etiam ³in uiribus cognoscitiuis: nam superior uis secundum unum et idem est cognoscitiua omnium que ab inferioribus uiri-

Si ergo in Deo sunt omnium perfectiones ... relinquitur quod omnes sint unum in eo. Hoc autem manifestum fit consideranti ³in uirtutibus cognoscitiuis. Nam superior uis secundum unum et idem est cognoscitiua omnium que ab inferioribus uiribus secundum diuersa cognoscuntur: omnia enim que uisus, auditus et ceteri sensus percipiunt, intellectus una et simplici uirtute diiudicat. Simile ²etiam apparet in scientiis: nam, cum inferiores scientie secundum diuersa genera rerum, circa que uersatur earum intentio, multiplicentur, una tamen scientia, que est eis superior, est ad omnia se habens: que dicitur philosophia prima. Apparet

*bus secundum diuersa cognoscuntur; omnia namque illa que uisus, auditus et ceteri sensus percipiunt, intellectus una et simplici uirtute diiudicat.*⁴*Sic ergo oportet quod omnes perfectiones quas res inferiores secundum diuersas naturas et formas consequuntur, in illo summo uno et simplici et eleuato omnium rerum uertice, scilicet deo, perfectissime uniantur.*

Quomodo autem differant ratione, sic ostenditur ... cum nulla creatura excedat terminatum modum sue nature in perfectione sua, quod in deo est unitum et simplex, in creaturis inuenitur multiforme et diuersum.⁵*Intellectus enim noster quia diuinam essentiam in seipsa capere non sufficit, in eius cognitionem consurgit ex rebus creatis que apud nos sunt.*⁶*Non autem possumus aliquid nominare nisi secundum quod intelligimus, cum nomina sint signa intellectuum; non autem possumus nominare deum nisi ex perfectionibus in huiusmodi rebus inuentis. Et cum huiusmodi perfectiones in rebus istis multiplices sint, oportuit multa nomina deo imponere quibus diuersas conceptiones quas intellectus noster de deo concipit manifestaremus, que in deo unum sunt.*⁷*Si autem essentiam eius immediate uideremus in seipsa, non require<re>tur nominum multitudo, sed esset simplex notitia eius sicut est et simplex essentia: quod quidem in die nostre glorie expectamus, quando erit dominus unus et nomen eius unum, sicut dicitur in Zach.*

etiam idem ¹*in potestatibus: nam in regia potestate, cum sit una, includitur omnis potestas que per diuersa officia sub dominio regis distribuitur.*⁴*Sic igitur et perfectiones que in inferioribus rebus secundum diuersitatem rerum multiplicantur, oportet quod in ipso rerum uertice, scilicet Deo, uniantur.*

Compendium 24

Per hoc autem apparet ratio multitudinis nominum que de Deo dicuntur, licet ipse in se sit omnino simplex. Cum enim ⁵*intellectus noster essentiam eius in se ipsa capere non sufficiat, in eius cognitionem consurgit ex rebus que apud nos sunt, in quibus inueniuntur diuerse perfectiones quarum omnium radix et origo in Deo una est, ut ostensum est. Et quia*⁶*non possumus aliquid nominare nisi secundum quod intelligimus, sunt enim nomina intellectuum signa, Deum non possumus nominare nisi ex perfectionibus in aliis rebus inuentis, quarum origo in ipso est: et quia hec in rebus istis multiplices sunt, oportuit multa nomina Deo imponere.*⁷*Si autem essentiam eius in se ipsa uideremus, non requireretur nominum multitudo, sed esset simplex notitia eius sicut est et simplex essentia; et hoc in die nostre glorie expectamus, secundum illud Zach. 'In illa die erit Dominus unus, et nomen eius unum'.*

Editori di San Tommaso, Grottaferrata.

AVICENNA'S PROOF
FROM CONTINGENCY FOR GOD'S EXISTENCE
IN THE *METAPHYSICS* OF THE *SHIFĀ'* *

Michael E. Marmura

I. INTRODUCTION

IN his Arabic writings, Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā) (d. 1037) gives more than one version of his celebrated proof from contingency for the existence of God.¹ A concise version, for example, is given in the short treatise, *al-Risāla al-ʿArshiyya*.² The two best-known versions – certainly the ones usually referred to in discussions of the proof – are those given in the metaphysical parts of the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt*, respectively.³ The question thus naturally arises regarding the *Metaphysics* of his voluminous *Shifā'*: does it not contain a version of the proof?

It would be anomalous if it did not, since this is Avicenna's major metaphysical work. One of its fundamental theses, it should be added, is that metaphysics cannot take the existence of God as self-evident, but must demonstrate it.⁴ Avicenna further states explicitly that he will be offering in the *Metaphysics* a demonstration of God's existence and indicates the nature of such

* A shorter version of this paper was read on 26 February 1979 at the annual meeting of the Mid-West Branch of the American Oriental Society held at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

¹ For a related discussion based on the metaphysical part of Avicenna's major Persian work, the *Danishnāme-yi-ʿAlāʾī* (*The Book of Knowledge Dedicated to ʿAlāʾ al-Dawla*), see P. Morewedge, 'Ibn Sīnā and Malcom and the Ontological Argument', *The Monist* 54.2 (April 1970) 234-49.

² Ibn Sīnā, *al-Risāla al-ʿArshiyya* in *Majmūʿ Rasāʾil al-Shaykh al-Raʾīs* (Hyderabad, 1354 A.H.), pp. 23-24. For a translation, see the Appendix below.

³ Ibn Sīnā, *al-Najāt* (Cairo, 1938), p. 235; *al-Ishārāt wa al-Tanbīhāt* (vols. 3 and 4), ed. S. Dunya (Cairo, 1938), pp. 447-55. This edition includes the commentary of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1274). These two references will be abbreviated *Najāt* and *Ishārāt*, respectively. For a translation of the proof in these two versions, see the Appendix below.

⁴ Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā': al-Ilāhiyyāt (Metaphysics)*, ed. G. C. Anawati, S. Dunya, M. Y. Musa and S. Zayd, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1960), 1, p. 5, l. 18 - p. 6, l. 13 (p. 6, l. 13 for the specific reference to the statement that the existence of God is not self-evident). This work will be abbreviated *Ilāhiyyāt* in the notes.

a proof⁵ – a point to which we shall shortly return. A proof from contingency for the existence of God is certainly found in the *Metaphysics*. The problem, however, is locating it, more accurately, locating its parts and assembling them.

For the proof in the *Metaphysics* is spread among various and often widely separated chapters of this intricately argued and structurally complex work. Its components are found mainly in book 1, chaps. 5 and 6, book 4, chap. 1, book 6, chap. 2 and book 8, chap. 1. Moreover, in the entire *Metaphysics*, it is only in the heading of book 8, chap. 3, that we find any mention of a proof for God's existence.⁶ But if we begin by looking for a proof from contingency in this chapter, we will find a complementary argument that presupposes the proof proper. For Avicenna's proof from contingency, in its various versions, makes use of different arguments from the finitude of efficient causes. Chapter 3 of book 8 complements this by arguing for the finitude of formal and teleological causes. The argument in the *Metaphysics* that parallels the proof from contingency in the Arabic versions we have mentioned ends in the first part of chapter 1 of book 8,⁷ the rest of the chapter being devoted to a complementary argument for the finitude of the receptive, material causes.⁸

To this it should be added that the premises of the proof in the *Metaphysics* have often to be extracted from different contexts. Hence, in the search for the proof, it is not simply a matter of tracing an argument that is constantly being interrupted. It also means isolating such premises without distorting the original intention of the discussions in which they appear. There is also ambiguity in some of Avicenna's statements. Thus, for example, in chapter 6 of book 1, in the discussion of the properties of 'that which is in itself necessary', i.e., God, the existence of God seems to be asserted before the proof for this existence is completed. (Whether or not this is the case, however, depends on how we read the text.) Moreover, sometimes we have to go to other parts of the *Shifā'* and other writings of Avicenna for a fuller understanding of the proof's premises. There is also an instance, as we shall see, where Avicenna simply refers us back to the *Physics* of the *Shifā'* for one of the arguments that can be used to prove the impossibility of an actual infinite.

It is with all this in mind that we will endeavor to 'reconstruct' the proof

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 21, ll. 1-8; p. 27, l. 9.

⁶ The heading of 8.3 (*Ilāhiyyāt* 2.340, ll. 11-13) reads as follows: 'On showing the Finitude of the Final and Formal Causes; On Proving [the Existence of] the First Principle in an Absolute Manner; On Making Decisive the Statement on the First Cause Unrestrictedly and [On Making it] on the First Cause Restrictedly; Showing that what is Absolutely a First Cause is a Cause for the Rest of the causes.'

⁷ *ibid.*, p. 329, ll. 6-7.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 329, l. 7 to p. 321.

from contingency as it occurs in the *Metaphysics*. Before we attempt this, however, some remarks on the relation of this version to the more closely related versions in the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt* are in order.

II. THE PROOF IN THE *METAPHYSICS* AS IT RELATES TO ITS VERSIONS IN THE *NAJĀT* AND THE *ISHĀRĀT*

The proof's versions in the *Metaphysics*, the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt* have one fundamental thing in common. They offer a 'metaphysical' proof, rather than a proof from 'physics', for God's existence. They do not, that is, argue for the existence of God from our observation of the external world. They all begin with an intellectual intuition of existence and through an analysis of the concept of existence they arrive at the existence of 'the necessary existent', God. Now, it is true that in the *Najāt* there is no explicit reference to this. Avicenna simply starts by saying: 'There is no doubt that there is existence.'⁹ He does not specify whether we have this certitude because we intuit existence intellectually, or because of our sensory experiencing of the physical world. But after this opening statement there is no reference to the sensible external world in the proof. The argument is purely rational and is substantially the same as the one offered in the *Ishārāt* where, as we shall see, Avicenna tells us that the proof he has given is not based on our experiencing of the physical world.

In *Metaphysics*, book 1, chap. 3, where Avicenna discusses the 'benefit' of metaphysics, he writes:¹⁰

It will become clear to you anon through an intimation that we have a way for proving the First Principle, not by way of inference from sensible things, but through universal rational premises that make it necessary that there must be for existence a principle that is necessary in its existence, that make it impossible for [this principle] to be in any respect multiple, and that make it necessary that it must be the principle of the whole [of existence] and that the whole proceeds from Him according to the order possessed by the whole.

Due to our incapacity, however, we are unable to adopt this demonstrative method which is the method of arriving at the secondary existents from the primary and at the effect from the cause, except with reference to certain groupings of the order of existing things, not in detail.¹¹

⁹ See Appendix and n. 2 of Appendix.

¹⁰ *Ilāhiyyāt* I. 21, ll. 2-8.

¹¹ The reference seems to be to the triadic emanative scheme concerned with 'some' or 'certain groupings (*baʿd jumal*)' of existents, namely, the celestial intelligences, souls and bodies, and then in a general, not detailed manner, with the kinds of existents in the world of generation and corruption.

Again, in the *Ishārāt*, after presenting the proof for God's existence and discussing His unity, he writes:¹²

Reflect on how our proof for the existence and oneness of the First and His being free from attributes did not require reflection on anything except existence itself and how it did not require any consideration of His creation and acting, even though the latter [provide] evidential proof (*dalīl*) for Him.

This mode, however, is more reliable and noble, that is, where when we consider the state of existence, we find that existence inasmuch as it is existence bears witness to Him, while He thereafter bears witness to all that comes after Him in existence.¹³

Thus Avicenna is concerned with (a) proving the existence of God through an analysis of existence and (b) showing the manner in which the world proceeds from Him through a consideration of the nature of the Godhead. Although our interest is in (a), the way in which the proof is presented in the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt* is relevant to (b). Broadly speaking, the form or structure of the proof as it appears in these two works can be summarized as follows. An existent is in itself either necessary or only contingent. If in itself necessary, then this is what we are seeking, God. If in itself only contingent, then we will demonstrate that such a contingent (if it exists) requires the existent that is necessary in itself. In either case, then, there must be an existent that is necessary in itself, the one God. We note that the argument proves the existence of God, not of the contingent world. (For the existence of the contingent is hypothesized.¹⁴) Proving the existence of the world is an argument from cause

¹² *Ishārāt*, p. 482.

¹³ See A.-M. Goichon's French translation and comments on this: *Ibn Sīnā (Avicenne), Livre des Directions et remarques*, traduction avec introduction et notes par A.-M. Goichon (Paris-Beirut, 1951), pp. 371-72 and n. 1 on p. 371.

¹⁴ Taking 'P' and 'N' to represent 'the existent that in itself is only possible' and 'the existent necessary in itself', respectively, and taking the connective 'or' as inclusive, the overall structure of the argument can be represented as:

Either N or P
Either N or (If P then N)

Therefore N;

or, more simply, as:

Either N or P
If P then N

Therefore N.

In the *Najāt*, the *Ishārāt* and also the *al-Risāla al-ʿArshīyya* (see Appendix), the main task is to prove the statement, 'If P then N'. This is the argument from contingency proper. It differs, however, from other versions of this argument by other philosophers in that the existence of 'P' is hypothetical.

to effect – as Avicenna himself explicitly states¹⁵ – and involves Avicenna's emanative scheme and the argument that the world proceeds as the necessary consequence of divine knowledge.¹⁶

Does then the version of the proof in the *Metaphysics* have such a structure? Now, the major premise of the proof, as we shall see, is given and argued for in chapter 6 of book 1, though in a different but related context. It is true that there is ambiguity in Avicenna's presentation of the premise and subsequent discussion. But this, as we shall argue in part IV, can be resolved, so that the presence of the premise there suggests very strongly that the form of the proof in the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt* is implicit in the argument in the *Metaphysics*. This is further supported by Avicenna's statements in the *Metaphysics* and the *Ishārāt* (quoted above) regarding the proof of God's existence where the conception of a metaphysical proof in both works is the same.

The proof in the *Metaphysics*, however, has three features that distinguish it from its versions in the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt*. First of all, it indicates the epistemological sense in which the concept of existence is for Avicenna an intellectual intuition, giving us thereby a fuller understanding of the *a priori* nature of the proof in all its versions. Secondly, it gives the more detailed arguments to establish (a) the premise that the effect of the proximate, essential efficient cause is necessitated and (b) its corollary that such a cause is prior to its effect only 'in existence', not in time. This concept of the efficient cause as coexisting with its effect underlies all three versions. Finally, it gives variant (though complementary) arguments to the one repeated in both the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt* to show that a chain of causally connected contingent existents must terminate in 'the necessary existent'.

III. THE *A PRIORI* NATURE OF THE PROOF

For the *a priori* nature of the proof in the *Metaphysics* we must turn to book 1, chap. 5. He begins this chapter by stating that 'the "meanings" (*al-maʿanī*) of the existent (*al-mawjūd*), the thing (*al-shayʿ*) and the necessary (*al-ḍarūrī*) are impressed on the soul in a primary way, this impression not requiring better known things to bring it about.' He then states that just as in the realm of propositions there are self-evident first principles, there are in conceptual matters 'things that are principles for conception'.¹⁷

¹⁵ See the quotation above from the *Metaphysics*, *Ilāhiyyāt* 1.21, ll. 2-8.

¹⁶ See my article, 'Some Aspects of Avicenna's Theory of God's Knowledge of Particulars', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82.3 (July-September 1962) 299-312.

¹⁷ *Ilāhiyyāt* 1.29, ll. 5-16.

Thus, 'the existent' and 'the necessary' are primary concepts and these, as we shall see, are the two basic concepts on which the proof from contingency rests. Avicenna in this chapter, however, is largely concerned with the logical and semantic sense in which such concepts are primary. Thus, he maintains, they are the most general, the better known, and primitive in the sense that they cannot be defined in terms of other concepts: any attempt to define them so, he argues, must lead either to circularity or to infinite regression. The analysis is extensive. It extends, for example, to distinguish between different meanings of 'existence'. Avicenna also devotes a lengthy and interesting discussion to the problem of non-existence, more specifically, to showing when and how one can use meaningful language to describe the non-existent – a future event, for example.

Avicenna's logical and semantic discussion of these concepts is certainly pertinent to understanding the *a priori* nature of his proof and we will return to aspects of it. But it is not sufficient. There is a more epistemological side to the primacy of these concepts in Avicenna's system which we must consider. In this chapter, he only alludes to this side when he tells us that these concepts are 'impressed on the soul in a primary way'. To see what he means we must turn to his emanative theory of knowledge – found in his psychological writings – and the distinction he draws between two kinds of intelligibles, primary and secondary.¹⁸

For Avicenna the human soul acquires the intelligibles as emanations from the active intelligence, the last of a series of celestial intelligences that emanate successively from God.¹⁹ The primary intelligible concepts consist of the primitive concepts we have been discussing and of self-evident logical propositions. As we have seen, these are primary in the sense that they are not derivable from more primitive intelligibles. But they are also primary in that they are the first intelligibles to emanate on the human intellect. Their reception from the active intelligence does not require the presence of other intelligibles, any type of instruction, or any activity of the soul on the sensitive and

¹⁸ Ibn Sīnā: *Avicenna's De Anima*, ed. F. Rahman (London, 1958), pp. 49 ff.; *Fī Ithbāt al-Nubuwwāt* (On the Proof of Prophecies), ed. M. E. Marmura (Beirut, 1968), pp. 42-43 – also pp. 32-33 the Arabic introduction and part IV of the English introduction.

¹⁹ This raises the difficulty that Avicenna's emanative epistemology rests on his affirmation of God's existence and the manner in which the world proceeds from Him. Since the 'metaphysical' proof for God's existence (at least in the *Shifā'*) rests in turn on this emanative epistemology, the argument, it would seem, becomes circular. The question, however, is in need of further study and would have to take into account, among other things, the traditional Aristotelian order in which Avicenna presents his theories, as well as other arguments an Avicennian can use to establish that we can have knowledge of existence which is purely intellectual (see the concluding paragraph of this part of the article on pp. 343-44).

imaginative levels. As such they are received by all men. The secondary intelligibles, on the other hand, consist of concepts derivable from more primitive concepts and propositions inferred from more primitive propositions. These intelligibles are received only by men capable of abstraction. Normally, their reception must be anteceded by the presence of the primary intelligibles and by such activities of the soul as sensation, imagination, cogitation, or imaged thinking, by instruction in some form or another. These activities prepare the soul for the reception of the secondary intelligibles from the active intelligence.

What concerns us most is that such concepts as 'the existent' and 'the necessary' are primary intelligibles. Their reception by the human soul from the active intelligence does not require the preparatory activities of sensation, cogitation and so on; that is, their acquisition is totally independent of sensory experience. Thus the two concepts on which Avicenna's proof from contingency rests are for him independent of our observation of the physical world. But apart from the modal concept of 'the necessary', the proof, as we shall see, employs the concepts of 'the possible' and 'the impossible'. Are these also primitive concepts? Avicenna raises the issue by noting that it is difficult to define any of these three concepts. Attempts to do so have led to circularity, he tries to show, since each of them has been defined in terms of the other two. 'Nonetheless', he argues, 'of these three, the one with the highest claim to be first conceived is the necessary.' 'This', he continues, 'is because the necessary points to the "assuredness of existence" (*ta'kkud al-wujūd*), existence being better known than non-existence because existence is known in itself while non-existence is, in some way or another, known through existence.'²⁰ This suggests that Avicenna after all holds 'the necessary' to be more primitive of the three modal concepts, the other two, derivable from it – derivable, however, *a priori*.

We cannot discuss Avicenna's *a priori* concept of the existent without mentioning his well-known example of the person suspended in space. If any one of us, he argues, supposes himself born all at once, mature and fully rational, but suspended in the void in such a fashion that he is totally unaware of his physical body, he will still know that he exists as an individual self.²¹ Thus, for Avicenna, one's own existence can be known without reference to the physical and the sensory. This argument, though important and interesting in its own right, should perhaps not be unduly emphasized in the reconstruction of the proof in the *Metaphysics*. For one thing, there is no

²⁰ *Ilāhiyyāt* 1.36, ll. 4-6.

²¹ *Avicenna's De Anima*, p. 16; *Ishārāt* 2, ed. S. Dunya (Cairo, 1957), p. 320.

allusion to it in this part of the *Shifā'*. Secondly, it is presented neither to dispel doubt about existence nor primarily to show that we can have a purely intellectual awareness of existence. The main intention of this argument is really to prove that the human soul is an individual, immaterial substance. It is the discussion in book 1, chap. 5 that is the more immediately pertinent to the proof.

IV. THE PROOF'S CAUSAL PREMISE

Having affirmed in chapter 5 of book 1 that such concepts as 'the existent' and 'the necessary' are primary, Avicenna goes on in chapter 6 to discuss what he regards as the two modes of existence: (1) that which is in itself only possible and (2) that which is in itself necessary. It is in discussing these two modes that in the *Metaphysics* he first enunciates the causal premises underlying his proof from contingency. Avicenna writes:²²

The things that enter existence bear a twofold division in the mind. They include that which when considered in itself, its existence is not necessary and, clearly, not impossible, since otherwise it would not enter existence; this thing is within the bounds of possibility. They will include that which when considered in itself is necessary.

Before turning to the causal premise, however, two preliminary remarks are in order.

The first is that we encounter an ambiguity in Avicenna's language. After stating that existents 'bear a twofold division in the mind', either that which in itself is only possible or that which is in itself necessary, there seems to be a shift in the wording from the hypothetical to the categorical. The language, particularly as the discussion progresses, lends itself to be understood as conveying the pronouncement that things entering existence in fact divide into these two types of existence. Thus interpreted, the existence of God and the world is simply asserted. But since it is from an analysis based on this presumed assertion that the fundamental causal premise for the proof of God's existence is derived, a glaring circularity ensues.

We have every reason to think, however, that this shift to the categorical is only seeming, that it does not reflect what is actually being said. The key clause in the chapter is in the opening statement that things entering existence 'bear a twofold division in the mind', *tanqasim fī al-ʿaql ilā qismayn*. The natural, and in our view proper, way to understand what Avicenna is saying is that things

²² *Ilāhiyyāt* 1.37, ll. 7-10.

entering existence can include either that which in itself is only possible, that which is in itself necessary (without specifying which), or both these distinct types of existence. As such, the statement is identical with the major premise of the proof in the *Najāt* and the *Ishārāt*. Hence the discussion that follows this division should be understood as having the pattern: 'If the existents include that which in itself is necessary, then the latter would have such and such characteristics and if the existents include that which is in itself only possible, then the latter would have such and such characteristics.' Thus understood, there is no categorical assertion that both modes of existence are included among the existents. This understanding of the text absolves the proof for the circularity we have mentioned. Absolved from this circularity, the opening statement whose primary intention is to introduce a discussion of the characteristics of the two possible modes of existing things (not to give a proof of God's existence) can now be interpreted as also constituting an implicit premise for the proof as a whole.

The second remark is that the causal premise derived from the discussion of the two modes of existence is ultimately related to the distinction between essence and existence. Since existence is not included in the quiddity of the contingent, then, if such a contingent exists, its existence must derive from something extraneous to the quiddity. It must have a cause. But the main argument, as we shall see, is not simply to show that such a contingent must have a cause, but that it is necessitated by such a cause.

Avicenna begins by arguing that that whose existence is in itself necessary can have no cause. For if we suppose it to have a cause, then it would become necessary through another and is no more necessary in itself. It also follows, he tries to show, that the necessary existent is one, unique, simple and changeless. The analysis is totally different when we consider the possible in itself, the contingent. For the contingent is that which when considered in itself can exist or not exist. If it exists, then it has been 'specified' with existence rather than non-existence; similarly, if it does not exist, it has been 'specified' with non-existence rather than existence. But the quiddity of the contingent – and it is here that the essence-existence distinction is manifest – is not sufficient to account for this specification. Thus if the contingent exists, this is due to something extraneous which is its cause; and if it does not exist this is also due to something extraneous, namely, the absence of its cause.²³

Now, suppose, Avicenna argues in effect, that there is an existent, 'A', that is in itself possible but which has been brought into existence by a cause, 'B'.

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

Although in itself only possible, 'A' must become necessary through 'B' and 'with respect to it'. If it were not, then with the existence of 'B' and 'with respect to it', 'A' would remain possible. Since it exists, however, we would have to suppose some other cause to have specified it with existence and if 'A' is not rendered necessary through this other cause, then we would have to suppose yet another and so on *ad infinitum*. But an infinity of such causes – even if for the moment we allow as possible – would not specify 'A' with existence. Hence, since 'A' exists, it must have been specified with existence (rather than non-existence) and rendered necessary through 'B'.

Avicenna hence is not simply arguing that if a contingent exists it must have a cause. He is also arguing that such a contingent is rendered necessary by its cause – that it is necessitated. This is further confirmed by a complementary argument in the first chapter of book 4,²⁴ a chapter devoted largely to a discussion of causal priority. Just as the contingent effect must have in itself the possibility of coming into being, Avicenna argues in essence, its cause must have the possibility of generating it. This possibility in the cause, however, is not sufficient for producing the effect. There must be something else. This thing in addition to the possibility then necessarily causes the effect. Otherwise, the cause would remain a mere possibility, insufficient for producing effect. Thus, if the causal conditions – including the absence of impediments – are fulfilled, the effect follows necessarily. Implicit in the argument is that there can be no temporal delay between cause and effect. Both for Avicenna coexist:²⁵

Hence with the existence of the cause, the existence of every effect is necessary and the existence of its cause necessitates the existence of its effect. The two exist together in time, eternity, or whatever, but are not together with respect to the attainment of existence.

The argument from contingency, as we shall see, rests on the premise that the necessarily connected efficient causes and effects coexist. For it is the series of such causes that must be finite, thus having an uncaused cause, the existent necessary in himself, God. But what about the causes that precede their effect in time? In chapter 2 of book 6, devoted to the argument that the efficient cause not only produces its effect but also sustains it and hence must coexist with it, Avicenna points out that the causes that precede their effects in time are 'causes by way of accident or helpers'.²⁶ Not only is the infinity of such temporally related events possible, but it is necessary, since it is coordinate with the eternal movement of the heavens. Being infinite in the past and in the future, these

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 165, l. 15 - p. 166, l. 16.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 167, ll. 1-3.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 367, ll. 1-2.

temporal events have no finite first or last terms. Elsewhere, Avicenna refers to the two causal series, the essential, finite, and the accidental infinite, as the vertical and the horizontal, respectively.²⁷ This distinction is presupposed in his final argument to show that the series of coexisting causes and effects must be finite. But for this we have to turn from book 6, chap. 2, to book 8, chap. 1.

V. THE FINITUDE OF EFFICIENT CAUSES

In chapter 1 of book 8, Avicenna offers a main argument for the finitude of efficient causes, and an ancillary one. He also refers us back to the *Physics* of the *Shifā'* for a standard argument to show the impossibility of an actual infinite. He introduces the main argument by reminding us that efficient cause and its effect coexist and that this principle has already been established. He then writes:²⁸

If we suppose an effect, and suppose for it a cause and its cause a cause, it is impossible that every cause would have a cause *ad infinitum*. This is because the effect, its cause and the cause of its cause, if all considered in the relation each has to the other, the cause of the cause would be a first absolute cause to the two things, the two things having the relation of being an effect of it even though they would differ in that one is an effect through an intermediary, the other an effect without an intermediary. The last and the middle would not be like the first. This is because the intermediary – which is the cause contiguous with the last effect – is cause of one thing only, whereas the second effect is not a cause of anything.

Each of the three thus has a special characteristic. The special characteristic of the one extreme which is caused is that it is not the cause of anything. The special characteristic of the other extreme is that it is the cause of everything other than itself. The special characteristic of the intermediary is that it is the cause of one extreme and the effect of another extreme.

The intermediary, Avicenna goes on to argue, will have this special characteristic regardless of whether it is 'one or more than one and, if more than one, whether it is finitely or infinitely arranged'. For, if finite, 'the sum of the number between the two extremes would be an intermediary'. But could not the intermediary be infinite, that is, having no first term? This would be impossible, Avicenna argues: for then it would be the cause of one extreme without having the opposite extreme, the uncaused cause. This contradicts the very definition of an intermediary. Hence, he concludes, the series of efficient

²⁷ *Ishārāt*, p. 709.

²⁸ *Ilāhiyyāt* 2, p. 372, l. 12 - p. 328, l. 3.

causes and effects must be finite, having a last term, the effect that is not also a cause, and a first term, the uncaused cause, the Necessary Existent, God.

The ancillary argument raises the question of admitting the two extremes yet allowing an infinite intermediary between them. To this Avicenna responds by stating that such a view would not impede the 'purpose we are after, namely, to prove the existence of the first cause'. To affirm such a view, he then adds, is to utter with the tongue something 'without conviction'. But if we were to allow the possibility of such a series, it would be essentially finite, infinity being 'a meaning that pertains to the enumerated, not to the thing itself'.²⁹

Turning back to the main argument, Avicenna bases it on the premise that cause and effect coexist. Why is this premise necessary? The reasoning underlying his thinking seems to be as follows: in the case of the accidental cause that precedes its effect in time we never arrive at an effect which is not a cause of a temporally succeeding effect, a last finite term in the series. (Avicenna, it must be remembered, upheld the doctrine of the world's eternity.) This is not the case with the series of coexisting causes and effects where we do reach such an effect. But if this is Avicenna's underlying reasoning, then it is clear that he assumes the point at issue, namely, that in a series of coexisting causes and effects there is a terminal effect. Again, in defining the intermediary, he seems to include the concept of a first cause, the very thing to be proven. It is difficult to see how one can defend the argument against criticism that it is circular.

As we have mentioned, however, this is not the only argument Avicenna uses. He also refers back to the argument in the *Physics* of the *Shifā'*,³⁰ which relative to the mathematical concepts of Avicenna's time is more persuasive. This is a standard argument for the impossibility of an actual infinite that has its roots in Aristotle and which first appears in Arabic philosophy in the writings of al-Kindī (d. c. 868).³¹ Although it has different versions, in its essentials it maintains that the supposition of an infinite magnitude, a body, or a series of

²⁹ Avicenna's model here seems to be the supposition of an actual infinite by division, that is, the actual division of a finite magnitude into infinite parts. Not that he accepts the possibility of such an infinite. What he seems to be saying is that even if one concedes the possibility of such an infinite simply for the sake of argument, the magnitude remains finite, having a finite starting point and a finite end, and this is what matters.

³⁰ Book 3, chap. 8 of the *Ṭabṣirīyyāt* (*Physics*) of the *Shifā'*. This part of the *Shifā'* is still unpublished, but I have a microfilm of the Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Arabic MS. 1444 of the *Shifā'*. The argument is on fol. 195v. Substantially the same argument is given in *Najāt*, pp. 124-25 and *The Metaphysica of Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā)*, translated from the Persian text of the *Danishnāme-yi-ʿAlāʾī* with notes and commentary by P. Morewedge (New York, 1973), pp. 44-45.

³¹ Aristotle, *Physics* 3.5 (204a20-29); al-Kindī, *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafīyya*, ed. A. H. Abu Rida (Cairo, 1950), pp. 114-16.

naturally ordered coexisting causes and effects must lead to contradiction. For from such a supposed infinite one can take out a finite quantity, leaving, however, another infinite, lesser than the first by the finite quantity removed. This means that there are unequal infinities – a contradiction.

Avicenna's formulation of the argument in the *Physics* of his *Shifā'* can be summed up as follows. If we suppose an infinite coexisting magnitude, it would be infinite either in many directions or only one. If infinite in more than one direction, it can always be divided to form infinite magnitudes that have a finite starting point and hence infinite only in one direction. Thus, if we suppose, for example, an infinite line, we can select a point where it is divided into two infinite lines in opposite directions, both having the same finite starting point. If then we take one of these lines infinite in one direction, we can subdivide it at a point forming a finite segment of the original infinite line. But the distance from this new finite point in the direction of infinity is still infinite, so that we have now two infinite magnitudes in the same direction. Since both have a finite starting point, one can in principle apply one to the other. Since both are infinite, they must coextend. But they cannot since one is less than the other by the finite distance separating their starting points. They are thus both equal and unequal and this is a contradiction. 'From this', Avicenna concludes, 'it becomes clearly manifest that the existence of what is actually infinite in terms of magnitudes and ordered numbers is impossible.'

With Avicenna's referring us back to the *Physics* of the *Shifā'* for the above argument, the version of the proof from contingency in the *Metaphysics* that parallels his other version ends. Scattered as it is throughout the *Metaphysics* and not without its share of textual and logical difficulties, it nonetheless remains in many ways the most detailed and comprehensive of his versions.

APPENDIX

A. The Proof in the *al-Risāla al-ʿArshiyya* (pp. 2-3)

Know that the existent either has a cause for its existence or has no cause. If it has a cause, then it is the possible, regardless of whether it precedes existence when only mentally supposed, or whether it is in the state of existence. For the entry into existence of that whose existence is possible does not remove from it the possibility of existence. If it has no cause for its existence in any manner whatsoever, then it is necessary of existence. Once this principle is established, then the proof that in existence there is an existent that has no cause for its existence is along the lines I say:

This existence is either an existence which is possible or an existence which is necessary. If it is that which is necessary, then what we have sought after is established. If it is possible in existence, then that whose existence is possible does not enter existence save through a cause that renders its existence more preponderant than its

non-existence. If its cause also is possible in existence [and the latter's cause also only possible and so on] then the possibles would connect with each other in this manner so that there would be no existent at all. This is because the existent¹ we have supposed would not enter existence unless the existence of what is infinite precedes it – which is impossible. Hence the possible terminates in the necessary existent.

B. The Proof in the *Najāt* (p. 235)

There is no doubt that there is existence.² Every existence is either necessary or possible. If necessary, then it would be true that the necessary exists, which is the thing being sought after. If possible, we will make it evident that the existence of the possible terminates with the necessary existent.

Before [showing] the latter, we will set down premises, one of which is that for each thing that in itself is possible there cannot be at any one time an infinity of causes that are in themselves possible. This is because all of these [causes] would either coexist or not coexist. Let us, however, postpone discussion of the [latter alternative where] the infinite does not coexist in one time, each of [its components] existing before the other. For the infinite to coexist, however, without including a necessary existent, such an aggregate inasmuch as it is that aggregate, regardless of whether it is finite or infinite, must then in itself be either necessary or possible in existence.

If [the aggregate] is necessary in itself, when each of its components is possible [in itself], then the necessary existent would subsist in things that are possible in themselves, which is self-contradictory.

If, [on the other hand,] the aggregate is possible in itself, then it requires for its existence that which bestows existence. [This bestower of existence] would then be either extraneous to the aggregate or included in it.

If included in it, then it is either the case that one of its members would be a necessary existent when each member is a possible existent, which is contradictory, or it would be contingent, in which case it would be the cause of the existence of the aggregate.

But the cause of the existence of the aggregate is first of all a cause for the existence of its parts of which it is one. Hence it would be a cause of itself. This, in addition of being impossible, if true, would be the very thing that is sought. For anything which is sufficient for bringing about its own existence is necessary in existence. But we have supposed it not to be necessary, and this is contradictory.

It remains then that [the bestower of existence] is extraneous [to the aggregate]. But it cannot be a cause that is contingent. For we have brought together every cause that is contingent within this aggregate. Hence [the bestower of existence] is extraneous to the aggregate and in itself necessary in existence. All possible existents hence terminate in a cause that is necessary in existence. Hence it is impossible that every contingent has an infinite number of contingent causes.

¹ The printed text reads *wujūd*, 'existence'.

² *Lā shakka anna hunā wujūdan*, 'no doubt there is here existence'.

C. The Proof in the *Ishārāt* (pp. 447-55)³

Remark

[In the case of] every existent, if you turn to it in terms of itself, without paying heed to another, it would be such that existence is either necessary for it in itself or is not. If [existence is necessary for it in itself] then this is the Truth in Himself, whose existence is necessary from Himself. He is the ever self-subsistent (*al-qayyūm*). If not necessary, then it is not permissible to say that it in itself is impossible after it has been supposed to exist. Rather, if a condition is attached to its being considered in itself, for example, the condition of the non-existence of its cause, then it becomes impossible – or, alternatively the condition of the existence of its cause, then it becomes necessary.

If no condition is attached, neither the realization nor the non-realization of a cause, there would then remain for it the third alternative, namely, possibility. It would then be [the existent] which when considered in itself is the thing that is neither necessary nor impossible.

Hence every existent is either necessary of existence in itself or possible of existence in itself.

Directive

That which what is due to it in its own right is possibility does not of itself become existent. For, inasmuch as it is possible, its existing of itself has no greater claim than its non-existing. If one of the two [alternatives] attains a greater claim, this is due to the presence or absence of something. Hence the existence of every possible is from another.

Directive

This will either form an infinite chain where each of the units of the chain is in itself possible, the aggregate dependent on [these units], in which case [the aggregate] would be also not necessary [in itself], becoming necessary through another; [or it will not form such a chain].

Let us clarify this further.

Commentary

Every aggregate of which each individual is an effect requires necessarily a cause extraneous to its individual [members]. This is because either:

[(1)] it fundamentally does not require a cause, in which case it would be necessary, not possible (but how can this come about when [we have supposed it] to be rendered necessary by its individual units?):

[(2)] it necessarily requires a cause, namely, the individual units in their entirety, in which case it would be cause of itself – for the aggregate and the whole are one and the

³ Compare with Goichon's French translation of the *Ishārāt* (n. 13 above), pp. 357-60.

same, though 'the whole' in the sense of 'each one [of the units]' does not render the aggregate necessary:

[(3)] it necessarily requires a cause consisting of some of the individual units, when some of the units have no greater claim for this than others, since each of them is caused, its cause having the higher claim for this;

or

[(4)] it requires a cause extraneous to all the individual units, which is the remaining [only valid alternative].⁴

Remark

[In the case of] every chain arranged in terms of causes and effects – regardless of whether it is finite or infinite – it is evident that if it includes nothing which is not an effect,⁵ it requires an extraneous cause which, however, inevitably connects with it as an extreme. It is also evident that if it includes that which is not caused then this latter is an extreme and a limit.

Hence every chain terminates with that whose existence is necessary in Himself.

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⁴ *Wa huwa al-bāqī*, translated as 'et c'est l'Eternel' by Goichon. This is a possible translation, though in our view *al-bāqī*, 'the remaining', is not used here as an adjective of God in the sense of the enduring or eternal, but refers to the last alternative in the argument.

⁵ *Idhā lam yakun fihā illā ma'ūl*, literally, 'if there is not anything in it but an effect'.

CLARE COLLEGE MS. 26
AND THE CIRCULATION OF AULUS GELLIUS 1-7
IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND AND FRANCE*

P. K. Marshall, Janet Martin and Richard H. Rouse

As has been briefly noted elsewhere,¹ a new witness to the text of *Noctes Atticae* 1-7 has recently come to light: Cambridge, Clare College MS. 26 (KK.5.2), an English manuscript of the early thirteenth century. The purpose of this article is to report and evaluate the Clare manuscript, to determine its place in the transmission of books 1-7, and to examine the evidence for conjectural emendation in the text of the Clare manuscript. While it is premature to attempt to set forth the whole of the early medieval transmission of books 1-7, we have also brought together here what is known about the circulation of the first half of Gellius in England and France in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries.

I

Clare College MS. 26 (C) contains three works.² These are (1) a mutilated text of the *Declamationes maiores* of pseudo-Quintilian,³ occupying fols. 1r-31v, which goes from 5.10 *contraxi pro duobus* (p. 97 line 16 in the 1905 Teubner edition of G. Lehnert) to 17.9 (p. 308 line 19 Lehnert) *fauore dimittitur*, several leaves having been lost in the course of the text; (2) a much mutilated text of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, occupying fols. 32r-57v; (3) the first seven

* We wish to thank the Librarian and the Acting Librarian of Clare College, Cambridge, and Mary A. Rouse, Los Angeles, for their considerate help.

¹ See A. C. de la Mare, P. K. Marshall, R. H. Rouse, 'Pietro da Montagnana and the Text of Aulus Gellius in Paris B.N. lat. 13038', *Scriptorium* 30 (1976) 221.

² M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Clare College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 42-43.

³ A few select readings have been given in *Classical Philology* 73 (1978) 182 in P. K. Marshall's review of L. Håkanson, *Textkritische Studien zu den grösseren pseudoquintilianischen Deklamationen* (Lund, 1974) with the hope of making it possible to evaluate this hitherto unknown witness to the text of the *Declamationes*.

books of the *Noctes Atticae*, occupying fols. 58r-92v, with no title or *Incipit* of any sort. The text of Gellius starts with the *Praefatio* ('Iocundiora alia'); the lemmata (as in VP, for which see p. 356 below) precede each individual book, and are not repeated before each chapter; books 6 and 7 are reversed, as is regularly the case in fifteenth-century MSS.; the text ends at 6.16.4 *hec sunt ferme*, breaking off at the end of a gathering, from which it is reasonable to infer that originally C contained book 6 complete. The chapters are numbered in either Roman or Greek numerals, or both together. Where Greek occurs in the text of Gellius, C occasionally reproduces it for smaller stretches, but is usually content to give the opening two or three words followed by *et cetera*.

Although, in the preparation of the quires and the decoration, there are slight differences between the Quintilian and the Gellius, the two are one manuscript. The parchment is ruled uniformly throughout the volume with a lead point or a brown crayon.⁴ The text of the *Noctes Atticae* begins at the head (recto) of a new leaf, albeit at the expense of leaving white space on the opposing verso; but the change occurs, nevertheless, in the middle of the quire. The quires are signed in two ways, but happily these two do not coincide with the two parts of the text: from fol. 53 (the later books of the *Institutio*) the quires are signed in Arabic numerals on the bottom inner margin of the first leaf, in addition to being signed in Roman numerals on the verso of the last leaf. The whole manuscript appears to be written by one hand. However, the red used in the decoration of the Gellius is darker than that employed in the Quintilian, suggesting the possibility of a second decorator. In sum, we are dealing with a single manuscript; thus, what one can determine about its origin from the history of any one text in it can be applied to the volume as a whole.

The manuscript was probably written in England in the second quarter of the thirteenth century. It is a large book measuring approximately 374 × 250 mm. (written space: Quintilian 253/4 × 146/7 mm., Gellius 256 × 147 mm.), and is hence slightly too tall for its width. The parchment is thick, somewhat fuzzy, and cream colored, and reminds one of monastic books of the twelfth century rather than scholastic books of the thirteenth. Neither the dimensions nor the decoration and hand suggest that the book was written in France. In addition, the *Declamations* and the *Institutes* bear pencil annotations in an English hand of the late thirteenth century. Most likely the manuscript came from a monastic or episcopal scriptorium in southern England.

The volume can be dated in the second quarter of the thirteenth century on the basis of decoration, hand and layout. It bears alternating solid red and blue

⁴ The columns measure 67 mm. in width and are framed in double vertical rules. The lines are ruled at slightly over 5 mm.

initials, with relatively plain filigree and tendrils in the color opposite to that of the letter. It would be hard to find tendrils as elaborate as these much before 1220, or as plain after 1250. While the ampersand is still employed more frequently than the tironian 7, the cedilla has disappeared and there are numerous instances of letter unions, to place the manuscript in the thirteenth century. The text is written on the top line of the ruled page rather than under it, a practice which passes out of existence in England by 1240-50 save in rare instances of conservatism.⁵ Putting aside color and size, the decoration compares well in configuration and complexity with the manuscripts written across the Channel for Richard de Fournival in the second quarter of the thirteenth century.⁶ These latter, however, are small books written by hands that look forward to the arrival of cursive, whereas the hand of the Gellius is formal and conservative. Its strong red and blue decorations and large format give it the appearance of a late twelfth-century book and suggest a monastic origin.

The manuscript has suffered both mutilation and damage, and it may have been part of a larger volume at one time. It has lost quires I and II (sixteen folios) from the beginning of the text of the *Declamationes* (books 1-5.10); it seems reasonable to assume that the manuscript originally began with the *Declamationes*. In addition, quires VI and VIII, and perhaps XI, are lost, as well as individual leaves from three quires including the last. Further evidence of loss is provided by the remnants of fourteenth- or fifteenth-century pagination in the middle of the volume, where the present folios are numbered 149-189. The upper margin of the opening quires has been damaged by water, though fortunately none of the text is lost.

Because of its mutilation the manuscript has lost its medieval second folio reference, and any marks of ownership that it might have had. Aside from the thirteenth-century pencil notes in the Quintilian calling attention to proper nouns and writers, the margins of the text are empty save for an occasional contemporary *nota* mark in the *Attic Nights*. A sixteenth-century hand, however, notes in the upper margin of fols. 89v-90 '... by this presens that I dame margarett borro reyscived of...' and 'In the yere of our soverounde lorde henry the viiith bi the grace of God, of Enlande Fraunce and Irlande kynge, defender of the fyth in erth sopreme hed of the church of England and Irlande, xxx [1538]'. Margaret Borro (Bourough, Burgh) has not been identified, but may well have been the first owner of this book after the Dissolution. The

⁵ N. R. Ker, 'From "Above Top Line" to "Below Top Line", A Change in Scribal Practice', *Celtica* 5 (1950) 13-16.

⁶ See R. H. Rouse, 'Manuscripts Belonging to Richard de Fournival', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3 (1973) 253-69.

manuscript was given to Clare College by John Heaver (d. 23 June 1670), who was a fellow at Clare 1642-44, expelled, and restored in 1660, a fellow of Eton 1661-70 and canon of Windsor 1662-67.⁷

II

For the text of the first seven books of the *Noctes Atticae*, modern critical editions⁸ have relied essentially upon three sources. These are⁹ V = Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3452, s. xii², which lacks the *Praefatio*, but otherwise contains books 1-7 complete; P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5765, s. xii², which, after giving the *Praefatio* and the first nineteen lemmata to book 1, leaves half a column blank and does not start again until 1.2.11 with the word *Δείκνυε*; it ends at 7.4.3 with *ictus solis*; R = Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Gronovianus 21, s. xii, which contains the *Praefatio*, but omits all lemmata and ends at 6.20.6 with *amariores*. Other than these three witnesses, editors use the splendid palimpsest A (= Vatican Library Pal. lat. 24, s. iv),¹⁰ which is extant for long stretches of books 1 and 2, but is available for very little else. Also of use are two florilegia (see pp. 369-74 below): the Valerius/Gellius anthology or TY,¹¹ which survives in four main witnesses; and a lost florilegium φ (formerly known as the Sion College florilegium), reconstructed from four witnesses. For this discussion the much disputed *Codex Buslidianus*, β , may be ignored. The text preserved by all these witnesses (with the exception of the invaluable A) is not of a very high quality, and an editor must rely heavily upon the fifteenth-century ζ texts to emend the faulty readings preserved in VPR(TY).

If (as is shown below) C derives from the same source as V, its value is immediately apparent: C now supplies for the *Praefatio* the testimony lacking for V. Furthermore, for book 7 (lacking entirely in R and largely in P) we now have a new source to control the lone readings of V.

However, the importance of this text lies elsewhere: behind it stands a (so far unidentified) scholar, whose numerous and often brilliant emendations produce

⁷ J. and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 1.2 (Cambridge, 1922), p. 349, taken in part from T. Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses* (Birmingham, 1797), p. 78.

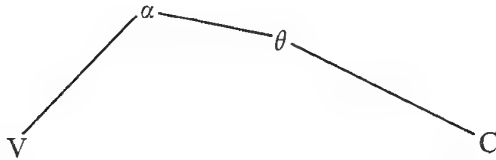
⁸ This has been true ever since the fundamental work of M. Hertz, whose *editio maior* appeared 1883-85 (*A. Gellii Noctium Atticarum libri XX ex recensione et cum apparatu critico Martini Hertz*, Berolini, 2 vols.). Hertz has been followed by C. Hosius (in his 1903 Teubner text), R. Marache (in the 1967 Budé edition, of which the first two volumes have so far appeared, containing books 1-10), and P. K. Marshall (in the Oxford Classical Text of 1968).

⁹ For a fuller account see Hertz, *ibid.* 2.lv-lviii and, most recently, Marshall, *ibid.* 1.ix-x.

¹⁰ See E. A. Lowe, *Codices latini antiquiores* I (Oxford, 1934), p. 23, no. 74. A detailed description of the palimpsest can be found in J. Fohlen, 'Recherches sur le manuscrit palimpseste Vatican, Pal. lat. 24', *Scrittura e civiltà* 3 (1979) 195-222.

¹¹ See Hertz 2.li-liv; Marshall 1.xviii-xix.

a text immeasurably better than any other current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That C is a clean text suggests that it itself is not the scholar's copy, but that it was taken from a MS. heavily annotated with variant readings. It may be possible (as is suggested in section *e* below) to detect some of these variants now incorporated thoughtlessly into the text of C. If the common (lost) ancestor of V and C can be called α , then stemmatically their relationship can be depicted as follows:



Our interest clearly lies in the spectacular work inserted by the scholar associated with θ .

It is important to note that there is no indication whatsoever to suggest that θ 's editor had access to any source outside the general VPR tradition: frequently his emendations are unacceptable, although they are nearly all of a consistently respectable quality, even when wrong.

Equally important are the clear indications that θ must lie behind so many of the readings hitherto attributed at the earliest to the fifteenth-century ζ texts. It has already been observed that C has books 6 and 7 in reverse order – another feature widely spread in the fifteenth century.

It is now time to produce the detailed evidence to support the general assertions made so far. As it is highly unlikely that Gellius will be edited *de novo* for some time, it has been felt to be of considerable importance to present as fully as possible the passages where C anticipates later emendations, whether correctly or incorrectly. For ease of reference, all passages will be given not only with the usual book, chapter and paragraph numbers, but also with the line number in the Oxford Classical Text. As some of the variants are too minute to have been appropriate for inclusion in the Oxford Classical Text, the reader is also invited to consider the much fuller collations given by Hertz in his *editio maior*.¹² An attempt has been made to determine which of C's readings were current also in anthologies and quotations of Gellius' text (often much changed) in the period from about 1100 to about 1250. The following have been reported when their readings agree with those of C: the Valerius/Gellius anthology mentioned above, originating in northern Europe sometime before

¹² It must always be remembered that (as is only to be expected in a work of such vast extent) Hertz's *apparatus criticus* is full of inaccuracies. See Marshall 1.xx n. 2.

1100, whose representatives here are T (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 4952, s. xii), Y (= Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3307, s. xii), and S (= Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.16.34 [982], s. xii¹); the anthology φ , drawn for the early books from an ancestor of P, and preserved in part in four witnesses: K (= Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. G.139, fols. 152v-154v, s. xii¹, belonged to William of Malmesbury), L (= formerly London, Sion College Arc. L.40.2/L.21, now Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Lat. class. d.39, s. xii^{3/4}), the Gellius extracts in *Polyhist.* (= William of Malmesbury [d. 1143], *Polyhistor*), and those in the *Policr.* (= John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* [completed 1159]); Radulf. (= excerpts in Ralph of Diss [d. 1202], *Abbreviationes chronicorum*); and the *Florilegium Gallicum*, extant in at least six manuscripts, whose representative here is N (= Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17903, s. xiii¹).¹³

(a) *C belongs to the general family of VPR*

This can most simply be demonstrated by taking one chapter (book 1, chap. 3), where the Vatican palimpsest A is extant. Throughout this chapter C consistently agrees with VPR against the superior readings of A, as follows:

1.2.13 line 17 His ille - 1.3.8 line 22 Et hic autem *omits* (with VR: P *omits* only as far as *et*, and preserves *hic autem*)

1.3.17 line 10 sit A: est VPRC

ibid. 19 line 17 contra quam A: et contra quam VPRC

ibid. 20 line 21 uir egregio A: egregius uir VPRC

ibid. 25 line 20 auri A: auri fit VRC: auri sit P

ibid. 27 line 2 remissoque A: permissoque VPRC

ibid. 28 line 5 ferme A: per me VPRC

¹³ TYSKLN are quoted from our collations; *Polyhist.* from London, British Library Harley 3969, fols. 3v-8v; *Policr.* from the edition of C. C. J. Webb, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1909); Radulf. from the edition of William Stubbs, 2 vols. (RS 68; London, 1876). For the relation of these to one another and to the tradition as a whole, see Janet Martin, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts of Frontinus and of Gellius', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977) 1-26; A. A. Goddu and R. H. Rouse, 'Gerald of Wales and the *Florilegium Angelicum*', *Speculum* 52 (1977) 488-521; de la Mare, Marshall, Rouse, 'Pietro da Montagnana' (n. 1 above). C's readings have no significant agreement with those of the few excerpts from the early books found in Wibald of Corvey (NA 1.6.4-5), Peter Cantor (NA 1.23.4-10 or the better known Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.6.19-22), Geoffrey of Vinsauf (NA 1.7.20; W. B. Sedgwick in *Speculum* 2 [1927] 339), Walter Map (NA 1.8), Gerald of Wales (NA 1.8.3-6, 1.17, 1.26.5-9), Vincent of Beauvais (who used N), and a poem *De secreto a Papyrio Praetextato servato* attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin in PL 171.1431-32 (NA 1.23.4-13 or more probably Macrobius, *Sat.* 1.6.19-26). For references, see Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3 (Munich, 1931), pp. 290 n. 8, 161 n. 6, 755, 267, 631-35 and 'Gellius bei Vincenz von Beauvais', *Philologus* 51 (1892) 189-91. Further treatment of these and other anthologies and authors will be found below, with additional bibliography.

- ibid. 28 line 8 aliae A: alia VPRC
 ibid. 29 line 15 scripsit A: seruitute VPRC
 ibid. 29 lines 16-17 causarum ... tenuitates A: causa scientie corporum uarietates
 dis(s)ermonumque ac differentiarum ignorantes VPRC
 ibid. 30 line 22 monita A: mota VPRC
 ibid. 30 line 25 fini ames A: finiam et VPRC
 ibid. 30 line 26 et osurus A: osurus VPRC
 ibid. 31 line 2 his ita A: ita VPRC.

(b) *C is closely related to V*

Although striking confirmation of this relationship can be found throughout the text, these examples are confined to book 3 as supplying sufficient evidence in itself. It may be observed that, as the text of R is so highly idiosyncratic that no one would suspect for one moment that C is close to it, it is of some importance to show that the text of C is quite distinct from that of P. Therefore two examples are included where V and R both agree against P.

- 3.1 lemma line 3 non animum non modo (= V)
 ibid. 7.8 line 24 quidem istuc quidem atque (= V)
 ibid. 7.19 line 12 *after subiecimus inserts the heading Verba catonis* (= V)
 ibid. 8.8 line 27 *after regi inserts the heading Epistola consulum ad pyrrum regem*
 (= VR, but not P)
 ibid. 10.9 line 16 affirmat (= V; P omits; R omits paragraphs 3-9 completely)
 ibid. 10.13 line 29 ipse (= V; here C 'improves' by changing the next word to *appellat*)
 ibid. 10.15 line 5 sunt (= V; P has the correct *sumit*; R omits paragraphs 12-17 completely)
 ibid. 16.13 line 17 gignantur (= V)
 ibid. 16.19 line 12 in hoc fuit (= VR; P is closer to the truth with *in hoc fecit*).

(c) *Anticipation of correct emendations*

For the purposes of this study, 'correct' will be arbitrarily defined as 'accepted into the Oxford Classical Text'. Unless otherwise specified, the correct reading is to be found first in the fifteenth-century ζ texts. A few examples will be included where C comes very close to the truth, without resolving the textual difficulty in all its details. There are also some instances where C agrees with P or R in presenting the correct text, but where it seems virtually certain that this agreement on the part of C is due to emendation.

- Praef.* 10 line 15 inmediate (P²R²)
 ibid. 10 line 18 inscriptionis (*ed. Ascens. 1511*)
 ibid. 11 line 25 quam
 ibid. 12 line 6 defessusque sum

- ibid. 16 line 2 oblectandum
 1.1.2 line 13 terra grecia (*Carrio*)
 1.2.4 line 24 quodcumque (VR have *quotcumque*; P has not yet begun)
 1.3.13 line 22 sint (V²)
 1.3.23 line 4 subeunda (ATV *man. rec.*)
 1.3.24 line 10 genere (AT)
 1.3.24 line 11 honestas (AV *man. rec.*, P *man. rec.*)
 1.3.24 line 13 generum (ATV²)
 1.3.26 line 21 ea re ascripsi (A_g)
 1.3.28 line 6 paruitates (AV *man. rec.*)
 1.4.4 line 26 ideo (A)
 1.5.1 line 1 fuisse. hinc ei (also Radulf.; this virtually anticipates Hertz)
 1.6.2 line 27 ea oratione (ea ratione R; eo ratione VP)
 1.6.3 line 7 incommodisque (A)
 1.6.3 line 13 maioribusque (A)
 1.6.4 line 22 inpropugnatum (A; also conjectured by Falster)
 1.7.1 line 22 spectate (A)
 1.7.20 line 27 explicuit (V²)
 1.11.5 line 25 uti uerbis
 1.11.12 line 2 ista re
 1.12.4 line 13 aui
 1.12.8 line 20 Ateius (at eius VR; aut eius P; atheius V *man. rec.*)
 1.12.18 line 2 in publicum
 1.15.3 line 20 sepiatur (with R and Cambridge, St. John's College MS. 91; VP have *sapiatur*)
 1.15.6 line 2 malim (V²R)
 1.15.18 line 25 nouatori (nociatori V; notiatori P; *deest* R)
 1.16.13 line 17 uno mille nummum (almost correct; noteworthy is the deletion of the faulty *duo* which occurs after *mille* in VPR)
 1.18.2 line 20 successum
 1.19.2 line 12 quos esse (TYS)
 1.20.8 line 23 Eam M. Varro
 2.2.9 line 27 discumbatur (P *Polyhist. Policr.*)
 2.3.3 line 1 sepulchrum
 2.3.4 line 4 uigor (uicor VPR)
 2.4.6 line 17 est (V²)
 2.6.3 line 20 detestatione (with Macrobius)
 2.6.4 line 25 splendoribusque (ATYS)
 2.6.8 line 20 Tullius (TYS and Macrobius)
 2.6.9 line 26 aliquid (RT and Macrobius) [aliquis S]
 2.6.10 line 5 malicie (P²)
 2.6.20 line 1 intexti (P²T and Macrobius) [contextis S]
 2.6.25 line 15 congeries sordidum (possibly a slip for the correct *congeries sordium* which is found in Macrobius)

- 2.7.6 line 7 primore aspectu (PTYS)
 2.11.lemma line 13 Dentato (dendato VP)
 2.12.1 line 6 eo
 2.12.2 line 16 singulari (P²)
 2.12.2 line 17 quedam (R)
 2.12.5 line 7 adnitenda (R)
 2.13.5 line 1 infra de
 2.14.1 line 11 exulem
 2.15.3 line 9 haberent
 2.15.4 line 13 amisit (V¹)
 2.17.2 line 16 hoc
 2.19.4 line 4 esse
 2.21.2 line 11 celumque (P²TYS)
 2.21.3 line 16 tum (*Gronovius*)
 2.21.4 line 19 opici (*ed. Iunt. 1513*)
 2.21.8 line 4 quidem
 2.22.12 line 29 greci dicere (possibly right, hence included here)
 2.23.8 line 6 inliberali (P²; inliberari VP¹R)
 2.23.10 line 2 nescit (*in marg.*)
 2.23.12 line 2 uerum (P *man. rec.*)
 2.23.19 line 6 affectionesque
 2.24.6 line 4 singulos (A)
 2.24.13 line 6 Antia
 2.26.4 line 4 uiridis (TY) [euiridis S]
 2.27.1 line 26 τὸν (although this is probably not an emendation, but rather the correct copying of what V miscopied)
 2.27.3 line 16 letari (although this is followed by the incorrect *quid sit leticia*? common to VPR)
 2.27.3 line 17 euentu
 2.28.1 line 7 uentorumne (uentorumnae A; ueniorumne VP; ueruorumne R)
 2.28.1 line 8 aquarum (A)
 2.29.1 line 11 commentus
 2.29.20 line 8 promptu (T₂) [promp (*sic*) S]
 2.30.5 line 3 desistente flatu
 2.30.9 line 14 ui (P²)
 3.1.8 line 7 eo quod haberet (partly right)
 3.2.lemma line 8 quae a (*Erbius*)
 3.4.1 line 19 cum (P²)
 3.6.1 line 14 rem (PTSK *Polyhist. Policr.*)
 3.7.19 line 14 esset (PK *Polyhist.*)
 3.8.8 line 3 ut te (PK *Polyhist. Policr.*)
 3.9.lemma line 13 deque istius (P *man. rec.*)
 3.9.8 line 25 exuberantissimo (TYS)
 3.10.4 line 16 septimo bruma a

- 3.10.8 line 13 quadragesima
- 3.10.11 line 19 fabulator (P)
- 3.11.lemma line 20 natu
- 3.14.10 line 27 dimidiatus
- 3.14.10 line 3 prae fractam (P)
- 3.16.6 line 3 nonnumquam
- 3.16.13 line 19 attio (*Hertz*)
- 3.16.20 line 15 numerum (R²)
- 3.16.21 line 25 postulante (P *man. rec.*)
- 3.18.4 line 19 curulis
- 3.19.3 line 6 quam (followed by *narravit*)
- 3.19.5 line 11 ueriusque (V²P²)
- 4.1.1 line 11 uultus
- 4.1.9 line 18 mihi non
- 4.1.9 line 19 dicere (A)
- 4.1.9 line 20 quid sit (A)
- 4.1.10 line 22 postulas (AP²)
- 4.1.12 line 7 quid (A; qui VP²R; quis P¹)
- 4.1.13 line 10 discere (AP)
- 4.2.10 line 1 agi posse (*Gronovius*)
- 4.2.12 line 7 Eum
- 4.2.15 line 20 Qui (P²)
- 4.3.2 line 10 carismamque (presumably a misreading of the correct text)
- 4.3.3 line 15 esset (R)
- 4.4.2 line 10 uidebatur (R)
- 4.4.3 line 13 Hoc ius (P²)
- 4.4.3 line 14 uniuerso (*ed. Iunt. 1513*)
- 4.5.3 line 24 contrariis religionibus
- 4.6.lemma line 18 haste martie
- 4.6.lemma line 19 porca praecidanea (*Gronovius*)
- 4.6.2 line 1 in regia
- 4.6.2 line 3 hostiis (histiis VPR)
- 4.6.2 line 3 marti
- 4.8.4 line 5 forent
- 4.9.5 line 14 diuinis
- 4.11.2 line 8 poeta (R)
- 4.11.6 line 26 minusculis (R)
- 4.11.10 line 13 Empedoclen
- 4.12.lemma line 5 reperte (P²; reper VP¹)
- 4.12.lemma line 6 memoria
- 4.12.1 line 10 pena (R¹)
- 4.13.lemma line 17 certo
- 4.14.1 line 7 capitonis
- 4.15.2 line 9 exequanda (V *man. rec.*)

- 4.15.2 line 10 reprehendens (a miscopying of the correct text?)
 4.16.7 line 1 casu
 4.17.4 line 7 age (ge VPR)
 4.17.6 line 13 sub praepositio
 4.18.12 line 18 rationem (*Carrio*)
 4.19.2 line 26 Idem (R²)
 4.20.1 line 5 Inter censorum (*Gronovius*)
 4.20.4 line 10 sibi ioci dicundi ratus (*Gronovius e g*)
 4.20.6 line 15 ioci scurrilis apud se dicti (R²)
 4.20.9 line 23 notae iam (R²)
 4.20.11 line 27 memoriali
 5.3.lemma line 2 dicatur
 5.6.15 line 25 Hac
 5.6.22 line 17 Martius
 5.7.1 line 9 scite (P²)
 5.10.3 line 13 utrimque (R)
 5.10.4 line 16 Lis
 5.10.11 line 8 potui (R)
 5.11.9 line 21 quadam
 5.11.11 line 26 a nimie (P²)
 5.11.13 line 29 Quam (P²)
 5.14.17 line 23 tutiores (PK *Policr.* N)
 5.19.9 line 22 Eius (P)
 5.19.9 lines 23, 25 siet (R)
 5.21.17 line 3 impetum (R)
 6.2.lemma line 20 De cesellii uindicis
 6.2.10 line 20 diceret (V *man. rec.*)
 6.2.12 line 2 legendus
 6.2.12 line 4 est (V *man. rec.*)
 6.3.6 line 26 factis e curia (*Malaspina*)
 6.3.10 line 15 acri
 6.3.13 line 29 minationibus (V²)
 6.3.16 line 1 nostra essent (V *man. rec.*)
 6.3.16 line 2 Persen
 6.3.16 line 3 nos priuatim (*Lipsius*)
 6.3.16 line 6 eam (*ed. Ald. 1515*)
 6.3.44 line 6 in ea re (V²)
 6.3.45 line 8 non iure
 6.3.50 line 1 ea
 6.3.55 line 1 existimabit
 6.4.lemma line 7 Cuiusmodi
 6.5.5 line 8 Electram
 6.5.7 line 12 Polus
 6.7.10 line 10 plurium

- 6.8.lemma line 19 amatore
- 6.8.4 line 4 eruditi
- 6.8.6 line 14 non minus
- 6.9.12 line 2 occecurrerit
- 6.9.17 lines 23-26 Valerius ... mihi (not repeated in C)
- 6.10.2 line 9 fit
- 6.11.lemma line 13 uulgi
- 6.11.1 line 14 mutabilitate (P²)
- 6.11.2 line 18 dicimus
- 6.11.3 line 21 nimium (nemium VPR)
- 6.11.4 line 1 perpotaret
- 6.11.6 line 12 occultans (*Cicero, but also ζ*)
- 6.11.6 line 15 causa (*Cicero*)
- 6.11.6 lines 15-16 cum illa (*Cicero, but possibly an accidental dislocation*)
- 6.11.6 line 16 legent (a misreading of the correct *leget*?)
- 6.11.6 line 18 futurum (*Cicero*)
- 6.11.6 line 22 ut te (P; uite VR)
- 6.11.9 line 9 absumpsisti
- 6.14.11 line 11 futatur [sic]
- 7.1.1 lines 4-8. A lacuna of five lines is marked, and the following word *homines* does not have a capital *H*.
- 7.1.2 line 11 istis (*Lactantius, but also ζ*)
- 7.1.9 line 15 gigneret
- 7.1.9 line 17 non per
- 7.1.9 line 18 sequelas [sic]
- 7.2.8 line 8 errores eruunt (*almost correct*)
- 7.2.11 line 12 alieno
- 7.5.1 lines 1-2 factum est
- 7.5.1 line 3 certum (V²)
- 7.5.5 line 16 uidetur
- 7.6.4 line 12 pertinente
- 7.6.5 line 14 essent
- 7.8.6 line 26 quam
- 7.9.2 line 10 curuli (curili V)
- 7.13.7 line 21 futiles (V²)
- 7.14.2 line 15 is
- 7.14.2 line 15 deliquit
- 7.14.4 line 23 ceteri a
- 7.15.3 line 2 dici (dicit V)
- 7.15.5 line 5 uerecunda
- 7.15.5 line 5 Cincii
- 7.15.5 line 7 linguae
- 7.16.9 line 20 mea
- 7.16.12 line 5 Cecina

- 7.17.1 line 24 arcem (arce V)
 7.17.2 line 27 referendos
 7.17.3 line 3 uoluminum (V²)

(d) *Anticipations of incorrect emendations*

In line with the convention adopted in the previous sections, 'incorrect' is here arbitrarily defined as 'not accepted into the Oxford Classical Text'. Of great interest is the extremely high percentage of such readings current in the fifteenth-century texts. Unless otherwise specified, all readings given are hitherto first to be found in such ζ texts.

- Praefatio* 1 line 2 parate
 ibid. 13 line 14 geometria
 ibid. 25 line 21 quid quoque (*ed. Gryph.*)
 1.2.4 line 31 labes et pestilentias (*R. Klotz*)
 1.2.5 line 4 quam se esse
 1.2.6 line 19 incessiuit (*Carrio*)
 1.3.9 line 26 inquit scite (*P and ζ*)
 1.3.13 line 27 adiuuemus
 1.3.16 line 8 quoque fini (β)
 1.3.21 line 26 quem dixi
 1.3.25 line 20 lamina (*V man. rec. ζ*)
 1.6.8 line 12 faciamus (β)
 1.7.5 line 17 mendam
 1.7.20 line 20 inperspectiusque
 1.7.20 line 28 clauderetur
 1.9.8 line 27 diuertunt (ζ V² – Hertz is wrong here)
 1.12.7 line 19 tibicinis (*ed. Ven. 1472*)
 1.13.3 line 22 aliquis (S) [aliqui T]
 1.15.9 line 12 ascultet
 1.15.10 line 15 plebis
 1.15.18 line 24 affirmasse (ζ ; Hertz is wrong on P)
 1.16.4 line 21 passuum
 1.18.2 line 12 antiquorum
 1.20.9 line 27 latino (ζ R)
 1.21.6 line 5 contuimur (ζ R)
 1.22.7 line 5 que lelius
 1.22.16 line 19 quod quidem diuise (*ed. Ald. 1515*)
 1.25.8 line 12 subiuncta
 1.25.8 line 12 leuioris
 1.26.3 line 14 grauiter et copiose (T ζ)
 1.26.8 line 7 inaniter

- 2.4.1 line 24 subscriptio ne
- 2.4.3 line 3 diuinare
- 2.4.4 line 4 Gaii
- 2.6.24 line 13 oppositumque (TYS)
- 2.7.3 line 4 omnibus
- 2.7.22 line 20 disiunctioni (ζ T) [diiunctioni S]
- 2.12.4 line 24 partitum
- 2.12.4 line 25 diuisi
- 2.14.1 line 11 scriptum quidem sic
- 2.14.3 line 16 sisteteretur
- 2.15.lemma lines 19 + 21 sunt
- 2.17.lemma line 9 animaduertit
- 2.18.lemma line 21 fedron (also *Phedron* in lines 23 + 25)
- 2.20.7 line 23 stagna que piscibus
- 2.20.9 line 27 in libro *omits*
- 2.21.4 line 18 ergo (TYS ζ)
- 2.22.18 line 16 cum meridie (S)
- 2.23.22 line 4 assequeretur
- 2.24.14 line 12 reponi
- 2.26.21 line 17 conserta
- 2.26.23 line 19 color uiridi
- 2.26.23 line 21 flauo marmore
- 2.28.1 line 4 terre motus
- 2.29.9 line 7 a metu otiosos
- 3.1.9 line 9 auaritia minuit
- 3.2.5 line 26 diei in homine
- 3.2.14 line 1 istec (possibly right?)
- 3.7.13 line 2 eandem (ζ P²K *Polyhist.*)
- 3.7.17 line 8 interibi dum ea pugna fit
- 3.9.2 line 18 scribunt (TYS ζ)
- 3.9.5 line 11 uictis partis
- 3.10.1 line 6 greci ebdomada (notice the partial anticipation of the correct reading of the
1515 ed. Ald.)
- 3.12.lemma line 21 absurdi
- 3.12.4 line 2 in primo
- 3.16.6 line 5 in decimo
- 3.16.9 line 18 menstruosas (*Triller*)
- 3.19.2 line 25 quoniam sicut
- 4.1.lemma line 5 reprehensaue sit
- 4.1.5 line 7 si modo id (*Albert Lion*)
- 4.1.17 line 21 demonstrandum
- 4.1.17 line 22 poculentum
- 4.2.lemma line 24 differant
- 4.2.2 line 5 quidue

- 4.2.4 line 12 ueluti si sit (*Cramer*)
 4.2.8 line 23 steriles (ζ P²)
 4.5.4 line 5 eaque res
 4.8.2 line 1 militarique disciplina
 4.13.lemma line 18 possunt (the Oxford Classical Text is in error here; *possint* is the reading of VP and should be kept)
 4.13.3 line 24 morbis
 4.17.8 line 22 facit *omits*
 5.4.1 line 7 consederamus (ζ P *man. rec.*)
 5.6.1 line 19 multe et uarie (*Lion*)
 5.9.6 line 27 ipsum
 5.13.6 line 5 defugere (*Carrio*)
 5.14.7 line 26 inusitata (K *Polyhist.* N)
 5.19.16 line 17 necesse
 5.21.17 line 3 fecere
 6.1.4 line 16 concepissee. concepti
 6.3.2 line 12 Ea rodiensis ciuitas
 6.3.7 line 5 quinto
 6.3.37 line 9 pecudum
 6.3.38 line 13 tale erit
 6.7.3 line 14 uolo
 6.7.4 line 22 tonstrina
 6.13.1 line 21 in classibus (*om.* quinque)
 6.13.2 line 25 quam supra
 6.15.1 line 19 dicere furti
 7.1.3 line 14 aduersoque (ζ with Lactantius)
 7.2.11 line 12 deinde rei (*om.* fere)
 7.5.4 line 13 inclinatumque sit
 7.5.5 line 14 ergo
 7.8.3 line 3 lepidada [sic] quaestio agitari
 7.10.lemma line 25 gnauiter
 7.11.3 line 4 Nam eum indignissimum
 7.12.4 line 20 Obstrepisse
 7.12.4 line 21 qui prior (*om.* id)
 7.13.5 line 15 tum etiam cum
 7.13.7 line 21 fuitiles et inanes
 7.14.5 line 6 Gorgiam
 7.15.3 line 3 huiusmodi
 7.16.2 line 25 omnium meo quidem (this is *surely* right)
 7.16.8 line 16 libri ueterum similis (again *surely* right)
 7.17.3 line 5 auxiliariis

(e) *Generally interesting readings*

Here are grouped various readings which could not easily be classified under any of the headings given above. In many of these instances, it will be seen that C's readings materially affect our understanding of the text of Gellius.

- Praefatio* 2 line 8 *promisce* (strongly supporting R against P, also found in T)
 ibid. 12 line 1 *eracliti ephesii* (with R; P *omits* *eracliti*. This reading of C suggests clearly that the name *Heracliti* should be restored to the text.)
- 1.2.3 line 19 *loquentior* (supports V)
 1.3.31 line 2 *scripsit*. *Vt in hoc greco quod deest hic* (i.e., incorporates a marginal note [from *θ*?] into the text)
 1.14.lemma line 9 *magna uir* (showing V once and for all to be wrong)
 1.19.7 line 21 *reliquos* (showing V's *reliquos libros* clearly to be unwarranted). C's reading is also found in TSL.
 1.26.lemma line 10 *Taurus mihi* (as V is the only other witness available here, this variant is of some importance.)
 2.6.10 line 1 *omni in tempore* (although we take this to be certainly wrong in the text of Gellius, it is notable that J. Willis conjectured just this in Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.7.13 in his Teubner text.)
 2.6.16 line 19 *ciuilibus is laudari dicitur qui* (a brave attempt at emendation; it is highly important that C does not offer the correct text which is available from Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.7.16.)
 2.6.20 line 2 *densitate uel crebritate* (another [*θ*?] note incorporated into the text)
 2.7.8 line 13 *igitur est* (surely just a slip, although Hertz thought A must have read this)
 2.7.22 line 21 *si additur* (considerably helping R; also found in TS)
 2.22.30 line 4 *parte celi* (supporting P strongly)
 3.1.4 line 18 *nisi tu* (forever laying to rest the reading of V¹ *nisi si tu* which Petschenig actually proposed accepting)
 4.11.13 line 24 *piscibus mulis* (a bizarre addition to the many suggestions for this passage)
 6.3.52 line 11 *non inquam* (this strongly suggests that V's *enim*, lacking also in PR, should have no place in the text)
 6.5.1 line 4 *claritudine et uenustate* (this shows clearly that Hertz's leaning towards V's *claritudine uenustate* was mistaken)
 6.9.5 line 11 *deligitur* (does this cast doubt on acceptance of V's *diligitur*?)
 7.6.12 line 15 *praeffecto urbis* (as V is the only other major witness left for book 7, this deserves some consideration)
 7.14.9 line 22 *scriberet* (with V², thus allowing us to ignore *scripserit* of V¹)
 7.16.3 line 5 *et ad cumulandum* (possible?)
 7.16.13 line 12 *sese facere* (again possible?)

Now that the evidence has been presented in detail, it is apparent that several questions remain to be answered. While they will not be solved they are raised here to indicate the path future study should follow.

- (1) Who is the brilliant scholar who produced the numerous excellent emendations?
- (2) Did he use contemporary texts of the authors cited by Gellius (e.g., Cicero) or who themselves cite Gellius (e.g., Macrobius and Lactantius) to effect his improvements, or was he relying entirely upon his own resources?
- (3) Is there any hard evidence that C incorporates readings drawn from sources outside the V tradition, specifically P and R; or are any such agreements either accidental or due to independent emendation, as has been suggested above?
- (4) By what route did the readings of C (or more likely of θ) find their way into the received text of the fifteenth century?

III

Quite apart from the presently insoluble matter of the identity of the scholar who produced the emendations, the Clare College manuscript poses a number of essential questions: where did its ancestors come from, where was it written, where did it travel, what influence did it have? In plain terms, how does it fit into the transmission of the *Attic Nights*? In order to address these questions it is necessary to bring together what is known about the circulation of *Noctes Atticae* 1-7, particularly in England. This has not been attempted since Hertz and Manitius,¹⁴ and several additional pieces of the puzzle have been assembled in recent years.

The early books of Gellius were first known in England in two florilegia mentioned on p. 358 above. S, the English representative of the first of these, was shown by N. R. Ker to have been written at Salisbury Cathedral (Old Sarum) around 1100.¹⁵ It is, therefore, the oldest surviving witness to the anthology of Valerius Maximus and Gellius and likewise the earliest witness to the reappearance of *Noctes Atticae* 1-7. This raises the question of whether the anthology was compiled from a whole manuscript of Gellius at Salisbury itself. It seems unlikely, given that the anthology is basically known in continental manuscripts.¹⁶ Among these are Y and T (fol. 2 'Liber sancti Arnulfi'¹⁷), both

¹⁴ Hertz 2, *praefatio*; M. Manitius, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der römischen Prosaiker im Mittelalter: V. Gellius', *Philologus* 48 (1889) 564-66 and 'Gellius bei Vincenz von Beauvais', 189-91.

¹⁵ N. R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library' in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R. W. Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), p. 24. The manuscript is described by M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* 2 (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 396-98.

¹⁶ The collection was examined briefly by D. Schullian, 'The Anthology of Valerius Maximus and A. Gellius', *Classical Philology* 32 (1937) 70-72; the Valerius extracts were her

copied in France; twelfth-century excerpts added to Bonn, Universitätsbibliothek MS. 218, s. xi, fols. 25, 41v;¹⁸ and Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4808, s. xv. Unfortunately, none of the surviving whole manuscripts of books 1-7 comes from the source from which the anthology was compiled, nor does the anthology's text of Valerius Maximus aid in revealing its place of origin. Were this known, we should know a great deal more about the emergence of the early books of the *Noctes Atticae* in western Europe.

The second florilegium, ϕ , is reconstructed from four witnesses, each of which presents different portions of what was a collection of extracts from both the early and the later books of the *Attic Nights*. The four are these. (1) L, which was written in England¹⁹ and contains, fols. 1-125, Suetonius *De vita Caesarum*; 125-137, *Genealogia regum Francorum* to A.D. 768; 137-150v, Einhard's Life of Charlemagne; 150v, genealogy to Lothair; 150v-152, Visio Karoli; 152v-153, descent of the Carolingian monarchs, 814-1017; 153-159, extracts from Aulus Gellius books 9-16, 1-2; 159, epigram on Emperor Henry III. The manuscript is related to, if not identical with, the codex described by an entry in the early fourteenth-century catalogue of Christ Church Canterbury:²⁰ '[241] Suetonius primis de Gestis imperatorum; in hoc volumine cont.: Genealogia francorum. Visio karoli imperatoris. Sententie oratorum'; the last item is the Gellius florilegium. The Sion College manuscript was acquired from the Dominicans of Northampton by John Gunthorpe, dean of Wells, in 1484.

ϕ was drawn on by two twelfth-century English writers, William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury, each of whom, because of the extent of his use of ϕ , is an important witness to it. (2) William incorporated large portions of ϕ into his own collection, the *Polyhistor*; he is, thus, the earliest witness to ϕ ,

primary interest. The main contribution of the article was to identify Hertz's 'Codex Iacobaeus' (p. liv) with Trinity College MS. R.16.34 (982), thus eliminating a codex from those thought to have existed.

¹⁷ Ascribed to Saint-Arnoul of Crépy in the diocese of Senlis by P. Lauer, 'Les manuscrits de Saint-Arnoul de Crépy', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 63 (1902) 481-516. There is no firm evidence, however, save the ex-libris; and there are several monasteries dedicated to St. Arnulf.

¹⁸ R. Reiche, *Ein rheinisches Schulbuch aus dem 11. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Sammelhandschrift Bonn UB, S 218* (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 24; Munich, 1976), pp. 73-74, 89, 212, with the concurrence of Bernhard Bischoff, dates the hand which entered the additions in the twelfth century, and establishes that the manuscript belonged to Maria Laach O.S.B. in the fifteenth century. Maria Laach was founded in 1093 by monks from St. Maximin in Trier; Reiche suggests that the codex came from there to Maria Laach before 1150. The excerpts appear to come from a TY source because at 13.5 (Oxford Classical Text, p. 387 lines 11 and 13) Bonn 218 reads *eudemius* (sic) which is found only in TY and in the same chapter (ibid. line 27) Bonn 218 reads *insignis* with TY against *insigni*.

¹⁹ N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* 1 (Oxford, 1969), pp. 278-79. R. M. Thomson has a detailed study of this manuscript in progress.

²⁰ M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), p. 44.

indicating that it was already in existence in the first quarter of the twelfth century.²¹ Although the *Polyhistor* exists in only two manuscripts of the fourteenth century, there is evidence²² that it was a source for the knowledge of Gellius to later readers. (3) John of Salisbury mined ϕ for the *Policraticus*.²³ Through the *Policraticus*, the influence of ϕ was extended widely, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when interest in the *Policraticus* revived. So broad was its influence that, thereafter, it is risky to accept any quotation of Gellius as indicative of a knowledge of the text of Gellius without having first checked the *Policraticus*. (4) ϕ has traditionally been known from these three witnesses; but recently a fourth witness has been found, in the form of extracts from the *Attic Nights* entered in an inexpert hand at the end of Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawl. G.139 (K). The manuscript was written in the early twelfth century by scribes at least one of whom wrote for William of Malmesbury; it contains, fols. 1-10, Cicero *Partitiones oratoriae*; 10-46v, Cicero *De officiis*; 46v-152, pseudo-Quintilian *Declamationes XIX*; 152v-154, extracts from Aulus Gellius books 2, 3, 5, added in long lines by a hand that does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript.²⁴ The Gellius excerpts comprise another partial witness to ϕ , the florilegium used by William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury (see Appendix C: Collations, no. 1). Omissions in K show that it could not itself have been William's or John's actual source (no. 2). The agreements of the *Polyhistor* and the *Policraticus* against K (no. 3) may indicate that William and John were using a common source; but they may equally cogently be attributed to a combination of the authors' independent emendations and K's peculiar errors.

²¹ Book 1 of the *Polyhistor* has been edited by H. A. Testroet: *Willelmi Malmesburiensis Polyhistor* (Diss. Harvard, 1971). We are grateful to her for allowing us to use her edition.

²² See the discussion of Ralph of Diss on p. 373 below.

²³ See Janet Martin, 'John of Salisbury and the Classics', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969) 319-21, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts' (n. 13 above), 1-26, and 'Uses of Tradition: Gellius, Petronius, and John of Salisbury', *Viator* 10 (1979) 57-76; R. M. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury, John of Salisbury and the *Noctes Atticarum* (!)' in *Hommages à André Boutemy*, ed. G. Cambier (Collection Latomus 145; Brussels, 1976), pp. 367-89.

²⁴ For other manuscripts written by William's scribes see R. M. Thomson, 'The "Scriptorium" of William of Malmesbury' in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker*, ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978), pp. 117-42.

K's contents merit further study. The letters DM (Dignum Memorie) found in Salisbury manuscripts of the late eleventh century (Ker, 'The Beginnings' [n. 15 above], 26), appear in the margins of the *De officiis* (fol. 18), suggesting that this work was copied from a Salisbury exemplar. The rarest of the three works in K is the *Partitiones oratoriae*, for which K is the only known manuscript of English origin other than London, Lambeth Palace Library 425, s. xiii¹, and the oldest example of the J family of this text, which circulated in central France and which is known in five manuscripts. While not as rare, the *Declamationes* are nevertheless unusual in medieval England. It would be interesting to know how these two works came into William's possession.

The φ florilegium, for books 1-7, was quite clearly compiled from an ancestor of the French P, as Janet Martin has shown.²⁵ The new evidence provided by the discovery of K merely furnishes additional illustrations of the fact (no. 4). Particularly striking is the appearance in P of instructions to the extractor, in the words *huc usque* 'to here', which in seven instances have dropped into the text. In four instances, the phrase coincides with the end of an excerpt, as given in the witnesses to φ . In two of the remaining cases the *Polyhistor* is the only witness, and William has selected only a portion of the extract; and in the last instance (NA 4.5.6) none of the witnesses preserves this part of the florilegium (but see below, p. 383). There must have been many more such indications in P's ancestor, but only these have dropped into the text.

The question raised by the existence of φ is whether it was compiled in England, i.e., whether it is evidence for the presence of a text of the early books (and a text of the later books) in England. The extracts from the later books are of little help in localizing φ and its source. None of the surviving manuscripts of the later books carries evidence, as P does, of passages having been marked for excerpting. The readings of the florilegium at times show affinities with the γ family and at other times with the δ family;²⁶ both families, however, circulated in France, in the region that lay south (-east and -west) of Paris to the Loire. The excerpts from books 1-7 pose a more specific question: did the text of the early books in P's ancestor move from England to France, or did the φ florilegium move from France to England? The answer depends heavily on an analysis of William of Malmesbury's use of Gellius.

R. M. Thomson has argued that φ was a florilegium compiled by William of Malmesbury himself, from whole texts of both halves of the *Noctes Atticae*.²⁷ His argument is based on the assumption that William would not have used the phrase 'Agellium Noctium defloraturus Atticarum' unless he had actually done the excerpting himself – that for him to have used the term 'defloraturus' to describe borrowing from someone else's florilegium would have been 'academically dishonest'. There seems to be no reason, however, to suppose that 'defloraturus' had any such specific meaning for William of Malmesbury. There are, instead, a number of facts which make it unlikely that William compiled φ . In the *Polyhistor* William dismisses some of Gellius' stories on the grounds that they are well known from other sources, and says that he will cite only stories that he does not recall having read elsewhere; all the stories that he rejects, as well as all the ones that he incorporates into the *Polyhistor*, are found

²⁵ Martin, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts', 8-9.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 9-10.

²⁷ Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury' (n. 23 above).

in ϕ . The *Polyhistor*, thus, offers no evidence that William knew more of Gellius than is found in the florilegium. From what Thomson has shown regarding William's scholarship, it is difficult to envision William excerpting these trite stories from texts of the early and the later books: in the case of Seneca's letters, where William was excerpting from a complete text, his selections are in fact unusual. It is significant also that one is unable to find anywhere in William's other works any evidence that he knew more of the *Attic Nights* than is available in ϕ .²⁸ In contrast, John of Salisbury definitely knew more of Gellius, though his verbatim quotations come from ϕ . William was the scholar of the two, but John had the advantage of a French education; and the Gellius texts were in France. There is no evidence of a whole manuscript of either the early or the late books in England until quite late in the century. If William found a Gellius in England, it cannot be proven from the *Polyhistor*. If there was a Gellius manuscript at Canterbury while John was writing the *Policraticus*, one would never know it from his quotations. The argument is one *ex silentio*, to be sure; but it is supported by the known facts of the twelfth-century transmission of Gellius and the known resources, tastes, and working methods of two medieval scholars.

Two other English writers, Gerald of Wales²⁹ and Ralph of Diss, have been said to have known Gellius in the latter decades of the twelfth century. Gerald cites Gellius at least six times, including three quotations from the early books. For the later books, Gerald has been shown to have used the *Florilegium Angelicum*, a collection of extracts from ancient and patristic orations and letters for use in composition, compiled at Orléans during the second half of the twelfth century.³⁰ The *Florilegium Angelicum* drew on a manuscript of the γ family for its texts of the *Attic Nights*. For the early books, Gerald appears to have used either the Valerius/Gellius anthology or the ϕ florilegium. In any case, there is no indication that he used a whole manuscript of Gellius.³¹

However, Ralph of Diss (1120/30-1202), the English ecclesiastical administrator and chronicler, may provide the earliest evidence of a full text, rather than a florilegium, of Gellius in England. He cites both the early and the

²⁸ See R. M. Thomson, 'The Reading of William of Malmesbury', *Revue bénédictine* 85 (1975) 362-402, with corrections and additions in 86 (1976) 327-35 and 89 (1979) 313-24; L. D. Reynolds, *The Medieval Tradition of Seneca's 'Letters'* (Oxford, 1965), p. 115.

²⁹ Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 3.630.

³⁰ R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The *Florilegium Angelicum*: Its Origin, Content and Influence' in *Medieval Learning* (n. 15 above), pp. 66-114.

³¹ Goddu and Rouse, 'Gerald of Wales' (n. 13 above). To the borrowings there cited, add NA 1.8 (twice) in *Gemma ecclesiastica* 2.1.5 in *Giraldi Cambrensis opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, 2 (RS 21; London, 1862), pp. 172-73, 185; and NA 1.26.5-9 in *De principis instructione liber* 1.6 in *Opera*, vol. 8, ed. George F. Warner (RS 21; London, 1891), p. 20.

later books of Gellius extensively in his *Abbreviationes chronicorum*, begun in the 1180's.³² For the later books Ralph may have used a full text instead of or in addition to a florilegium; for he quotes in full and verbatim NA 12.1, not found even in the large Valerius/Gellius anthology. However, the fifteen excerpts from the early books include one, NA 5.10.5-15, that clearly was drawn from William of Malmesbury's *Polyhistor*.³³ Other of Ralph's excerpts from the early books show some agreement with the text of C:

1.5.1 line 1 fuisse. Hinc ei ab ae(e-)mulis C Radulf. p. 41 line 39 Stubbs (VPR have a corrupted text including the Greek)

ibid. 1 line 3 probro: probra C Radulf. p. 41 line 39

ibid. 2 line 6 omnibus ferme: ferme omnibus C Radulf. p. 41 line 42

2.1.2 line 10 facto a corpore: facto corpore C Radulf. p. 46 line 27

5.14.18 line 26 nactus: nactus PRCK *Policr.* N Radulf. p. 40 line 37

ibid. 21 line 5 mansues: mansuetus CK *Policr.* N Radulf. p. 41 line 2

ibid. 30 line 27 reuinctum: uinctum C *Polyhist.* Radulf. p. 41 line 33 [ire vinctum K]

and particularly striking:

ibid. 30 line 30 homo medicus leonis: homo hospes leonis C Radulf. p. 41 line 36.

The few agreements of Ralph's text with other manuscripts against C are trivial. Ralph's text, however, sometimes is correct where C is incorrect, as at NA 5.14.22 line 10, where Ralph's text (p. 41 line 7) has *penitus*, omitted by C. In any case C was not written until many years after Ralph's death; but Ralph's preservation of several readings otherwise peculiar to C – particularly *homo hospes leonis* – suggests that he used an ancestor of C as one of his sources for the early books. If so, Ralph's *Abbreviationes chronicorum* offers rare evidence of the influence of the C tradition in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.³⁴

³² Ralph's use of Gellius has been noted by Manitius (n. 29 above), p. 638; G. Goetz, *Trogus und Gellius bei Radulfus de Diceto* (Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Kl. 78.2; Leipzig, 1926); Martin, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts', 15-16. The excerpts, some drastically revised, include NA 5.18.1, 6; 5.3.1-6; 10.17.1; 5.10.5-15; 14.3.11; 3.15.2; 16.16.2; 1.9.12, 1-8; 1.10.4; 1.17.1-4; 3.15.3; 5.14.17-28, 9-16, 29-30; 1.5.1-2; 13.11.2-5; 12.11.3-5; 13.5.1-12; 15.18.2; 1.23.4-13; 12.1.1-24; 1.8.3-6; 2.1.1-2; 3.6.2-3; praef. 2, 4; 12.1.6-8, 21-22; ed. Stubbs, 1.15, 37-46, 51-52, 64, 181.

³³ Although the *Polyhistor* survives in only two fourteenth-century manuscripts, Leland saw a copy at St. Paul's, where Ralph had made his career; cf. *De rebus Britannicis collectanea* 4 (Oxford, 1715), p. 48.

³⁴ A handful of readings in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, as represented by N (s. xiii), also may reflect C's influence, though most are found in other witnesses as well: NA 5.14.7 line 26 inuisitata: inusitata P²CKN *Polyhist.*; ibid. 18 line 26 nactus: nactus PRCKN *Policr.*; ibid. 21 line 5 mansues: mansuetus CKN *Policr.*; 5.16.4 line 12 nixum: uisum CN.

IV

Where did this C family of Gellius 1-7 originate? The Clare manuscript itself may be expected to provide some information regarding the early history of this text. We have noted above that MS. 26 is not a composite but rather a single manuscript. Therefore, whatever one can determine about its origins from the history of any text in it can be applied to the volume as a whole.

Some evidence regarding the earlier history of the text of Gellius in Clare 26 is provided by its text of Quintilian's *Institutio*.³⁵ For the *Institutio*, Clare 26 is a gemellus of Cambridge, St. John's College MS. 91 (J). The latter is a late twelfth-century manuscript which was probably written in Normandy. It contains late twelfth-century notes from the early books of Gellius, i.e., 3.6, 6.13, 1.15.1-3 (fol. 72b). These share errors with C and other witnesses – 3.6.2 line 17 ac tamen; 1.15.1 line 6 humidis, 3 line 15 quo scilicet – but do not have C's peculiar errors in 6.13.1 line 21 in (*om.* quinque), 2 line 25 quod: quam, 3 line 1 ques. It is interesting that the note on 3.6 (the ability of the palm tree to bear weight) also appears in British Library MS. Royal 8 D.viii, fol. 119 (s. xii, Lanthony), Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale MS. 1926, fols. 97-98 (s. xii, Clairvaux), and, in shorter form, in the Valerius/Gellius florilegium and in William of Malmesbury's *Polyhistor* and John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*, both of whom used the ϕ florilegium.^{35a} The citation of the whole of 6.13, regarding the definition of the term 'classic', was also known to the annotator of Bern, Bürgerbibliothek MS. 276, whom we discuss on p. 378 below. It is doubtful that these three quotations in St. John's 91 reflect a knowledge of the whole text of the early books; and even if they do, we could not say where it was. St. John's 91 was copied at least once in the twelfth century, producing Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Voss. lat. Q.77 (s. xii²) (R), a descendant if not a direct copy, which belonged to the Augustinian canons of Saint-Martin-aux-Jumeaux near Amiens in the fourteenth century.³⁶ By the end of the thirteenth

³⁵ Concerning the medieval circulation of Quintilian see M. Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian* (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, Suppl. 25; London, 1970), p. 29. The St. John's manuscript is described in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1913), pp. 121-22. The codex contains two manuscripts, but they were joined after 1418 and only the first need concern us here.

^{35a} The earliest known appearance of this extract by itself is in a ninth-century manuscript from Saint-Amand: Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 174, fol. 41r. However, current research (yet to be completed) suggests strongly that by the middle of the ninth century a complete text of books 1-7 was available in northern France, almost certainly at Laon.

³⁶ Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian*, pp. 26-27; K. A. de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani latini* 2 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 183-84.

century the St. John's manuscript had moved to England where it acquired marginalia and pledge notes. It was eventually given to Peterhouse Cambridge, where it appears as item 160 in the 1418 catalogue of the library.³⁷

The two manuscripts, Clare 26 and St. John's 91, descend from the same parent that produced the lost Beccensis of Quintilian, known through the compendium made by a mid-twelfth-century monk of Bec, Stephen of Rouen.³⁸ The Beccensis offers some evidence regarding the location of its parent, if it is to be identified, as seems quite sensible, with the Quintilian given to Bec before 1164 by Philip of Bayeux; for we know where Philip acquired at least some of his manuscripts.³⁹ Prominent among the 140 books which he gave to the abbey are a number of rare works whose individual histories go back to the Loire: in particular, Pomponius Mela, the ancestor of all surviving manuscripts being Vatican Library Vat. lat. 4929, which belonged to Heiric of Auxerre in the ninth century and which was at Orléans in the twelfth century, when it was used there by the compilers of the *Florilegium Angelicum* and the *Florilegium Gallicum*;⁴⁰ the younger Pliny's letters preceded by Apuleius, the combination indicating that it descended from Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana San Marco MS. 284 (s. xi) and that it was a sister to Bern, Bürgerbibliothek MS. 136, which was used by the compiler of the *Florilegium Angelicum* and later owned by Pierre Daniel;⁴¹ Cicero's *De finibus* and *Posterior Academics*, which were known at Pontigny and to Richard de Fournival, who acquired parts of his library in Orléans; and Ennodius, known in Corbie but also in Orléans, because there are extensive extracts in the *Florilegium Angelicum*.⁴² The one manuscript from Philip's gift that has been identified, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5802 (s. xii), is decorated in the style current at Chartres in the mid-twelfth century, and for its text of Cicero's *Philippics* is descended, with Fournival's

³⁷ The 1418 catalogue is printed by M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899). We have no knowledge of how or when the manuscript came to Peterhouse. It was given to St. John's College by William Beale between 1631 and 1639; see N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), p. 27.

³⁸ Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian*, p. 27 n. 3. He does not deal with the origins of Philip's books.

³⁹ The origins of Philip's library still await formal study, and would merit it. Regarding the library see G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), pp. 42-45. Regarding Philip see V. Bourrienne, *Un grand bâtisseur: Philippe de Harcourt, évêque de Bayeux* (Paris, 1930); and S. E. Gleason, *An Ecclesiastical Barony of the Middle Ages: The Bishopric of Bayeux, 1066-1204* (Harvard Historical Monographs 10; Cambridge, Mass., 1936), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁰ Rouse and Rouse, 'The *Florilegium Angelicum*' (n. 30 above), 72-74.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, 74-76, 84 n. 2.

⁴² R. H. and M. A. Rouse, 'The Medieval Circulation of Cicero's "Posterior Academics" and the *De finibus bonorum et malorum*' in *Medieval Scribes* (n. 24 above), pp. 333-67.

manuscript of the *Philippics*, from a codex which later belonged to Angelo Coluccio.⁴³ Finally, a Loire origin for Philip's *Institutio* is suggested by the fact that the manuscript which produced the Beccensis, Clare 26, and St. John's 91 was in turn copied or descended from the mid-ninth-century parent of the *mutili*, Bern, Bürgerbibliothek MS. 351, which may have belonged to Lupus of Ferrières and later was at Fleury.⁴⁴

We do not know, however, when the early books of Gellius were joined to the *Institutio*. Was it at the copying of the Clare manuscript, or could it have been a generation earlier? While the later books of Gellius were known to Lupus of Ferrières and have recently been shown to have circulated from the Loire, the circulation of the early books remains largely unknown. There is good reason, however, to believe that they were known in Orléans, or the surrounding area. Let us examine the surviving evidence of the circulation of *Noctes Atticae* 1-7.

The early books, as we mentioned on p. 356 above, are known in three medieval manuscripts besides C: (1) Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Gronovianus 21, s. xii-xiii (R), is made of two manuscripts which were together by the mid-thirteenth century when the table of contents was written: I (s. xii) Cicero *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, *Timaeus*, Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 1-6; II (s. xiii) *Theoretica geometria*, Hyginus, anon. commentary on Boethius. For its text of the *De finibus* Gronov. 21 belongs to a family of manuscripts known to have been in Normandy and Paris, namely, the codices known to Philip of Bayeux, Richard de Fournival, William Morel, and the compiler of the extracts in Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 18104.⁴⁵ Little else is known of its history before it was discovered somewhere along the Rhine by Bernard Rottendorf in 1650.⁴⁶ (2) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5765, s. xii², France (P), contains, fols. 1-61v, Caesar *De bello gallico*; 61v-111, Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 1-7. For the text of the *Gallic War*, the colophons to books 6-8 reveal some association with two of the oldest witnesses. The first is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 5763 which, according to Professor Bernhard Bischoff, was written in the first quarter of the ninth century. The fact that MS. lat. 5763 is written by numerous hands makes a precise localization difficult; it has, however, the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century ex-libris of Fleury. The second possibility is Vatican Library

⁴³ We are grateful for the opinion of François Avril, who is studying the decoration of manuscripts produced in the scriptoria of the cathedral and of the abbey of Saint-Pierre in the mid-twelfth century. Regarding the *Philippics* see the edition of A. C. Clark (Oxford, 1900), *praefatio*.

⁴⁴ Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian*, pp. 28-29.

⁴⁵ See Rouse and Rouse, 'Medieval Circulation'.

⁴⁶ P. Lehmann, 'Aus dem Leben, dem Briefwechsel und der Büchersammlung eines Helfers der Philologen' in his *Erforschungen des Mittelalters* 4 (Stuttgart, 1961), pp. 107-27.

Vat. lat. 3864, which was written at Corbie in the middle or third quarter of the ninth century.⁴⁷ For the text of the *Attic Nights*, one should remember, P descends from the same parent as does φ. (3) Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3452, s. xii², France (V), contains, fols. 1-56, *Noctes Atticae* 1-7; fols. 57-134, *Noctes Atticae* 9-20. The two parts are written by two contemporary French scribes; the second scribe wrote to 20.10.6 *celebriora manum conserere*. The parchment of the two portions is prepared in similar fashion, namely, ruled with a hard point in thirty-eight long lines. The absence of letter unions and the occasional cedillas and ampersands suggest that the manuscript dates from the last third of the twelfth century. The manuscript bears occasional *nota* marks and brief marginalia in thirteenth-century hands. By the middle of the fifteenth century it had been taken to Italy, where the final portions of book 20 were written. The manuscript was acquired by Cardinal Fulvio Orsini (1529-1600) and then passed to the Collegio Capranica in Rome.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, none of these manuscripts gives up its medieval origin. Information found in the medieval library catalogues is equally vague, since medieval cataloguers seldom noted whether it was the earlier or the later books that they had. It would, for example, be interesting to know which half is referred to in the newly discovered inventory of books acquired at Lobbes between 1074 and 1150.⁴⁹ Two leaves from a manuscript of the late eleventh century made for Egmont by Abbot Stephen (d. 1083), now Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale IV 625, have recently been identified and indicate that the Egmont Gellius contained the later books only.⁵⁰ For the most part we are dependent upon the evidence of quotations from the text.⁵¹

The early books of Gellius, however, were seldom quoted by continental medieval authors; and the authors that do quote the *Attic Nights* cite only single snippets, suggesting that they are using Gellius from an intermediate source. The paucity of this evidence, and of the manuscripts themselves, makes all the more interesting the discovery of some thirty quotations from the whole of the *Attic Nights*, added in the margins of a manuscript of Papias (now Bern,

⁴⁷ V. Brown, 'Latin Manuscripts of Caesar's *Gallic War*' in *Palaeographica, diplomatica et archivistica. Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli* I (Rome, 1979), pp. 122-24, 129.

⁴⁸ A. V. Antonovics, 'The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica' in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, ed. C. H. Clough (Manchester, 1976), pp. 141-59.

⁴⁹ F. Dolbeau, 'Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes au xi^e et xii^e siècles' (part I), *Recherches augustiniennes* 13 (1978) 3-36, no. 264 and (part II) 14 (1979) 191-248.

⁵⁰ M. Wittek, 'Manuscrits de classiques latins à la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er}: acquisitions récentes (1961-1975)' in *Hommages à André Boutemy* (n. 23 above), p. 447, no. 21. Identified by R. H. Rouse.

⁵¹ Basically, one has the lists assembled by Hertz and Manitius (n. 14 above).

Bürgerbibliothek MS. 276) in the middle years of the thirteenth century by someone who appears to have actually read the *Attic Nights*.⁵² The annotator's hand has been identified in four other manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 219 pt. 1 fols. 1-8v, s. x-xi, Cicero *Topica*; Bern, Bürgerbibliothek 291, s. xiii, Isidore *Etymologiae*, Bede *De orthographia*; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8213, s. xii, Horace; and Vatican Library Pal. lat. 1514, s. xi-xiv, Cicero *Tusculan Disputations*. All five manuscripts were in the same library in the mid-thirteenth century. The annotations are consistently lexicographical in nature, offering examples of usage of rare vocabulary. The annotator had access to an impressive body of ancient literature, including Petronius, Calpurnius and Nemesianus, Censorinus, the *Querolus*, Propertius, Tibullus, Plato's *Meno* and *Phaedo*, Seneca's *Dialogues*, Cicero's philosophical works, the younger Pliny's letters, Ennodius, and Michael of Ephesus. He tells us on at least four occasions where he worked: he saw manuscripts at St. Columba in Sens, at Saint-Benoît in Fleury, and at the cathedral of Sainte-Croix in Orléans (mentioned twice). The quotations from Gellius (see Appendix A below), while numerous, are too brief to permit us to identify their source. They do demonstrate, however, the existence of a manuscript of the whole of Gellius (in one codex or two) on the Loire, probably at Orléans, in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The possible existence of a manuscript of the early books of Gellius at Orléans is lent substance by two other pieces of evidence which now assume an importance that they did not have in isolation. (1) Brief quotations from the whole of Gellius appear in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, a large collection of extracts from ancient authors compiled in the middle of the twelfth century, in all likelihood at Orléans.⁵³ For his extracts from the pseudo-Plautine *Querolus*, the compiler of the *Florilegium Gallicum* drew on Vatican Library MS. Vat. lat. 4929, which was in Orléans if not in the cathedral library itself; and he took long extracts from Tibullus, for which there is also evidence to indicate that it was at Orléans.⁵⁴ (2) Extracts from the whole of Gellius appear in the *Manipulus florum*, an alphabetical florilegium compiled by Thomas of Ireland at the

⁵² Regarding the annotations in Bern MS. 276, which are still unexamined, see M. D. Reeve and R. H. Rouse, 'New Light on the Transmission of Donatus's *Commentum Terentii*', *Viator* 9 (1978) 235-49.

⁵³ Regarding the *Florilegium Gallicum* see A. Gagnér, *Florilegium Gallicum: Untersuchungen und Texte zur Geschichte der Mittellateinischen Florilegienliteratur* (Skrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund 18; Lund, 1936), and J. Hamacher, *Florilegium Gallicum: Prolegomena und Edition der Exzerpte von Petron bis Cicero, De oratore* (Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters 5; Frankfurt a/M, 1975).

⁵⁴ Concerning MS. Vat. lat. 4929 and the origin of the *Florilegium Gallicum* see Rouse and Rouse, 'The *Florilegium Angelicum*' (n. 30 above), and R. H. Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century France', *Viator* 10 (1979) 131-60.

Sorbonne before 1306 (see Appendix B below).⁵⁵ Thomas culled his extracts both from other florilegia and from books in the Sorbonne library; the *Attic Nights*, however, are not quoted in the florilegia that he used, the *Flores paradysi* and the *Liber exceptionum ex libris viginti trium auctorum*.⁵⁶ Instead, his source for the quotations must have been the manuscript of Gellius which came to the Sorbonne in 1272 with the books of Richard de Fournival and which is no. 89, 'Agellii liber noctium atticarum', in the *Biblionomia* or catalogue of Richard's books.⁵⁷ Unfortunately the book was not described in the 1338 catalogue of the Sorbonne, and hence we cannot identify its contents through the opening words of the second and penultimate folios.⁵⁸ The extracts in the *Manipulus*, however, suggest that Fournival's manuscript contained both the early and the late books. A substantial portion of Fournival's books, among them his manuscripts of Tibullus, Propertius, Plato's *Phaedo*, Cicero's *De legibus*, Verrine orations, Philippics, *De finibus*, and *Epistulae ad familiares*, and the *Florilegium Angelicum*, can be shown to have strong associations with Orléans.⁵⁹

There is some evidence to associate the background of the Clare Gellius itself with the Orléanais. The Gellius in the Clare manuscript has been shown to be a close relative – copy of a gemellus – of Vatican Library Vat. lat. 3452 (V). V also contains the later books of Gellius, written at about the same time, and one is tempted to think in the same scriptorium, as the V text of the early books.⁶⁰ For these later books, V is a member of the γ family which, as we have shown elsewhere, was brought from Fulda to Ferrières by Lupus and was disseminated in the twelfth century through Chartres, St. Columba of Sens, Provins and Orléans – in other words, from the Loire schools.⁶¹ The extracts from Gellius 9-20 in the *Florilegium Gallicum* and the *Florilegium Angelicum*, written at Orléans, belong to this family.⁶² While we cannot demonstrate that the intelligent editor of the θ text of Gellius 1-7 worked in the Loire schools, the excerpts noted above – *Florilegium Gallicum*, *Manipulus florum*, Bern 276 – in-

⁵⁵ See R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum of Thomas of Ireland* (Studies and Texts 47; Toronto, 1979).

⁵⁶ R. H. Rouse, 'Cistercian Aids to Study in the Thirteenth Century', *Studies in Cistercian History* 2 (1976) 123-34.

⁵⁷ L. Delisle, ed., *Le cabinet des manuscrits* 2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 518-35.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* 3 (Paris, 1881), pp. 9-72. Books that were not in the *armaria* for any reason – e.g., in use by a member of the house, borrowed, temporarily missing, shelved with the chained collection – were not described in the 1338 catalogue.

⁵⁹ Rouse, 'Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors'.

⁶⁰ The two parts of V are linked by the similarity in their preparation, each having been ruled with hard point for the same number of long lines per page.

⁶¹ de la Mare, Marshall, Rouse, 'Pietro da Montagnana' (n. 1 above), 219-25 and pls. 14b-16.

⁶² *ibid.*, 222 and n. 19.

dicare that the text of the early as well as of the later books emerged in this area in the twelfth century.

By what route did the text of *θ* reach England, there to be quoted by Ralph of Diss and, later, to be copied into the Clare manuscript? As archdeacon of Middlesex from 1152 and dean of St. Paul's from 1180, Ralph was continually in contact with the major figures of Anglo-Norman politics.⁶³ Moreover, he had personal friends and correspondents on the Continent dating back to the 1140's, when he studied and, evidently, taught the *sacra pagina* at Paris. Thus, if we question whence or from whom on the Continent this book might have come to Ralph, the possibilities are countless. But if we consider only the probabilities, two potential sources of transmission stand out.

The one Norman collection where the *Attic Nights* might have been found was that given to Bec in 1164 by Philip of Bayeux which, as we saw above, contained the ancestor of the Quintilian in Clare MS. 26. Unfortunately this, the more attractive of the two suggestions, is undocumented, since the Bec catalogue of Philip's gift does not mention Gellius. However, at least twenty-seven of Philip's books were not described in the catalogue;⁶⁴ and we know that many of Philip's rare classical texts (e.g., his Quintilian) came from the Loire. Arnulf of Lisieux had been a friend of Ralph of Diss since their school days in Paris; and Arnulf knew and had access to the Bec library, as demonstrated by his having found there in 1160 a rare copy of Ennodius for Henry of Pisa, cardinal priest of Sts. Nereus and Achilles.⁶⁵

A second possible tie with the Loire region lies with St. Columba in Sens, either through the agency of Thomas Becket or directly via Ralph himself. The abbey owned a copy of the *Attic Nights*; Herbert of Bosham refers to it in a letter to Henry, count of Champagne, in 1167, saying 'the manuscript of Gellius that you have repeatedly requested of me is not mine, but St. Columba's.' We do not know if the St. Columba codex contained the early books, or just the later ones. We have suggested elsewhere that the St. Columba text was the manuscript

⁶³ Regarding Ralph see W. R. Matthews and W. M. Atkins, *A History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, 2nd edition (London, 1964); B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 230-33; and A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974), pp. 230-36.

⁶⁴ 'Summa voluminum CXIII, exceptis XXVII voluminibus, quae dedit episcopus, sed nondum habuerunt': the Bec catalogue, including the description of Philip's gift, is printed in G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), no. 86. Margaret Gibson is preparing a new edition of the Bec catalogue.

⁶⁵ For Arnulf's letter see F. Barlow, *The Letters of Arnulf of Lisieux* (London, 1939), pp. 36-38; and P. von Moos, 'Literarkritik im Mittelalter: Arnulf von Lisieux über Ennodius' in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou, 2 (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 929-35. Arnulf knew Philip well; the manuscript of Ennodius to which he refers is almost certainly no. 55 ('in alio Ennodius') in Philip's bequest to Bec.

from which a certain Willelmus Anglicus copied Vatican Library MS. Reg. lat. 1646 in 1170 for Count Henry.⁶⁶ If that is the case, it very likely contained the later books only. But let us consider the possibility that St. Columba had the early books as well. The annotator of Bern 276 mentions that he worked at St. Columba, as well as at Orléans and Fleury; and he clearly knew both halves of Gellius. The St. Columba codex was also very likely the source of the copy of the *Attic Nights* which Thomas Becket left to Christ Church Canterbury in 1170. If the Canterbury text contained both parts of Gellius, it could very well have been known to Ralph of Diss in the 1180's. Ralph may rather himself have learned of the St. Columba Gellius, and have procured it or a copy of it directly. It is interesting to note in this connection that, after Becket's death, Ralph wrote an account of the martyrdom for the monks of St. Columba.⁶⁷ This action seems rather curious, given that Ralph had not been an intimate of Becket's nor – despite the fact that he remained on good terms with the archbishop's entourage – had he sided with Becket's party during the years of controversy that preceded the martyrdom.⁶⁸ It raises the possibility, at least, that Ralph had a close relationship with St. Columba, and that the abbey was the source of his Gellius.

However θ may have come to England, and wherever Ralph of Diss may have used it, there are no traces of a manuscript of the *Noctes Atticae* at St. Paul's, even though Ralph left his books to the cathedral; for it does not appear in the 1245 or 1295 inventories of the treasury. We must next turn to the Clare Gellius, the copy of θ , for information concerning the further travels of this text in England.

The manuscript itself offers no easy clues to its medieval home, since both its opening and its closing leaves are missing. However, if we look forward in time to the seventeenth century, when the Gellius formed part of John Heaver's library, some possible leads emerge. Heaver gave to Clare College five other manuscripts besides the Gellius: MSS. 12, *Medica*, s. xiii; 14, Thomas of Capua, etc., s. xiv¹; 18, Orosius and Justinus, s. xii; 24, *Grammatica graeca*, s. xv²; and 27, Turpin and Geoffrey of Monmouth, s. xiv¹.⁶⁹ Of these three have a known medieval provenance: MS. 18 was written at Durham cathedral priory;⁷⁰ and

⁶⁶ de la Mare, Marshall, Rouse, 'Pietro da Montagnana', 223-24.

⁶⁷ W. Stubbs, ed., *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica* 2 (RS 68; London, 1876), pp. 279-85.

⁶⁸ See Smalley, *Becket Conflict*.

⁶⁹ James, *Descriptive Catalogue ... Clare College* (n. 2 above), pp. 21-24, 25-28, 36-37, 40, 43-45.

⁷⁰ T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 1 (1949-55) 432-41, especially 439-40, says that it was

MSS. 14 and 27 belonged to the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans.⁷¹

Let us consider the possibility that Heaver acquired the Gellius from St. Albans, along with the chronicles and Thomas of Capua. St. Albans was governed, during the second half of the twelfth century, by three learned abbots in succession, Simon, Warin, and John, each of whom had strong literary interests. They added substantially to the abbey library, in the process laying the foundations for St. Albans' literary importance in the thirteenth century, particularly as a center of historical writing.⁷² St. Albans' chroniclers, Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris, both used the chronicles of Ralph of Diss as a major source.⁷³ The abbots and monks of St. Albans, in amassing an important library, may have sought out the more unusual texts quoted by Ralph, including the rare *Attic Nights*. Roger and Matthew each cite the same single passage from the early books (NA 4.5.6), though without naming Gellius.⁷⁴ Margaret Borro was evidently the post-Dissolution owner of C; and families named Borro appear on St. Albans land.⁷⁵ But the most suggestive circumstantial evidence of a St. Albans home for C is provided by Richard de Bury.

Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham (1333-45), is the only English author to quote the *Attic Nights* more than once or twice between 1200 and 1400. In his

'written ca. 1100 or a little earlier at Durham Cathedral Priory.' The hand can be seen in two other Durham manuscripts reproduced in R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1939), pls. 31 and 28, of MSS. B III.1 and B III.10.

⁷¹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, p. 165.

⁷² Regarding St. Albans' library and its intellectual life see R. W. Hunt, 'The Library of St. Albans' in *Medieval Scribes* (n. 24 above); and D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 310-12, 502-505. R. M. Thomson is engaged on an extensive study of the library and scriptorium of St. Albans in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.

⁷³ B. Smalley, *Historians in the Middle Ages* (London, 1974), pp. 160-62; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, index.

⁷⁴ Manitius, 'Beiträge' (n. 14 above), 565. While the passage also appears in Varro, *Rerum rusticarum libri III*, it is doubtful that the latter was the source, given its limited circulation.

This passage is one of those marked 'huc usque' in P, suggesting that Roger and/or Matthew may have used *φ*. See above, p. 372.

⁷⁵ H. T. Riley, ed., *Gesta abbatum monasterii sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham ... compilata* 3 (RS 28; London, 1869), pp. 78-80. A John Borowe was a fellow of Eton and donor of Eton MS. 120, formerly at the Augustinian priory of Launde, Leicestershire.

It should be noted that John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans 1420-65, quotes frequently from both halves of the *Attic Nights* in his *Granarium*. Regarding Whethamstede see D. R. Howlett, *Studies in the Works of John Whethamstede* (D.Phil. thesis Oxford, 1975). However, Whethamstede was a good friend of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, and he is writing after 1439; hence, he is in all probability drawing on new texts which Humphrey has brought north. One can see from the opening word of the second folio, recorded in the catalogue (1439) of Duke Humphrey's books, that he had a copy of the early books at least, if not of the whole text: 'Item Aulus Gellius "Noctium Atticarum" Teofrastus' (NA 1.3); ed. H. Anstey, *Epistolae academicae Oxon.* (Oxford Historical Society 35; Oxford, 1898), p. 183. A new edition is in preparation by Alfonso Sammit, *Unfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti italiani* (Padua, 1979).

Philobiblon there are five long quotations, all from the early books:⁷⁶ prol. 24, 1.19, 3.17, 7.10, and 7.17. None of the Gellius florilegia draws on this section of the prologue; this fact, and the length of de Bury's excerpts, indicate that he was using a text of at least the early books of the *Attic Nights*. Unfortunately, there are scarcely any significant readings in the *Philobiblon*, since de Bury paraphrases rather than quoting verbatim. Of great importance, however, is the fact that in both of his citations to book 7 de Bury calls it book 6, a transposition found only in C and the fifteenth-century *recentiores* (ξ). Other readings – for example, *Philolai* with C at 3.17.1 against *Philolaii* VP and *philosoi* R; *passuum* with C at 7.10.4 against *passium* V (desunt PR) – are of little consequence. The one really startling variant in the *Philobiblon* is the incorrect *septuaginta* at 7.17.3, where de Bury agrees with the *recentiores* against the correct *septingenta* CV (desunt PR). To judge from the reversal of books 6 and 7 and the slender evidence of the readings, it appears that de Bury used not C but a descendant, probably a copy, of it; one may even speculate that Richard de Bury's copy was in the main line of transmission, from the text of θ and C to the text as it appears in the *recentiores*.⁷⁷

During the years just prior to Richard's elevation to the see of Durham, when he was clerk of the Privy Seal, the abbot of St. Albans wanted Richard's help in securing favorable royal response to a petition. As a result, de Bury was allowed to buy thirty books from St. Albans' library, and the abbey made him an outright gift of four other volumes: Jerome *Adversus Rufinum*, Terence,

⁷⁶ A. Altamura, ed., *Philobiblon* (Naples, 1954), pp. 82, 97, 106.

⁷⁷ One might also consider the possibility that John Ridevall knew and used Richard de Bury's manuscript of the *Attic Nights* in his *Fulgentius metaforalis*, only the first part of which is in print. Ridevall quotes once from the early books (NA 1.8.3) via *Policraticus* 6.23, where the passage is anonymous, but Ridevall recognized Gellius as the source. In addition, he appears to be referring to a text of the *Attic Nights* when discussing the reading *Tais* for *Lais*: 'Tays vel lays nomine, que in antiquis libris Agellii vocatur Lays per l' (*Fulg. met.*, 'Venus', pt. 2). Ridevall again uses the words 'in libris antiquis' in referring to a source for a particular numbering of Seneca's *Epistulae morales* (*Fulg. met.*, 'Minerva', pt. 2), underscoring the implication that he is with these words designating a manuscript of the text. In the same work Ridevall draws twice from the later books, NA 12.11 ('Venus', pt. 4) and NA 19.2 ('Juno', ed. Liebeschütz 92). The first of these was available in the Valerius/Gellius florilegium. The second, however, was evidently not; and it may alone or together with the other derive from a whole text. It has recently been discovered that Ridevall dedicated his commentary on the *City of God* to Richard de Bury; see H. Boese, 'John Ridevall und seine Expositio zu Augustins Gottesstaat' in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.*, ed. R. Creyten and P. Künzle, 1 (Storia e letteratura 141; Rome, 1978), pp. 371-78. Obviously, it is not certain that Ridevall knew a full text of the *Attic Nights*, nor that he drew on de Bury's library. The possibility that he might have is new, however, and worth setting forth. We owe this information on Ridevall to N. F. Palmer; it will appear in fuller form in his 'The Fourteenth-Century Venus: Mythographic Picture Descriptions in the Tradition of Johannes Ridevall and Robert Holcot'.

Virgil, and Quintilian.⁷⁸ The Clare Gellius may have been among the books that de Bury obtained at that time. It may, in fact, be the Quintilian volume mentioned by name in the records. It was, and remains, common enough practice to refer to a codex by the first work that it contains – as witness the fact that the seventeenth-century Clare College ex-libris calls MS. 26 simply ‘Quintilianus imperfectus’.

One may conjecture that Richard de Bury had a copy made of the Clare Gellius, and that the latter thereafter made its way back to St. Albans. The records state that, after he became bishop of Durham, de Bury was ‘led by his conscience’ to return ‘many of these books’; and most of the others were bought back by the abbey, after de Bury’s death.⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that, in 1391, Durham owned the whole of the *Attic Nights*, in two parts – the only English library outside of Christ Church Canterbury that is known to have had either portion of the work before the Renaissance.⁸⁰ Perhaps the first part of the Durham Gellius came from the books of Richard de Bury, and was thus a copy of the Clare Gellius.

V

From the evidence of C’s readings (presented above, pp. 359-68), particularly its anticipation of over 200 correct readings otherwise to be found first in the fifteenth-century ζ texts, it is evident that the text of C, though containing many errors, is immeasurably better than any other current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is true whether one compares C to VPR, to the anthologies, or to the versions of Gellius’ text found in contemporary

⁷⁸ R. Weiss, ‘The Revival of Greek Learning’ in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. F. Wormald and C. E. Wright (London, 1958), pp. 113-14, 131.

⁷⁹ The following are known: London, British Library MS. Royal 8 G.i, *Tabula originalium sacre scripture*, s. xiv (1330-45), written for Richard de Bury and purchased from his executors by Michael, abbot of St. Albans; MS. Royal 13 D.iv, *Policraticus*, s. xii², written for Abbot Simon of St. Albans and purchased by Michael from Richard’s executors; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Laud misc. 363, s. xii, theological tracts, and New College MS. 274, s. xiii¹, Pliny *Historia naturalis*, both of which were given by Richard to St. Albans. While larger, the Pliny is ruled in the same fashion as the Clare Gellius, i.e., each column is bounded by a double vertical rule and the middle of the outer margin is divided by another double vertical rule.

⁸⁰ J. Raine, ed., *Catalogi veteres librorum ecclesiae cathedralis Dunelm.* (Surtees Society 7; London, 1838), p. 31: ‘Prima pars Agellii noccium acticarum. II fo. *Unde ea nos accepimus* [praef. 18]. Secunda pars Agellii. II fo. *eciam mox barbam* [in quaterno albo *add. cat. 1416*]. The two parts of Gellius are normally thought not to have been joined before Niccolò Niccoli ‘discovered’ the early books in 1421. Regarding the later circulation of Gellius in England, see R. A. B. Mynors, ‘The Latin Classics Known to Boston of Bury’ in Fritz Saxl, *1890-1948: A Volume of Memorial Essays from His Friends in England*, ed. D. J. Gordon (Edinburgh, 1957), p. 212.

authors. An important question remains: are C's peculiar readings, right or wrong, to be attributed to an unknown scholar's conjectural alterations of a manuscript similar to V (as is argued above), or are they to be regarded as traditional variants, originating in collation with one or more manuscripts, now lost, that did not resemble our extant witnesses? Recently E. J. Kenney has reminded us that what looks like a conjectural alteration may have another origin, such as correction of the newly copied manuscript against its exemplar, or insertion of a traditional variant presented as a marginal or interlinear note in the exemplar; other alterations may have originated in later collations of the completed copy with other manuscripts.⁸¹ But in arguing (correctly) against assuming without evidence that 'good' readings in *recentiores* are medieval conjectures, Kenney goes so far as to suggest that conjectural alteration *ingenii ope* was all but unknown in the Middle Ages, correction in the monastic scriptorium being limited to collation with the exemplar and other manuscripts, criticism to choice between existing variants (p. 120). If the manuscripts of classical writers copied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries offer numbers of 'good' readings not found in older manuscripts, it is only the defective evidence that gives these readings the appearance of medieval conjectures: '... it is striking that whenever an older MS previously unknown comes to light it almost invariably offers some of these readings, which are thus shown to be traditional' (p. 121).

Though the fundamental research on medieval textual scholarship remains to be done, there is evidence that medieval scholars took a more aggressive attitude toward their exemplars of classical writings than Kenney allows. An eleventh-century hand, thought to be that of Ekkehart IV of St. Gall (c. 1000-1060), entered textual changes, many of them correct, in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek MS. C 74a (s. x-xi) of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*. The readings of this manuscript (T), which was the 'complete' Quintilian discovered by Poggio at St. Gall in 1416, played an important role in the establishment of the Italian vulgate text of Quintilian in the fifteenth century. That T's medieval corrector was not collating another manuscript is revealed by rhyming hexameter verses written in his hand across the top of fols. 232v-233: 'Tam male scribenti quam denique desipienti / Absque exemplari frustra cogar medicari.'⁸² In the next

⁸¹ E. J. Kenney, 'The Character of Humanist Philology' in *Classical Influences on European Culture A.D. 500-1500*, ed. R. R. Bolgar (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 120-21. Kenney cites the informative conclusions of G. Zuntz regarding Byzantine textual criticism in *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 200-201.

⁸² Winterbottom, *Problems in Quintilian* (n. 35 above), pp. 4, 12, 20 and 'Fifteenth-Century Manuscripts of Quintilian', *Classical Quarterly* N.S. 17 (1967) 339-69, especially 363 n. 1.

century William of Malmesbury (d. 1143) wrote the last folios of Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 100 (O) and corrected it throughout; his alterations of the text of Frontinus' *Strategemata* are those labelled O² in Gundermann's separate edition of book 4.⁸³ As a glance at Gundermann's apparatus shows, some of William's alterations in O represent correction of scribal blunders, presumably with comparison to the exemplar (as in *Strat.* 4.1.1: *confrequens* changed to the correct *cum frequens*, *expeditione* to the correct *expeditioni*, *gaionaemmio* to *gaio nemmio*). Other alterations in William's hand seemingly derive from a manuscript resembling B – e.g., in *Strat.* 4.1.15, where William marks the correct *per otii licentiam* for deletion and adds in the margin B's *per opulentiam*. We know that William avidly collected books for his abbey and that his scholarly activity included comparison of different copies of the same text. But some of his remedies go beyond diorthosis and collation: they are alterations *ingenii ope*, sometimes involving interpolation or even erasure of the transmitted text. A few examples of many are: *Strat.* 4.1.8 *permisit* B: *perremisit* O¹: *iussit* O²; 4.1.18 *pedites om.* DGB O¹: *peditem add.* O²; 4.1.20 *qui* BO¹: *hi qui* O²; 4.1.20 *damnati: damnato* BO¹: *damnati et* O²; 4.1.24b *nisi captis eius † legionibus: Legionibus* O² (Le *written over an erasure that would accommodate nisi captis eius*); 4.1.35 *rullus* BO¹: *rutilius* O²; 4.3.14 *cum adueniente* B: *cum aduenientem* O¹: *motum cum adueniente* O²; 4.7.28 *liberasset* B: *liberasse* O¹: *transmisisset* O². Clearly a distinction must be made between Kenney's typical Carolingian scribe, 'absurdly content to copy and to cross-copy gibberish with meticulous accuracy' (p. 121), and the twelfth-century editor who wanted a readable text. A better description of William's Frontinus is that applied by Kenney to the typical fifteenth-century humanist book: 'in no real sense a "philological" production, but a random hotchpotch of tradition and often wilful and occasionally violent alteration' (p. 122).

To return now to the text of Gellius. The same desire for a readable version led the compilers of Gellius anthologies to abridge and otherwise modify their texts. Presumably conjectural alteration, not solely persistence of traditional variants, explains at least some of the noteworthy readings found in the anthologies. The correct readings *familiari* (2.2.9 line 27) and *leniter* (5.14.12 line 11), cited from John of Salisbury by editors of Gellius, were in *φ*, the Gellius anthology that he used; as has been said (p. 372 above), *φ* was drawn for

⁸³ G. Gundermann, ed., 'De Iuli Frontini Strategematon libro qui fertur quarto', *Commentationes philologicae Jenenses* 1 (1881) 83-161; the inaccurate reports for O and B (= London, British Library Harley 2729, s. xii) have been corrected from the MSS. For more details, see Martin, 'John of Salisbury's Manuscripts' (cited above, n. 13) and Thomson, "'Scriptorium'" (n. 24 above).

the early books from an ancestor of P, which reads *familiaris* and *leviter* with VRC. Given the many 'bad' peculiar readings of this anthology that no one reasonably could consider authoritative, the possibility must be entertained that these 'good' readings as well may be inventions of the compiler. The correct *illi* (5.14.15 line 18 *ille VPRCK Polyhist.*) appears to be John's own alteration.⁸⁴ As with William's arbitrary alterations of Frontinus, the distinction is between the procedures of a mere copyist and those of someone who is reading with the sense in mind. The immediate context of C, therefore, is not the passive cross-copying that Kenney presents as the medieval norm, for twelfth- and thirteenth-century textual scholarship in England and France, though hardly conjectural criticism in the modern sense, was not limited to diorthosis and collation (important though these were) but included also alteration *ingenii ope* of the transmitted text. The conjectural alterations of a Gellius manuscript similar to V that were made by an unknown scholar and are preserved in the Clare Gellius are remarkable only for their number and their quality, even when wrong.

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The medieval history of the *Attic Nights* is characterized by the continual and careful study of the text, for both its vocabulary and its subject content, by figures such as Lupus of Ferrières, William of Malmesbury, John of Salisbury, Richard de Fournival, Richard de Bury, Petrarch, Niccolò Niccoli, and Pietro da Montagnana, as well as by capable but anonymous scholars such as the editor of θ , the compiler of φ , and the lexicographical annotator of Bern 276. The *Attic Nights* satisfied a desire for unusual vocabulary and comment from Antiquity, in relatively usable form.

Careful attention to the manuscripts of Gellius – the circumstances of their production, the nature of their use, and the details of their ownership – should continue to inform, not only about the text but also, and perhaps more important, about the substance of medieval intellectual history itself.

⁸⁴ Of John's four readings cited as incorrect variants in the Oxford Classical Text, three were in the anthology (1.13.13 line 3 *dictabat RL Polyhist. Policr.*; 2.2.7 line 17 *dum conspicimus L Polyhist. Policr.*; 5.14.24 line 13 *victu RK Polyhist. Policr.*). The other presumably is his invention: 5.10.9 line 1 *consistendeque PK: consistende VR: constituendaeque Policr.: om. Polyhist.*

APPENDIX A

Marginal annotations (s. xiii) in Bern, Bürgerbibliothek MS. 276

- fol. 6 Adprime, id est maxime ... Agellius 5 N.A., 'Adprime doctus'.
(5.21.1)
- fol. 26 Bidens ... Et Agellius in libro Noctium A.
(16.6.3-15)
- fol. 32 Caracter, id est stilus uel modus dicendi ... Super hoc dicit ... et Agellius.
(6.14.1-2)
- fol. 45v Como, id est orno. Unde Agellius 1 Noctium Att., 'orationis comende', id est ornande.
(1.9.10)
- fol. 46 Compilare ... Unde compilationem usus est Agellius in libro N.A. ut ipse dicit in prohemio libri. Idem in 3 eiusdem dicit Platonem philosophum Thimeum nobilem dyalogum ex libro Pythagorice discipline concinnasse, id est compilasse.
(*praef.*, passim; 3.17.5)
- fol. 46v Concinno ... De hoc Agellius in 3 N.A.
(3.17.5)
- fol. 57 De modo deriuundi dicit Agellius in primo Noctium Atticarum.
(Cf. 1.18 passim)
- fol. 73 Ethimologia ... Agellius in 6 N.A. querit quid significat 'obnoxius' et que sit origo et ratio vocabuli. *Origo* et *ratio*, id est ethymologia.
(6.17.1)
Cui sonat Agellius in primo N.A. loquens de lepore contra Lelium.
(1.18 passim)
- fol. 77v Fana q<...> fanisse. Et flabisse, dicit Agellius 2 Noct. A.
(2.10.3)
- fol. 84 Formidosus, timidus et tim'dus (timendus?). Idem dicit Agellius in libro Noctium Atticarum.
(9.12.1-9)
- fol. 107v Interuapulandum. Ponitur ab Agellio primo Noct. Ath.
(1.26.7)
- fol. 118v Lex. r^a (?) secundum Agellius 15 N.A.
(15.27.4; cf. 10.20.1 sqq.)
- fol. 119v Unde lepus, contra Agellium in primo Noctium Atticarum.
(1.18.2)
- fol. 132 Agellius dicit in XI (!) Noctium A. auctore P. Nigidio quod mature est quod neque citius neque tardius fit sed medium quidam et temperatum est. q.d. est sub quadam propositione mediali.
(10.11.2)
- fol. 136v Agellius in fine 18 (!) Noctium Atticarum metricam esse speciem geometrie....
(16.18.5)

- fol. 144v Natura ... Unde Agellius in XI (!) Noctium Athicarum, 'Videri verba naturalia quam ... (illeg.).'
(10.4.3)
- fol. 146 Necessitudo. Agellius in 15 (!) N.A. reprobat distinctionem (?) aliquorum inter necessitatem et necessitudinem. Nam idem significant ut acritas et acritudo.
(13.3.1-2)
- fol. 166 De parsimonia bene dicit Agellius in 2° N.A.
(2.24 passim)
- fol. 170 Pelex] Super hoc dicit Agellius 4 Noct. A.
(4.3.3)
- fol. 172v Perpetuum ... Agellius 5 N.A.
(? Cf. 2.16.10)
- fol. 173 Persona ... Agellius in 5 Noct. A.
(5.7.1-2)
- fol. 178 Plerique ... Agellius in 4 Noctium Atticarum ponit 'plerosque omnes'.
(4.17.14)
- fol. 182 Posthu. Quid r¹ posthumus dicit Agellius 2 N.A.
(2.16.5)
- fol. 186 Prius, id est singulare, unde dicit Agellius in XI (!) Noctium Atthycorum (!) auctore Lucilii. Inde priuilegia quasi singularia ... [illeg.] omnis.
(10.20.4)
- fol. 191v Pugillaria ... Agellius in 19 (!) Noctium Atthicarum, 'abscondisse pugillaria nondum cera illita.'
(17.9.16-17)
- fol. 198v Ratio, id est modus. Agellius 1 Noctium A.
(Unidentified)
- fol. 202v Religiosus ... Super hoc dicit Agellius in 4 Noctium Ath.
(4.9 passim)
- fol. 207 Sacer. Agellius in 15 (!) Noctium At., 'Sacerdotes quoque feminas Marchus Varro antistitas dicit, non secundum grammaticas leges antistites.'
(13.21.22)
- fol. 212v Scirpus ... Alia tamen significatione tribuit ei Agellius in 13° (!) N.A. ca. VI^{to}, dicens 'que greci dicunt enigmata, nostri ueteres scirpos appellant.'
(12.6.1)
- fol. 219v *κυκοφαντη* ... Huguccio ca. S dicit super hoc. Item Alexander ... et Agellius, si bene recolo.
(not in Gellius)
- fol. 229 Striga. Hinc strigosus, quod ponitur ab Agellio in 4 (!) Noct. Att.
(11.7.9)
- fol. 232v Superstes. A supersum, de cuius infinitiuo bene dicit Agellius in primo N.A.
(1.22 passim)
- fol. 237 Tergeo ... Quod tergeo dicatur ... [illeg.] per Agellium in secundo Noctium A., qui ponit extergior.
(2.25.7)

- fol. 248v Verruca. Quid sit dicit Agellius N.A. auctoritate Catonis.
(3.7.6-13)
- fol. 249 Vescum. De [hoc] dicit Agellius [...] secundum parte.
(5.12.9-10 and 16.5.5-7)
- fol. 249v Vexat] Agellius super hoc 2^o (?) N.A. bene loquitur.
Vexa. Super hoc dicit Agellius in secundo Noctium Att.
(2.6.1-8)

APPENDIX B

Extracts from the *Manipulus florum* of Thomas of Ireland (A.D. 1306).
based on Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS. lat. 15986

Consolatio p. Numerum convivarum incipere oportet a graciary numero et progredi ad numerum musarum, id est, proficisci a tribus et consistere in novem, ut non sint pauciores quam tres nec plures quam novem. Non convenit enim multos esse eo quod turba est plerumque turbulenta; nec loquaces inquit convivas nec mutos eligere oportet, quia eloquentia in foro, silentium vero non in convivio sed in cubiculo. Sermones igitur illius temporis habendos non de rebus anxiiis, non tortuosis, sed ex quibus ingenium venustans (!) fiat et amenius et cum quadam voluptate utiles. Agellius li.xv (!). [13.11.2-4]

Correctio da. Punien dis peccatis tres esse causas existimatum est. Una cum adhibetur pena castigandi atque emendandi gratia, ut is qui deliquit attentior fiat correctiorque. Alia est cum dignitas eius auctoritasque in quem peccatur tuenda est, ne pretermissa animadversio contemptu eius parcat. Tercia propter exemplum, ut ceteri metu pene terreantur. Agellius li.vii. Et ponit Taurus in commento Platonis. [7.14.1-4]

Fabula d. Esopus qui merito sapiens estimatus est utilia monita sua non severe neque imperiose precepit, sed ut philosophis mos erat salubriter ac prospicienter mentes animasque hominum cum audiendi quadam illecebra inducit. Agellius li.2^o. [2.29.1]

Loquacitas z. Sapiens sermones suos precogitat et examinat prius in pectore quam proferat in ore. Qui enim sunt leves et faciles ac importuni locutores nullo rerum pondere innixi verbis humidis et lapsantibus eam orationem bene existimant. Est in ore nasci non in pectore linguam. Agellius li.viii (!). [1.15.1-3]

—— *ab.* Nunquam tacet quem morbus loquendi tenet. Esyodus ait linguam non vulgandam esse sed recondendam et thesaurum eius esse gratiam optimam si modesta pauca et modulata sit. Agellius ibidem. [1.15.9, 14]

Philosophia o. Epithetus philosophus aiebat litteras atque doctrinas philosophie cum in hominem falsum atque degenerem tanquam in vas spurcum atque pollutum influxissent veterari mutari corrumpi et urinam fieri. Est, inquit, videre nonnullos pecunie cupidos, glorie inlectos, libidinum servos, ut cum qualitate impugnet oratio. Reprehensibile enim apud philosophos fuit, profiteri vitam philosophicam et tamen non vivere secundum eam. Agellius li.xvii. [17.19.4. Est inquit – secundum eam, unidentified.]

Servitus s. Cum Diogenes ex libertate in servitutem venderetur quem cum emere quidam vellet percunctatus est, quod genus servitutis sciret. Respondet novi, inquit, hominibus liberis imperare. At ille eum manumisit filiosque ei tradens. Accipe, inquit, liberos meos quibus imperes. Agellius li.ii. [2.18.9-10]

APPENDIX C

Collations of the Gellius extracts on fols. 152v-154v
of Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Rawl. G.139 (K)

1. Agreements in error among *K Polyhist. Policr.* (not an exhaustive list)

- NA 3.6
140.17 tam: tantum *K Policr.*: *om. Polyhist.*
- NA 3.7 (not in *Policr.*)
141.9 in terra Sicilia: intra Siciliam
141.15 uerrucam illam: uerrucam
141.18 ubi id: ubi
141.20 unoque illo: uno atque illo
141.29 quadringenti: quadringenti (.cccc.) uiri
142.2 ad eam: ad eandem (P^2)
- NA 3.8
143.13 filii sui: filius suus *PK*: *cf. Policr. 5.7* pater illius qui ... ministrabat: *om. Polyhist.*
144.1 animo tenus: animo
144.9-10 pretio aut praemio: premio aut pretio *K Polyhist.*: promissis aut pretio *Policr.*
- NA 3.9 (not in *Policr.*)
144.23 flora et comanti: florea et iubanti
145.2 triumuirum: triūm uir *P*
145.12-15 deinde post Antonium ... exitio interisse: *om. K Polyhist.*
- NA 5.2 (not in *Policr.*)
191.11 regis: magni
191.12 scripsit: scripsit .c. (centum)
191.13 donatum: datum *P*
191.13 hoc autem: *om. VP*
191.13 nostri: nostra
191.15 erat: fuit
- NA 5.10
200.18 disciplinam Protagorae sese: disciplina Py(-i)-tagore se
201.2 tum Protagoras: Pitagoras
201.8 ea respondit: ea placidit *K*: ea placide *Polyhist. Policr.*
201.8 Potui: Opto *P*
201.16-17 pronuntiauerint: pronuntiatum (pronunatum *K*) fuerit
201.17 debebo: debeo
201.23 suo sibi: suo
201.23 uersute: uersute(-ae) et *P*
Transposition of sections 15 and 16
- NA 5.14.5-30
206.23 maximo inquit: maximo *PK Polyhist.*: *om. Policr.*
206.24 rei: re causa *K*: rei causa *Polyhist.*: *om. Policr.*
206.27 praeter alia: preter *K Polyhist.*: *om. Policr.*

207.2	toris: thoro <i>K Policr.: om. Polyhist.</i>
207.3	sese: se
207.6	repente inquit: repente
207.11	illa tam: illata <i>PK Policr.: om. Polyhist.</i>
207.14-15	et gratulabundos uideres hominem et leonem: uideres et gratulabundos leonem et hominem <i>K Policr.: uideres leonem et hominem Polyhist.</i>
208.1	commiserantia: cum miserantia <i>K: cum miserantia auditoris si quis adesset Policr.: om. Polyhist.</i>
208.3	re: res <i>K Policr.: om. Polyhist.</i>
208.5	mansues: mansuetus <i>K Policr.: mansuete Polyhist.</i>
208.10	Illa: ille <i>K Policr.: Leo Polyhist.</i>
208.17	leone in: leone
208.21	autem inquit: autem
208.22	gratiam mihi: gratiam
208.22	medicinae: medelle(-ele)
208.23	Androclum: andromacum(-chum) <i>K Polyhist.: Andronicus Policr.</i>

2. Omissions in *K* not shared by *Polyhist. Policr.* (not an exhaustive list)

NA	3.7 (not in <i>Policr.</i>)
	141.8 ad hanc <i>Polyhist.: ad K</i>
NA	5.10
	201.8 inquit huic <i>Polyhist. Policr.: inquit K</i>
NA	5.14.5-30
	206.24-25 forte essem ... saeuientes: <i>om. K but present in Polyhist.: Policr. omits a number of lines here</i>
	208.21 hunc quoque <i>Polyhist. Policr.: hunc K</i>

3. Agreements of *Polyhist. Policr.* against *K* (not an exhaustive list)

NA	3.6
	140.18 intra: iter <i>K: in terram Polyhist. Policr.</i>
NA	5.14.5-30
	207.5 Androclus: androcus <i>K: andronicus Polyhist. Policr.</i>
	207.7 noscitabundus: uocitabundum <i>K: iocabundus Polyhist. Policr.</i>
	207.26 specum: <i>om. K: caueam Polyhist. Policr.</i>
	208.7 stirpem: stipem <i>K: stipitem Polyhist. Policr.</i>

4. *K* (hence φ) descends from a MS. similar to *P* (not an exhaustive list)

NA	3.7
	142.2 ad eam: eadem <i>VP¹R²: ad eandem P²K: adem R¹</i>
	142.17 postilla <i>VR: post illam PK</i>
NA	3.8
	143.13 filii sui <i>V: fili sui R: filius suus PK</i>
NA	3.9.1-9
	144.17 memoria <i>V: memoriam PK: memorari R</i>
	145.2 triumuirum <i>VR: trium uir PK</i>
	145.20 Gallia: italia <i>VR²: italica PK: aitalia R¹</i>
	145.20 Caepio <i>VR: scipio (scip.) PK</i>
NA	5.2.1-5
	191.13 donatum <i>VR: datum PK</i>
	191.13 hoc autem <i>R: om. VPK</i>
NA	5.9.1-3
	199.13 in <i>VR: om. PK</i>

- NA 5.10.5-14, 16, 15
201.8 potui *R*: o tu *V*: opto *PK*
201.23 excogitate *VR*: et excogitate *PK*
NA 5.14.5-30
207.11 illa tam *VR*: illata *PK*

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DER GEBRAUCH DER ARISTOTELISCHEN ÜBERSETZUNG IN DEN *METEORA* DES ALBERTUS MAGNUS

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Es heißt Eulen nach Athen bringen, wenn man feststellt, daß trotz der außergewöhnlich häufigen Verwendung der *Naturales quaestiones* des Seneca die Übersetzung der aristotelischen *Meteora* die Hauptquelle der *Meteora* des Albertus Magnus ist. Um vor dem Erscheinen der kritischen Edition der *Meteora*, mit dem innerhalb der *Editio Coloniensis* in absehbarer Zeit nicht zu rechnen ist, einen Einblick in den Gebrauch der aristotelischen Übersetzung durch Albertus Magnus zu gewinnen, habe ich den Text der Borgnet-Ausgabe (Band 4, Paris, 1890) mit zwei Handschriften der Aristoteles-übersetzung verglichen, nämlich mit dem Codex Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek Cent.V.59, ff. 181r-211v und mit dem Codex Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek Amplon. F. 31, ff. 167v-198v; im Verlauf dieser Darstellung abgekürzt als Codex N und Codex E. Was Albertus an Text seiner aristotelischen Vorlage und hie und da an Interlinearvarianten der beiden benutzten Codices in seine Paraphrase aufnahm, habe ich zur eigenen Anschaulichkeit in einem Borgnet-Band Nr. 4 des Albertus-Magnus-Instituts zu Bonn schwarz unterschlängelt, so daß man hier den Gebrauch der Vorlage durch Albertus Magnus leicht überschauen kann. Wo es mir nötig erschien, habe ich den Alberttext der Borgnet-Ausgabe mit dem Codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6510, ff. 158rb-256rb verglichen.

Auf Folio 214r des angegebenen Codex N wird unten rechts mitgeteilt, daß die drei ersten Bücher der *Meteora* des Aristoteles von Gerardus Lombardus (= Gerhard von Cremona) aus dem Arabischen ins Lateinische übersetzt wurden, das vierte Buch von Henricus Aristippus aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische. Die auch noch erwähnten letzten drei Kapitel, übersetzt von Alfredus Anglicus Sarelensis aus dem Arabischen ins Lateinische (= Codex N ff. 211v-214r), wurden von Albert nicht paraphrasiert; sie gehören auch nicht zum Bestand der *Meteora* des Aristoteles, wie ihn die griechische Texttradition bietet.

Daß Albertus hier eine arabisch-lateinische Übersetzung, dort eine griechisch-lateinische als Vorlage benutzte, wird dadurch bestätigt, daß nur die drei ersten Bücher der Vorlage charakteristische arabische Termini enthalten,

die Albertus in seinen Text aufnahm, während das vierte Buch nur griechische Termini darbietet; Beispiele:

Buch I Traktat I Kapitel 4, Seite 481b Zeile 24 der Borgnet-Ausgabe: 'assub et anareli' (Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 159va: 'anazeli') = Codex N f. 181v 'ancieli', Codex E f. 168r 'Ancirel'.

B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 6, S. 484b30-33: 'et dicuntur Arabice *Alganegii*, hoc est, vapor humidus aqueus: et *Alraegii*, quod vapor terreus frigidus et siccus....' Der Codex N liest 'alguaegi et alraegii' (f. 182r), der Codex E 'Alguaegi et Alraagi' (f. 168v).

B. 1 Tr. 4 K. 4, S. 511b33-34: 'quae figura ignis Arabice vocatur *Assub*'. Siehe Codex N f. 185r 'Asub', Codex E f. 171v (der vom Albertus-Magnus-Institut verbesserten Zählung) 'Assub'. Über Assub besonders in den Kapiteln 6 und 7 von B. 1 Tr. 4 der *Meteora* des Albertus = Codex N f. 185r und Codex E f. 171v, wo neben 'Assub' 'Assunb' zu lesen ist.

B. 1 Tr. 4 K. 10, S. 517b1-2, 20-21: 'Haec autem figura arabice dicitur *Aliramata*' = Codex N f. 185v 'alunati', Codex E f. 172r 'Alumeti'; 'et ideo vocatur Arabice *Alguadi*' = Codex N f. 185 'Alguadi', Codex E f. 172r 'Alguadi'. Der Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 170ra liest allerdings 'Algandi'.

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 3, S. 668a28-29: 'Arabice autem dicitur *haloleti*, quod Latine vocatur *corona*.' (Der Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 214ra liest 'allolety') = Codex N f. 198v 'alilety', Codex E f. 185r 'Albeti'.

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 5, S. 671a17-18: 'quod rotunditas ista quae dicitur Arabice *alelethi*' (Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 215rb) = Codex N f. 198v 'alilety', Codex E f. 185r 'abenti'.

B. 3 Tr. 5 capitulum unicum, S. 701b21-22: 'et haec dicitur *exhalatio* Latine, et Arabice *alгнаogii*' (Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 225ra 'alгноagy') = Codex N f. 201r 'alгнаegi', Codex E f. 188r 'alguaegi'.

B. 3 Tr. 5 capitulum unicum, S. 702a21-23: 'et est lapis in se habens metallum aliquod quod Arabice *almarcassica*, et Graece dicitur *cathitheos*' (Albertcodex Paris lat. 6510 f. 225ra 'cathiteos') = Codex N f. 201r 'armascasyca', Codex E f. 188r 'Armatasista'. Vielleicht hat Albert die griechische Bedeutung einer Interlinearglosse entnommen; man beachte die Übernahme eines latinisierten griechischen Wortes und vieler Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen in Alberts Werk *De caelo et mundo*.¹

Übrigens werden erst die kritische Edition des Alberttextes und die kritische Edition der arabisch-lateinischen Vorlage den genauen Einblick in die Namensübernahme gewähren.

Im vierten Buch der *Meteora* Alberts werden keine arabischen Namen der Vorlage entnommen, wohl aber latinisierte griechische Worte wie 'homothēs',

¹ *Editio Coloniensis*, Band 5.1 (1971), S. vii.25 und SS. vi.23-vii.39.

'pepansis', 'epsesis' (B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 18, SS. 731b10-11, 732b5 und B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 19, S. 733b4) oder 'molensis' und 'optesis' (B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 23, 24, SS. 740a20, 741a7). Wenn Albertus B. 4 Tr. 2 K. 9, S. 761b10-13 von einem Stein spricht, der im Arabischen 'marcada' und 'altaly' heißt, dann beruft er sich dabei auf Algazel. Die aristotelische Vorlage bietet diese arabischen Namen nicht.

Auch in den *Meteora* Alberts gibt es Kapitel, in denen Albert seine Aristotelesvorlage paraphrasiert, und Kapitel, in denen er das Paraphrasierte weiter ausführt bzw. durch Auffassungen anderer Autoren verdeutlicht; es sind dies die sogenannten Digressionen. Diese Trennung wird nicht immer klar durchgeführt. So gibt es Kapitel, die keine Digressionen sind und kein Wort der Vorlage enthalten wie B. 1 Tr. 2 K. 1, S. 493a-b und B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 9, SS. 526b-527a. Sodann kommen Digressionen vor, die sich der Überschrift nach als reine Digressionen ausweisen und in denen dann doch Stücke der Vorlage aufgenommen sind:

B. 3 Tr. 3 K. 7, S. 647b32-33 die Worte 'visus' und 'auditus'; S. 648a15-34: rund dreissig Worte der Vorlage! (= Codex N f. 197v, Zeilen 1-2 und 2-8; Codex E f. 184r, Zeilen 11-12 und 12-18).

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 6, S. 672a25-32: rund zwanzig Worte, davon ein 'diximus' und ein 'dicamus'! (= Codex N f. 198v, Zeilen 5-3 von unten; Codex E f. 185v, Zeilen 9-11).

Sieht man also von den Digressionen ab, die unter Alberts naturphilosophischen Schriften in seinen *Meteora* absolut und relativ am häufigsten vorkommen, nicht einmal die *Metaphysik* reicht an diese Zahl heran,² dann stellt sein Werk, wie bekannt, eine Paraphrase dar. Was heißt das konkret? Sehe ich mir an, was ich in den Kapitel 6 bis 8 von Buch 1 Traktat 1 mit Bleistift unterschlängelt habe, dann bildet die Paraphrase hier den laufenden Wechsel von Worten und Sätzen der Vorlage mit Worten und Sätzen Alberts. Meist sind es mehrere Worte der Vorlage, die Albertus mit seinen eigenen Worten verband; sie können bis zu zehn Zeilen im Zusammenhang ausmachen – sofern sich später nicht erweisen wird, daß Albert auch noch Worte des Averroes-kommentars übernommen hat!

Es sei hier kurz darauf hingewiesen, daß Albertus in den drei ersten Büchern der *Meteora* den Averroes namentlich nur einmal erwähnt und dies mit dessen Kommentar zum 11. Buch der *Metaphysik*: B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 12, S. 491a-b. Im 4. Buch seiner *Meteora* erwähnt Albertus noch einmal den Averroes, ohne mitzuteilen, aus welchen Kommentar die angeführte Meinung des Averroes

² Siehe dazu die kurze statistische Untersuchung in meinem Beitrag zur Albertus-Magnus-Festschrift über die Arbeitsweise des Albertus Magnus in seinen naturphilosophischen Werken. Die Festschrift wird im Albert-Jahr 1980 in den Walberberger Studien erscheinen.

über die Kraft der Sterne bei der Geburt der Tiere stammt: B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 11, S. 722a. Bedenkt man, wie oft Albertus den Averroes in *De caelo et mundo* oder in der *Metaphysik* namentlich anführt, wie oft er vor allem in *De caelo et mundo* den entsprechenden Kommentar des Averroes heranzieht,³ ist man erstaunt, Averroes in den *Meteora* nur spärlich erwähnt zu finden. Wie weit Albertus dennoch den Kommentar des Averroes zu den *Meteora* des Aristoteles stillschweigend benutzt hat, muß eine gesonderte Untersuchung zeigen. Meine bisherige Analyse erbrachte wenig.

Zurück zur Klärung der Frage: was alles heißt in den *Meteora* des Albertus Paraphrase? Auch in den folgenden Kapiteln treffen wir auf ein einigermaßen ausgewogenes Verhältnis von Worten der aristotelischen Übersetzung und Worten Alberts: B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 1, SS. 519a-520a; B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 15, SS. 559b-560b; B. 2 Tr. 3 K. 8, SS. 572a-573b; B. 3 Tr. 1 K. 20, S. 605a. Die sich anschließende Figur auf Seite 605b ist der Skizze der Vorlage frei nachgezeichnet worden.

Schon in B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 6-8, dann fernerhin in B. 1 Tr. 4 K. 1, SS. 509a-510b und B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 7, SS. 551a-552b entstammen ganze Zeilen oder mit Albertworten nur leicht aufgelockerte Zeilen der aristotelischen Vorlage. Das verdichtet sich an manchen Stellen derartig, daß man fast sagen kann, Albertus habe hier den Text der Übersetzung einfach en bloc abgeschrieben. Die beiden auffallendsten Beispiele dieser Art sind zu finden in B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 2 die Zeilen 7-24 (!) der Spalte 479b der Borgnet-Ausgabe, wobei zu berücksichtigen ist, daß hier drei Zeilen des Alberttextes im Borgnetdruck ausgefallen sind, und in B. 4 Tr. 2 K. 18 die Zeilen 1-17 (!) der Spalte 773b. Im übrigen verweise ich noch auf B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 5 mit den Zeilen 6-12 der Spalte 482b und auf B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 10 mit den Zeilen 4-10 der Spalte 488b.

Andererseits kommt es vor, daß man in einem Kapitel Alberts wenige Worte der Aristotelesübersetzung spärlich verteilt antrifft wie in B. 3 Tr. 1 K. 17, SS. 601b-603a. Hier sind etwa zwanzig Worte der Vorlage auf 2 1/2 Spalten des Alberttextes unterschiedlich dicht verteilt. Nicht selten findet man einen einzigen Satz der Aristotelesübersetzung als Grundlage für ein ganzes Kapitel Alberts wie B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 3, SS. 521a-522a mit dem Satz der Vorlage: 'Vapor autem roridus proximior isto est nobis qui resolvitur in aquam substantiale' (= Codex N f. 186r, Codex E f. 172v, ohne 'substantiale'). Ferner B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 4, SS. 522a-523a mit dem Satz der Vorlage: 'Et fiunt ex eo nubes et quandoque videtur in eo nebula. Nebula autem est reliquiae nubium resolutarum aqua pluente et propter illud signat nebula serenitatem' (= Codex N f. 186r, Codex E f. 172v). In Kapitel 6 desselben Traktats bildet dieser eine Satz der Vorlage gut fünf Zeilen der Spalte 523b der Borgnet-Ausgabe und wird wie in den beiden

³ Ich verweise auf die ausführlichen Indices der *Editio Coloniensis*, Bände 5.1 und 16 (1960-64).

vorangegangenen Beispielen mit der Nennung des Namens des Aristoteles eingeleitet. Dies ist sonst nicht üblich, wenn Albertus seine Vorlage paraphrasiert.

Weitere Beispiele sind das folgende Kapitel 7, ohne daß Aristoteles eigens erwähnt wird, und die Kapitel 8 und 10, wo Albertus wiederum den Aristoteles eigens nennt (SS. 524b, 525b, 527a).

Im 11. Kapitel desselben Traktats leitet die Formel 'ut ait Aristoteles' eine lockere Paraphrase ein; es wird hier also nicht ein kürzeres oder längeres Stück en bloc vorangestellt (S. 528a). In B. 3 Tr. 1 K. 12 wird, ohne den Namen des Aristoteles zu erwähnen, ein kleines Stück der Vorlage, das Albertus schon paraphrasierend aufgelockert hat, der weiteren Ausführung Alberts vorangestellt (S. 598b14-18 = Codex N f. 194r, Codex E f. 180v).

Ein Wort-für-Wort-Erklärung einer Definition der Vorlage bietet B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 14, S. 727a. Ohne Aristoteles zu nennen, wird die Definition der *digestio* vorangestellt (S. 727a5-10 = Codex N f. 202v, Codex E f. 189r), dann werden die einzelnen Definitionsglieder erklärt (S. 727a10-23).

Übrigens scheint Albertus Magnus den Text der Vorlage seiner Kapitel 16 und 17 des Traktats 3 von Buch 2 vorgezogen zu haben, oder, was ich vermute, hier ist zumindest in den Codices Nürnberg und Erfurt der Text der Vorlage in Unordnung geraten. Denn was an der hier angegebenen Stelle über das salzige Wasser ausgeführt wird, hat nichts mit dem Thema Wind zu tun, innerhalb dessen die beiden Codices der Vorlage über das salzige Wasser handeln (Codex N f. 191v, Zeile 3 von unten bis f. 192v, Zeile 14 von oben; Codex E f. 178v, Zeile 2 von oben bis f. 179r, Zeile 19 von oben). Albertus behandelt das Thema Wind im ersten Traktat des 3. Buchs (S. 578 ff.).

Wenn wir uns nach dieser Untersuchung nochmals fragen, was es in concreto heißt, daß Alberts *Meteora* eine Paraphrase der aristotelischen Übersetzung bildet, dann darf man sagen, sie stellt als Paraphrase nichts Einheitliches dar. Denn sie kann das wundervolle Wechselspiel von Worten der Vorlage mit Worten Alberts sein. Sie kann sich aber auch darauf beschränken, in den eigenen Gedankengang Alberts einige wenige Worte der Übersetzung aufzunehmen. Mal hat Albertus einige Zeilen, ja ganze Passagen der Vorlage abgeschrieben, dabei dieses oder jenes eigene Wort eingestreut, wobei er vorher oder nachher den schon erwähnten Wechsel der Worte der Vorlage mit den eigenen Worten entfaltet. Mal führt er mit oder ohne Nennung des Aristoteles einen Satz der Vorlage an, dem sich Alberts weitere Ausführungen anschließen. Schließlich bringt er einmal eine Wort-für-Wort-Erklärung einer vorangestellten Definition der Vorlage. Wie weit bei all dem Albertus stillschweigend den Kommentar des Averroes zu den *Meteora* des Aristoteles herangezogen hat, bleibt vorläufig eine unbeantwortete Frage. Mir scheint, er hat da und dort den Kommentar benutzt.

Wer die *Meteora* des Albertus Magnus zum Studium oder für eine Forschungsarbeit liest, der ist genötigt, die aristotelische Vorlage einzusehen, so lange nicht die *Editio Coloniensis* im Text Alberts durch Kursivdruck diejenigen Worte verdeutlicht hat, die Albert der Vorlage entnahm. Denn ob der Leser es mit einem aristotelischen Wir oder Ich oder aber mit einem Wir oder Ich des Albertus oder gar mit einem gemeinsamen aristotelisch/albertinischen Wir oder Ich zu tun hat, ergibt sich erst, wenn man genau festgestellt hat, welche Worte aus der Vorlage stammen und welche die eigene Meinung Alberts wiedergeben. Zwar hat Albert in den *Meteora* bisweilen Aristoteles eigens genannt, wie eben dargetan wurde, wenn er dessen Meinung anführt, aber im allgemeinen scheidet er in den Kapiteln, in denen er die Vorlage paraphrasiert, nicht säuberlich zwischen seinem Wir oder Ich und dem des Aristoteles. Selbst die Wir-Aussage einer Digression kann, wie eben gezeigt wurde, eine von Aristoteles übernommene Wir-Aussage sein. Dank der kritischen Edition der *Editio Coloniensis* läßt sich das beispielsweise an den Texten der *Metaphysik*, von *De anima* und von *De caelo et mundo* leicht ablesen,⁴ während alle bisherigen Drucke den Leser in dieser wie in manch anderer Hinsicht im Stich lassen. Wo ich im folgenden Abschnitt Worte lateinischer Texte 'unterschlängelt' (fetter Druck) wiedergebe, sind es Worte, die aus der Vorlage des Albertus stammen. Die Beispiele:

B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 1, S. 478a40-42: '**nostra** consideratio in **libro Physicorum de rebus naturalibus**', und S. 478b20-24, '**visum est nobis, quod ... remansit nobis tractatus de rebus accidentibus in alto**' gehen in ihrer Wir-Aussage auf die Vorlage zurück. Das diesen Stellen vorhergehende Wir des 'determinatur in isto libro quem habemus prae manibus, qui dicitur liber *Meteororum*' ist ein 'ungetrübtes' Wir des Albertus (S. 478a16-18).

Das 'Incipiamus' und das 'dico' zu Beginn von Kapitel 2 desselben Traktats (S. 479a29, 31) sind Wir- bzw. Ichaussagen, die der Vorlage entnommen wurden. Das Wir von 'Redeamus ergo ad propositum et dicamus, quod' des Anfangs von Kapitel 4 desselben Traktats stammt von Albert, was sich allerdings schon aus dem Zusammenhang ergibt (S. 480b12-13). Die Worte der Aristotelesvorlage werden ohne eine Wir- oder Ichaussage ab Zeile 17 '**motus rerum, quae ordinantur**' paraphrasierend aufgenommen. Das 'Dico', das rund dreissig Zeilen später in diesem Kapitel folgt und einen neuen Passus paraphrasierter Aristotelesworte nach sich zieht, stellt aber eine Ichaussage der Vorlage dar (S. 481a4-32 von 'Dico ... incorruptibile'). Alberts 'quaeramus causam' desselben Kapitels (S. 481b22) ist aus dem 'incipiemus narrare' der Vorlage (Codex E f. 168r, Zeile 9) abgewandelt worden, ist also nur bedingt

⁴ *Editio Coloniensis*, Bände 16, 7.1 (1968) und 5.1.

eine Wiraussage des Aristoteles, während das kurz darauf folgende 'Dico' eine Ichaussage der Vorlage darstellt, die Albert einfach übernimmt. Schließlich stammt die Wiraussage gegen Ende desselben Kapitels 4, nämlich '**propter convenientiam aquae et terrae quam supra diximus**' (S. 482a26-28), allein von Albert, ohne in der Vorlage einen Rückhalt zu besitzen.

Dieses eine Kapitel zeigt schon, daß eine Wir- oder Ichaussage aus der Vorlage stammen kann, die Albert einfach übernimmt; daß eine Wiraussage Alberts von Worten der Vorlage angeregt sein kann; daß eine Wiraussage allein von Albert stammen kann.

Wenn Albert das 10. Kapitel des ersten Traktats von Buch I mit '**Dico ergo nunc, quod orbis est elementum unum**' beginnt, so hat er von 'Dico' bis 'elementum' einfach die Worte der Vorlage übernommen (S. 488b4-5).

Wenn Albert im 2. Kapitel des zweiten Traktats des ersten Buchs schreibt 'Post haec autem considerationem faciemus de aliis **superioribus impressionibus et dicemus de eis exquisite** per demonstrationem, **sicut est consuetudo nostra**, et omnis Philosophi magni in philosophia' (S. 493b16-21), dann belegt die Vorlage (Codex E f. 169v, Zeilen 23-24), daß die entscheidenden Wörter wie 'dicemus', 'exquisite', 'sicut est consuetudo nostra' der Vorlage entnommen sind.

Wenn Albert im 4. Kapitel desselben Traktats '**alii**' anführt, 'qui **dixerunt**, quod **galaxia** est **lumen**, quod **redditur** orbi stellato, reflexum in ipsum ab aëre humido, quod est sub ipso; et huius simile ponunt in **speculo**, quia sicut nos videmus', und etwas später dazu sagt: '**Dico autem, quod iste sermo istorum est error**, quia nos videmus', dann wurden folgenden Angaben aus der Vorlage genommen: die Meinung der 'alii', die Zurückweisung ihres Irrtums, der Hinweis auf die Erfahrung mit einem Spiegel und eine kurze Erwähnung dessen, was erfahren wurde. Das 'videmus', das von Albert stammt, ist seinem Inhalt nach teils vorgegeben gewesen, wurde inhaltlich von Albert weiter fortgeführt (Codex E f. 170r, Zeilen 14-20). Ein späteres 'videmus' desselben Kapitels, das sich auf die 'galaxia' bezieht, rührt ganz von der Vorlage her, d.h. sowohl als Wort als auch dem Inhalt nach (S. 495b22).

Bei der oft engen Verknüpfung von Wir- bzw. Ichaussagen Alberts mit denen seiner Vorlage wundert es nicht, daß in dem folgenden Kapitel 5 der entscheidende Satz (S. 495b37-38) '**Dicamus nunc quid est galaxia** secundum veritatem' auf die Vorlage zurückgeht (Codex N f. 183v, Zeile 24; Codex E f. 170r, Zeile 21-22). Demgegenüber dürfte der entsprechend gewichtige Satz '... dabimus sententiam veram de comete, et confirmabimus ipsam auctoritate multorum physicorum...', der zu Anfang einer Digression steht (B. I Tr. 3 K. 5, S. 502b22-24), eine reine Wiraussage Alberts sein.

Wenn Albertus am Ende desselben Kapitels sehr konkret wird, wo er schreibt (S. 504a31-39): 'et tamen hoc falsum est, cum Aristoteles dicat, quod

nos videmus cometes in septentrione, et meridie, et in omni parte caeli. Ego autem cum multis aliis anno ab incarnatione domini mcccxl in Saxonia vidi cometem quasi iuxta polum septentrionalem, et projecit radios suos inter Orientem et Meridiem, magis dirigendo eos ad Orientem', dann liegt mit dieser Ichaussage eine echte Beobachtung Alberts vor, nicht eine von Aristoteles übernommene. Siehe auch seine ins einzelne gehende Beschreibung des Verlaufs des Neckarflusses bei Lonfen (Lauffen?) mit der Bemerkung 'ego ... scivi' (B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 13, S. 558a).

Wie mißverständlich Wir- bzw. Ichaussagen des Aristoteles der Vorlage und Alberts ineinander übergehen können, zeigt deutlich das 8. Kapitel von B. 1 Tr. 3. Albert beginnt das Kapitel mit seinen eigenen Worten so: 'His habitis, alias duas opiniones destruemus per rationes Aristotelis' (S. 505b18-19). Er fährt dann sofort mit den Worten fort **'Quia ergo jam diximus'** und kurz darauf **'Dico ergo quod ... videmus cometas extra orbem ... stellarum fixarum'** (S. 505b19-20, 23-25 = Codex N f. 184r, Zeile 3 von unten und f. 184r, Zeile 1 von unten; Codex E f. 170v, Zeile 24 und f. 170v, Zeilen 26-27).

Wenn in B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 15 Homer als Zeuge angeführt wird (S. 559b29), so hat Albert das seiner Vorlage entnommen (Codex N f. 188v, 4. Zeile von unten).

Wie schwer es bisweilen ist, trotz Einsicht in die Vorlage eine Ich- oder Wiraussage der Vorlage von jener des Albertus zu unterscheiden, zeigt Kapitel 10 von B. 3 Tr. 1.

Zu Beginn des Kapitels heißt es: **'Est autem necessarium nobis, ut investigemus hic causas quare duo venti, scilicet Septentrio et Meridies, plures et fortiores faciunt exsufflationes quam venti qui veniunt ab Oriente vel ab Occidente et alii collaterales eorum. Volumus autem hic de hoc tangere causam efficientem primam, et de eodem dicemus causas alias. Dico ergo, infra solvendo quaestionem propositam, quod dupliciter possumus accipere Aquilonem et Meridiem,...**' (S. 595b30-41). Hierbei steht Alberts 'investigemus' für das 'narremus' der Vorlage (Codex N f. 193v, Zeile 10). Albert legt dann über vierzig Zeilen der Spalte 596a der Borgnet-Ausgabe dar, wie der Nord- und der Südwind auf zweierlei Weise zu verstehen sind. Dann fährt er fort (S. 596a41-44): **'His praenotatis, dico quod fortis et multa exsufflatio causatur a plurimo vapore congregato spisso non impedito per materiae abscissionem. Cum ergo sol non sit in Aquilione et Meridie....'** Zwischen dem 'Dico ergo' von Spalte 595b und dem 'dico' von Spalte 596a liegt Alberts eigene Darlegung. In der Vorlage steht 'Dico ergo' (Codex N f. 193v, Zeile 11; Codex E f. 180r, Zeile 17 liest allerdings 'Dico autem'). Ist nun das 'dico' des 'Dico ergo' eine Ichaussage Alberts oder einfach eine Übernahme der Ichaussage der Vorlage? Nimmt hier Albert die Ichaussage von Spalte 596a vorweg, um sie nach vierzig Zeilen eigener Erläuterung zu wiederholen und dann erst mit dem Paraphrasieren fortzufahren?

Übrigens kommt es auch vor, daß Albert aus einem 'ut dictum est' oder einem 'dicta est' der Vorlage eine Wiraussage macht: 'diximus' (B. 4 Tr. 2 K. 12, S. 765b4, 14; Codex N f. 206r, Zeile 14 und Zeile 16; Codex E f. 192v, Zeile 3 von unten und f. 193r, Zeile 1).

Albertus kritisiert in den drei ersten Büchern der *Meteora* öfter den Aristoteles. Er beklagt sich hier über eine zu knappe Darstellung des anstehenden Themas durch Aristoteles, dort über eine konfuse, weitschweifige, zweifelhafte oder fehlerhafte Darstellung. Diese Klagen hören im 4. Buch auf. Dort erwähnt Albert vielmehr einmal den Aristoteles anerkennend: '... dicimus, quod Aristoteles optime reddit causam generationis ex putrefactione per hoc quod dicit...' (B. 4 Tr. 1 K. 11, S. 722b). Mir scheint, das hängt zum Teil mit der unterschiedlichen Überlieferung der Vorlage in den Büchern 1-3 und im 4. Buch zusammen; hier die Übersetzung aus dem Arabischen, dort aus dem Griechischen.

Die folgenden Zitate belegen meine Aussage:

B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 4, S. 522a: '... Aristoteles breviter tangens de natura nebulae dicit, quod....'

B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 5, S. 523a: 'Hoc autem quod tradit de his (Wirk- und Materialursache des Taus) Aristoteles est breve valde....'

B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 6, S. 523b: 'Differentiam autem roris ad pluviam etiam satis breviter tangit Aristoteles dicens....'

B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 10, S. 527a: 'Differentias autem plures roris et pruinae tangit Aristoteles nimis breviter'

B. 3 Tr. 3 K. 9, S. 649a, b: 'Oportet autem nos digressionem facere: eo quod sex dubitabilia sententiam Aristotelis circumstant, quae oportet declarare ut facilius sit doctrina.' So heißt es zu Beginn des Kapitels. Nachdem Albert die Zweifel oder Fragwürdigkeiten kurz angeführt hat, sagt er: 'Haec enim omnia supponendo relinquit Aristoteles, vel forte non venit ad nos tota doctrina eius de coruscatione et tonitruo.'

B. 3 Tr. 1 K. 6, S. 591b: 'Quidam ergo naturalium dixerunt, quod ventus est aer motus, qui quando quiescit, fit aqua: quando autem movetur, tunc est ventus. Haec autem opinio, licet parum tangatur ab Aristotele, tamen multos habuit defensores, quorum unus est Seneca in libro *Naturalium quaestionum*....'

B. 3 Tr. 3 K. 2, S. 641a. In diesem Kapitel geht es um Blitz und Donner. Albertus beklagt sich über Aristoteles, der zu wenig andere Ansichten anführe: 'Aristoteles ... quem sequor in hoc opere, non retulit alias Antiquorum opiniones: et has ipsas tetigit sine explanatione et ratione quae ab eis inducerentur ad propositi sui probationem. Sicut autem hic tanguntur, inveniuntur in libris Theophrasti et Senecae et aliorum.'

In der Tat hat sich Albertus in den drei ersten Büchern der *Meteora* hauptsächlich auf die *Naturales quaestiones* des Seneca gestützt, um dem hier aufgezeigten Mißstand auch sonst noch abzuhelfen, zumal auch der Kommentar des Averroes in dieser Hinsicht weitgehend versagt, anders als in *De caelo et mundo*; man beachte dort die Flut (!) der Nachweise zum Kommentar des Averroes in den Indices von Band 5.1 der *Editio Coloniensis*. Albertus hat abgesehen von Buch 4 der *Naturales quaestiones* alle Bücher dieser Schrift des Seneca ausgiebig benutzt. Er hat insgesamt etwa ein Achtel dieser Schrift Wort für Wort oder fast Wort für Wort oder paraphrasierend ausgeschrieben! Man kann berechtigt fragen, ob es sonst einen Gelehrten des 13. Jahrhunderts gibt, des derartig stark 'seinen' Seneca für die Klärung naturphilosophischer und naturwissenschaftlicher Fragen benutzt hat. Ich verweise hierzu auf meine Untersuchung 'Senecas *Naturales quaestiones* als Quelle der *Meteora* des Albertus Magnus', die noch nicht im Druck erschienen ist.⁵

Es folgt der Beleg zum zweiten Teil meiner oben ausgesagten Behauptung:

B. 1 Tr. 2 K. 6, S. 498a: 'Quod autem Aristoteles dicit, non cogit.'

B. 2 Tr. 1 K. 13, S. 350b. Nachdem Albertus die Lehrmeinung des Aristoteles über die Entstehung von Tau und Regen in Korinth paraphrasierend berichtet hat, fährt er fort: 'Haec autem causa Philosophi obscura est.'

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 5, S. 671a-b: 'Aristoteles autem confuse tradit harum coronarum significationes: dicit enim quod **rotunditas** ista **quae** dicitur Arabice alelethi, sive sit **in circuitu solis**, sive **lunae**, sive aliarum. Stellarum, **significat** semper **humiditatem**,...' Am Ende dieser Aristotelesparaphrase heißt es nochmals: 'Hoc est ergo probabiliter quod dicit Aristoteles de significatione harum coronarum, et est valde confusum.' Und Albertus fährt in diesem Kapitel mit der Überschrift 'De his quae significat halon secundum Aristotelem et Senecam' fort: 'Scias ergo, quod Seneca ordinatius (oder: ordinarius) tradit harum impressionum significatum (oder: significata) sic....' Es folgt ein längeres Wort-für-Wort-Zitat aus den *Naturales quaestiones* des Seneca, nämlich aus Buch 1 (5), Kapitel 2 Nr. 8-9, Seiten 18.19 bis 19.9 nach der Edition von Paul Oltramare.

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 11, S. 679a-b. In seinem paraphrasierenden Teil dieses Kapitels läßt Albertus den Aristoteles sagen: 'quod non videtur iris lunae in quinquaginta annis bis.' Dazu sagt Albertus in der folgenden Spalte der Borgnet-Ausgabe: 'Neque videtur verum quod in quinquaginta annis non apparet nisi bis: quia veridici experimentatores experti sunt, quod in eodem anno iris noctis bis apparuerit.... Et ideo puto ego, quod istud Aristoteles recitaverit ex opinionibus aliorum, et non ex veritate demonstrationis vel experimenti, cum absque dubio experta sint a me, et ab aliis veridicis consideratoribus sociis meis ea quae sunt obiecta.'

⁵ Erscheint im *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 50 (1980).

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 18, S. 688b. Im Anschluß an seine Paraphrase zum Thema 'Die Ursache des schnellen Vergehens des Regenbogens' schreibt Albertus: 'Est autem attendendum hic, quod iste sermo Aristotelis est prolixus et obscurus....'

B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 22, S. 691b: 'Arcus vero daemonis, **qui videtur ex luna, non est in coloribus similis iridi qui fit ex sole**, quia iris lunae **videtur albus**: cuius causam tangit Aristoteles, dicens **quod**.... Est autem omni homini dubium de dicto Aristotelis....'

Übrigens scheint Albertus zumindest da und dort mehrere Handschriften der Vorlage benutzt zu haben, denn er schreibt B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 3, S. 547b: 'Haec autem sententia est secundum litteram Aristotelis quae sic dicit... Emendatiores tamen codices habent sic....'

Zum Schluß sei noch vermerkt, daß Albertus 'seinen' Aristoteles in der Kritik besser behandelt als andere, bei denen er in der Kritik sehr scharf, bisweilen ungerecht scharf sein kann; z.B. in der Kritik an Seneca: 'Unde quod dicit Seneca non habet veri⁶ rationem, nec ipse bene scivit philosophiam naturalem' (B. 2 Tr. 2 K. 4, S. 548b). Dagegen hätte Seneca erwidern können: Spricht es von solider Forschungsarbeit, wenn man aus meinem Satz 'Falsa haec esse Pompei et Herculaneum sensere' (Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* B. 6 (3) K. 26 Nr. 3-4, S. 283, Zeilen 19-20 der Edition von Paul Oltramare) zwei Philosophen, nämlich den Philosophen Pompeius und den Philosophen Herculaneus, macht (Albertus, *Meteora* B. 3 Tr. 2 K. 19, S. 637a) zumal aus dem Anfang meines Buches 6 (3) hervorgeht, daß zumindest Pompei eine Stadt ist?!

Schlechter noch als Seneca kommt in Alberts Kritik Michael Scotus weg: '... propter hoc enim foeda dicta inveniuntur in libro illo qui dicitur, *Quaestiones Nicolai Peripatetici*. Consuevi dicere quod Nicolaus non fecit librum illum, sed Michael Scotus, qui in rei veritate nescivit naturas, nec bene intellexit libros Aristotelis' (B. 3 Tr. 4 K. 26, S. 697b). Dem kann man vernichtende Urteile aus *De caelo et mundo* und aus der *Metaphysik* über Averroes und Avicbron anschließen: *De caelo et mundo*, *Editio Coloniensis*, Band 5.1, SS. 10.93-11.2 = B. 1 Tr. 1 K. 3 'Sed Averroes nequaquam bene scivit naturam caelestium et ideo multa dicit abusiva et absurda de caelis, quae etiam falsa esse convincuntur per visum'; *Metaphysik*, *Editio Coloniensis*, Band 16, S. 493.52-68 = B. 11 Tr. 2 K. 8 'Et in hoc inconueniens de necessitate incidit etiam liber Avicbron, quem Fontem vitae vocavit.... Et ideo ab homine omni horrenda est

⁶ 'veri' korrigiert nach Codex Pommersfelden (Schloß Weißenstein), Gräflich Schönbornsche Bibliothek 282, f. 18vb (unten), da der Codex Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6510 eine lacuna hat.

ista vilissima philosophia, quae numquam processit de subtilitate Peripateticorum.'

*
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Ganz knapp zusammengefaßt sagt dieser Beitrag zur Albertforschung folgendes aus:

(1) Äußere und innere Hinweise bezeugen, daß von den vier Büchern der *Meteora* des Albertus Magnus die ersten drei eine arabisch-lateinische Übersetzung des entsprechenden Aristotelestextes voraussetzen, während das vierte Buch eine griechisch-lateinische Übersetzung des entsprechenden Aristoteles-textes paraphrasiert.

(2) Alberts Paraphrase ist als Paraphrase kein einheitliches Gebilde.

(3) Nur unter dauernder Berücksichtigung der von Albert benutzten Vorlage lassen sich die Wir- und Ichaussagen des Aristoteles der Vorlage von den Wir- und Ichaussagen Alberts unterscheiden. Nur zu oft identifiziert sich Albert mit dem Wir oder Ich des Aristoteles der Vorlage.

(4) Albert übt in den ersten drei Büchern seiner *Meteora* Kritik an Aristoteles. Diese Kritik fällt harmloser aus als die Kritik an anderen Autoren.

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ALBAN AND AMPHIBAL: SOME EXTANT LIVES AND A LOST LIFE

W. McLeod

- (i) Alban and Amphibal
- (ii) Lives of the Two Saints
- (iii) The Life by Ralph of Dunstable
- (iv) The *Tractatus*: Date and Sources
- (v) The *Gilte Legende*: Authorship
- (vi) Caxton and the *Gilte Legende*
- (vii) Lydgate's Life: Sources
- (viii) The *Gilte Legende*: Sources
- (ix) A Common Source for Lydgate and the *Gilte Legende*?
- (x) The Lost Life: Characteristics
- (xi) Summary

(i) ALBAN AND AMPHIBAL

ST. Alban, the protomartyr of England, is generally said to have died in Diocletian's persecution, about 303-305. His martyrdom is reported as early as c. 480 (by Constantius of Lyons in his *Vita s. Germani*); and a full-fledged biography was produced between 504 and 550, probably at Auxerre. This was used by the Venerable Bede, and appears in one form or another in subsequent lives of the saint.¹

¹ Summary and references in J. E. van der Westhuizen, 'Origin and Development of the Legend', pp. 26-44 of his edition of John Lydgate, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* (Leyden, 1974). Lives of Alban without Amphibal are found, e.g., in *An Old English Martyrology*, of c. 850-900 (edited by George Herzfeld [EETS OS 116; London, 1900]), pp. 100-101 and in *The South English Legendary*, of c. 1275-85 (edited by Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill [EETS 235, 236; London, 1956]), vol. 1, pp. 238-41.

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Somewhat later we hear of Alban's teacher St. Amphibal. Amphibalus, oddly enough, is no proper name at all, but a common noun. It is a distortion of the Latin *amphimallus* (Greek ἀμφίμαλλος), 'a woollen cloth which is shaggy on both sides'. In the popular mind it was connected with the Greek verb ἀμφιβάλλειν, 'to throw around', and was taken to mean 'something you throw around you', 'a wrapper'. This fact has long been known. For example, Archbishop James Ussher, in his *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (Dublin, 1639), noted that '... Amphibali vocabulum ... huic ipsi vestimento [sc. caracallae] magis quam illius possessori convenire'.² And Dr. Robert Plot, in his *Natural History of Stafford-shire* (Oxford, 1686), wrote, '... S^t. Amphibalus by judicious persons, is thought rather to be the *cloak*, than master of S^t. Alban'.³ The explanation of how the transformation took place is a nice bit of detective work, too long to rehearse in full at this point. In brief, the name of St. Amphibal first appears c. 1139, in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae* 11.4: 'in ecclesiae sancti Amphibali'; it arises there from a misreading or corruption of Gildas, *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae* 28: 'ecclesiae ... sub sancti abbatis amphibalo'.⁴

(ii) LIVES OF THE TWO SAINTS

Once the cloak became a saint, he was inevitably bracketed with Alban, and within a few years a joint biography was devised. A number of versions exist. We want to consider ten.⁵

photocopies of the relevant pages of the manuscripts Addit. 35298 (M14428), Cotton Julius D.iii (M36290), and Harley 4775 (M52727); to the Manuscripts Assistant, Trinity College, Dublin, for microfilm of part of TCD MS. 177 (E.1.40). The purchase of photocopies and microfilms was facilitated by a grant from the Humanities and Social Sciences Committee of the Research Board of the University of Toronto.

² *The Whole Works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.*, edited by Charles Richard Elrington, 5 (Dublin, 1830), p. 181.

³ Facsimile reprint (Manchester, 1973), p. 317.

⁴ Joseph Loth, 'Saint Amphibalus', *Revue celtique* 11: (1890) 348 ff. (*non vidi*); summary in J. E. van der Westhuizen, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal* (Leyden, 1974), pp. 34-35. See also J. S. P. Tatlock, 'St. Amphibalus', *Essays in Criticism, Second Series* (University of California Department of English, 1934; rpt. New York, 1966), pp. 249-57 and 268-70. Once again Archbishop Ussher had anticipated later discussions; see *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates* (*Whole Works*, ed. Elrington, 6 [Dublin, 1831], p. 59): 'Ut ex minus intellecto isto Gildæ loco, ... Amphibali martyris nomen a Galfrido primum effictum ... fuisse, aliqua fortasse hinc commoveri possit suspicio.'

⁵ More than seventy manuscripts relating to St. Alban are listed by Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII* 1.1 (RS 26; London, 1862), pp. 3-34, nos. 4-86; of these nos. 76-82 refer to homonymous saints.

(1) *Alia acta ss. Albani, Amphibali, et sociorum, anno DXC Anglice scripta, interpr(ete) Guilielmo monacho Albanensi*, published in Joannes Bollandus and others, *Acta sanctorum* 25 = *Junii* 5 (Paris, 1867), pp. 129-38; Latin prose, about 8000 words long; composed at some time between 1166 and 1188, by one William, a monk of the abbey at St. Albans, who dedicated it to his abbot Simon. William claimed to be translating an English book written in 590, but as the most recent commentator says, this is 'simply an attempt to give credence to the new, enlarged life'.⁶ In the discussion which follows, this work will be designated by the siglum W (for 'William'), and will be cited by chapter, section, page, column, and line in the Bollandist edition.

(2) *Vita b. Albani, per Radulphum de Dunstaple, monachum s. Albani*, in Latin elegiac verse, about 2720 lines in all. It will be referred to as R (for 'Ralph') in what follows. On the question of the relationship of R to W, see below, section (iii).

(3) *La vie de Seint Auban*, by Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, in Anglo-Norman alexandrine *laissez*, 1846 lines, plus the contents of at least (and probably only) two missing folios. The most recent editor suggests that, although the unique manuscript came from the author's quill at 'sometime between 1230 and 1240, ... the life may have been originally composed at an earlier date, perhaps in the middle years of the second decade of the century'. It has been edited by Robert Atkinson (1876) and by A. R. Harden (1968). It may be cited as M¹. All who have considered the question agree that M¹ is based on W; this is indicated by the sequence of events (though the narrative is amplified), and even by individual phrases and words which are literally translated.⁷

(4) Rubrics to the illustrations for *La vie de Seint Auban*, likewise by Matthew Paris. On the folios which have come down to us there were thirty-six illustrations, each accompanied by a rubric in Anglo-Norman rhyming octo-

⁶ Van der Westhuizen, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, p. 37.

⁷ The quotation is from Arthur Robert Harden, *La vie de Seint Auban: An Anglo-Norman Poem of the Thirteenth Century* (ANTS 19; Oxford, 1968), p. xvii. A few verbal similarities may be noted here. 'Ave Rex Judæorum: ... descende nunc de cruce. ... exclamans voce magna dixit, Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum', W 1.6, p. 130a45-51; cf. 'Hai! Rois de Gieueus, ... De la croix desent. ... haut getta un cri: En tes meins mun esperit, Pere..., Cumant', M¹ 240-251. 'Egredere, ... egredere hostis civitatis, deorum omnium inimice', W 3.17, p. 132b35-36; cf. 'Va t'en, his, enemî nus deus, de la cité', M¹ 754. 'Palo in terram defixo', W 5.39, p. 136b45; cf. 'Un peel en terre afichent', M¹ 1601. 'Ecce duo Angeli ... de supernis veniebant. Vox. ... cum discipulo. ... Pagani autem, cælestem sonum audientes, stabant stupefacti. Igitur Angeli animam ... in cælum ... detulerunt', W 5.43, p. 137b18-26; cf. 'Atant es vus deus angeres ki de lur mansiun Desendent.... Une voiz.... Of Auban tun deisciple.... De la voiz se effreent li Sarrazin.... L'alme ... Angeres eu ciel la portent', M¹ 1720-1733. Cf. also Richard Vaughan, *Matthew Paris* (Cambridge, 1958), p. 178: '... in *Alban*, the Latin was frequently very closely followed, even sometimes in the order of words.'

syllables. One rubric is missing, as is part of another; 258 lines survive. The most recent editor suggests that the illustrations and the rubrics are later than the main poem, and were done between 1230 and 1240. Abbreviated M². Verbal similarities indicate that M² is based on M¹ rather than on the Latin original.⁸

(5) Latin rubrics to the illustrations for *La vie de Seint Auban*, by Matthew Paris. Twenty-one of the illustrations mentioned in the preceding paragraph also bear Latin rubrics, and one page without an illustration carries a rubric. There are fifty-four leonine hexameters in all. Contemporary with M² (no. 4 above); abbreviated M³. There are slight indications that in composing the Latin rubrics Matthew drew upon the illustrations and the Anglo-Norman rubrics rather than on the full Anglo-Norman poem.⁹

(6) *De persecutione Diocletiani et Maximiani; De prædicatione sancti Amphibali, et conversione sancti Albani; Albanus fontem orando produxit*. This appears under the year 304 in the History of the World (*Chronica majora*) which was composed by Matthew Paris, probably beginning in 1240 or soon after. The portion dealing with Alban and Amphibal is about 1500 words long. Designated M⁴. It is clearly an abridgement of W (no. 1 above), and retains many sentences unaltered from its source.¹⁰

⁸ Edited by Harden, *La vie de Seint Auban*, pp. 52-59. For the illustrations, see W. R. L. Lowe and E. F. Jacob, *Illustrations to the Life of St. Alban in Trin. Coll. Dublin MS E.i.40, Reproduced in Collotype Facsimile*, with a description of the illustrations by M. R. James (Oxford, 1924). Some passages in which M² seems to depend on M¹ may be quoted here. 'Atant s'en part par ire e mautalent. Dormir s'en va, kar la nuit le susprent', M¹ 197-198; cf. 'De lui s'en part par mautalent. La nuit obscure le susprent', M² 7-8. '... Reclamas ... Auban ... tun maistre.... Di li k'il garisse tun cors', M¹ 948-954; cf. 'Recleim tun maistre Auban uncore, Di li k'il tun cors restore', M² 107-108. 'Querum ceu crestien ki Auban converti', M¹ 1087; cf. '... Querum ceu crestien K'Auban converti', M² 140-141. 'Li languerus.... Quant veit Amphibal venir', M¹ 1435-37; cf. 'Li langurus venir le veit', M² 201.

⁹ Edited by Robert Atkinson, *Vie de Seint Auban: A Poem in Norman French, Ascribed to Matthew Paris*, now for the first time edited, from a manuscript in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with Concordance-Glossary and Notes (London, 1876), pp. 55-58. Among the indications that M³ depends on M² are the following. On the night when Alban sees his vision, Amphibal prays all night ('noctemque totam pervigil in oratione transegit', W 1.5, p. 130a23-24; 'Davant sa croiz la nuit en uraisuns despent', M¹ 200); after the vision, Alban goes directly to Amphibal to tell him about it; in illustration 3 (fol. 31r) however, before entering, Alban peers through a window and sees Amphibal praying; cf. 'Ci veit Auban par la fenestre', M² 13; 'omnia miratur Albanus quae speculatur', M³ 10. Amphibal's cloak is called simply 'caracalla' in W 2.10, p. 131a28-29, and 'esclavine' in M¹ 476; in the illustrations it is specifically a 'dark hairy mantle' (M. R. James in Lowe-Jacob, *Illustrations*, p. 19); cf. the rubric to illustration 6, 'villosam vestem', M³ 20. When he is arrested, Albanus is praying, barefoot ('nudis pedibus', W 2.11, p. 131a46; 'nupez', M¹ 514); in W and M¹ the bare feet are *not* mentioned when he is dragged away; but cf. the rubrics to illustration 8 (fol. 34r): '... est trait nuz pez', M² 51; 'nudatusque pedes trahitur', M³ 25.

¹⁰ Text in *Matthaei Parisiensis monachi sancti Albani Chronica majora*, edited by Henry Richards Luard, 1 (RS 57; London, 1872), pp. 149-54. On the date, see Antonia Gransden,

(7) *Tractatus de nobilitate, vita, et martyrio sanctorum Albani et Amphibali, de quodam libro Gallico excerptus et in Latinum translatus*. Latin prose, about 2800 words long. It adds some new details to the biography; in particular it provides lives for the two saints up to the time of their encounter in Verulamium; and it brings Alban into personal contact with the emperors, thereby providing an occasion for imperial intervention before he can be executed. A rather naïve transcription of one manuscript is given as Appendix A to J. E. van der Westhuizen's edition of Lydgate's *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, pp. 277-85. Abbreviated T in what follows, and cited by chapter, page, and line in the published text; quotations have been normalized and corrected. On the questions of the date and sources of T, see below, section (iv).

(8) 'Seinte Albone and Seinte Amphiabelle', interpolated in an English translation of the *Golden Legend* which was made in 1438; the life is not found either in the original *Legenda aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, nor in the enlarged *Légende dorée* of Jean de Vignay. This translation of the whole work is sometimes referred to as the *Gilte Legende*, the name given to it in one manuscript. It exists in at least seven manuscripts, but has never been published in full. Even so, it has been the object of several studies.¹¹ The life of our two saints runs to some 13,000 words; it will be cited as G. The question of its authorship is referred to below, in section (v); its sources are discussed below, in section (viii).

(9) *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, written in 1439, at the behest of John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans, by John Lydgate, monk of Bury; 4571 iambic pentameters; abbreviated L; references will be to the lines of the first critical edition, recently produced by J. E. van der Westhuizen. On the question of Lydgate's sources, see below, section (vii).

(10) 'The Life of S. Alban and of S. Amphiabel', included in *The Golden Legend, or Lives of the Saints*, as Englished by William Caxton, first published

Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307 (London, 1974), p. 356, citing Vaughan, *Matthew Paris*, pp. 59-61. The derivation of M⁴ from W is noted by Luard; a few examples will show the close relationship. M⁴ 149.34: 'Igitur' - 150.14: 'redderetur' = W 1.9, p. 131a2-2.10, p. 131a25 (with 'ejus' changed to 'illius', and 'Amphibalum' to 'Amphibalo'); M⁴ 154.11: 'quidam' - 13: 'proferendum' = W 5.44, p. 137b40-43 (with two adverbs transposed).

¹¹ C. Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge* (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. cxxx-cxxxviii, 'Die altenglische Übersetzung der Legenda aurea'; Pierce Butler, *Legenda Aurea - Légende Dorée - Golden Legend: A Study of Caxton's Golden Legend with Special Reference to Its Relations to the Earlier English Prose Translation* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 49-75. The date comes from the colophon to Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 372 (SC 21947), quoted below. For a survey of the scholarship on the *Gilte Legende*, see Charlotte D'Evelyn in J. Burke Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1500* 2 (Hamden, Conn., 1970), pp. 432-36, with bibliography, pp. 559-60.

in 1483; about 5000 words long; abbreviated C; we shall refer to the page and line in the most accessible text, that edited by F. S. Ellis in the Temple Classics series (London, 1934), 3.236-53. On the relationship between C and G (no. 8 above), see below, section (vi).

(iii) THE LIFE BY RALPH OF DUNSTABLE

The *Vita b. Albani* by Ralph of Dunstable (R) has never been published in full, although several excerpts have appeared.¹² The present writer has been able to compare the texts of two of the manuscripts: British Library MS. Cotton Julius D.iii (M36290), fols. 125r-158v; and Trinity College Dublin MS. 177 (E.1.40), fols. 3r-20v.

The prologue states that the poem was composed at the request of William, the author of version W (no. 1 above).

Albani celebrem caelo terrisque triumphum	
ruminat inculto carmine Clio rudis.	
Ardua res poscit pectus studiumque Maronis;	
non Maro sum, fateor, sed neque Codrus ego.	
Non acie mentis, non artis luceo cultu,	5
ut metrice martyr martyris esse queam.	
Martyris interpres, me martyris esse (ire <i>Dublin</i>) poetam	
tu, Gulielme, mihi dux stimulusque cies (fies <i>Cotton</i>);	
quem de barbarie veteri novitate Latina	
evolvis, versu me recitare volens.	10
Qui cupis Amphibali fortis sublime trophaeum,	
quod socias prosa, me sociare metro;	
allegans quod eos fidei schola foedere primo,	
et nunc (tunc <i>Cotton</i>) consorti nectat honore polus:	
me plus discipulo doctorem carmine pulsat	15
jungere, quod jungat me tibi pignus idem.	
Hoc me compellit ad quod petis, et magis urget	
quolibet imperio, quod pius orat amor.	
Sis igitur clipeus plus auso paupere vena;	
Aeacidæ Chiron, non mihi, tendo chelym.	20
 Pieridum ludis claustris laxare rigorem	
non est emeritæ religionis opus.	

¹² E.g., Ussher, *Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates*, quotes 1.1-20 and 47-48 (*Whole Works*, ed. Elrington, 5.189) and 2.515-22 (*ibid.*, p. 203); Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* 1/1.13 n. quotes 1.1-20. In the excerpts given below, classical spelling has been restored, and variant readings from one or the other manuscript have been noted.

Quaedam vasa tamen sacrum sibi pneuma liquavit,
 quorum lege pedum se dedit ore loqui.
 Nec schola nec studium nec ad hoc vis insita iuvit 25
 quae dant aut (at *vel* ad *Cotton*) quicquid discitur arte viam,
 sed vox erumpens non praemeditata; repente
 flaminis impulsu sermo metrumque stetit.
 Hoc Job more dolet, lamentatur Jeremias,
 hoc cantat Salomon, psalmificatque David. 30
 Et quia qui per se numeris elementa ligavit
 et per se numeris verba ligare docet,
 hinc et Catholici sudarunt carmina vates;
 et donum reliquis his labor arsque fuit;
 materiaque (materia *Cotton*) sacrante jocum, florente Camena, 35
 res fidei salva disseruere fide.
 Surgit Sedulius, veterisque novique tenorem
 textus concinna sedulitate canit.
 Armat apostolicos Arator (Aratorem *Cotton*) pectus in actus,
 et prosae campos metrica buris arat. 40
 Nec tua virtutum titulis (titulus *Dublin*) epigrammata, Prosper,
 nec tua prudenti proelia laude carent.
 Hos ego praesumens imitari corvus olores
 crocito (vel corcito *supra lineam Dublin*) non modulator, quod male
 conor opus.
 Peccat et ipse stilus, elegis heroica sculpens, 45
 Musaque contracto claudicat aegra pede.
 Difficiles igitur fragili rate remigo fluctus,
 quo mea Gulielmi carbasa flatus agit.
 (R, book 1, lines 1-48 = MS. Cotton Julius D.iii, fol. 125r1-v12 = MS.
 Dublin 177, fol. 3ra1-b16)

(The present writer found parts of this hard to construe. It may therefore be a service to readers if he includes a paraphrase.

In clumsy verse my awkward Muse is chewing over Alban's triumph, famed in heaven and earth. The task is hard, and wants the genius and application of a Virgil; admittedly I'm no Virgil, but neither am I a Codrus. I am not conspicuous for keen mind or literary training, that I should bear versified testimony to the martyr. But you, William, the martyr's expositor, are guiding me and goading me to become the martyr's poet; the tale (from the old Anglo-Saxon) which you first unfolded in Latin, you want me to recite in verse. You want me to bring into my poem the glorious triumph of brave Amphibal, which you put into your prose version; you point out that the two saints were first linked together in the school of faith, and now in the conjoint honour they obtained in heaven; I am the more prompted to bind Amphibal (the teacher) to Alban (the student) in my poem, because the same pledge binds me to you. The fact that brotherly love makes this

request drives me to comply, and is more effective than any command could be. So may you act as shield for one who has ventured more than his poor talent (can attain). As Chiron, I am taking up the lyre not for myself, but for my Achilles, my student.

To relax the cloister's sternness in poetic trifles is not the work of the abandoned religion (i.e., is not a sign of lingering paganism). The Holy Spirit has melted certain vessels for its own use, and by their mouths it lets itself speak in metre. Neither school nor study nor innate power has helped for this, to provide the means, nor whatever is taught by art, but only utterance which breaks out spontaneously; all of a sudden words and metre are there, by the prompting of the Spirit. In this way were composed the sorrows of Job and the lamentations of Jeremiah, the song of Solomon and the psalms of David. God, who by Himself has knitted together first principles in due proportion, by Himself teaches us to join words with metre; so Christian poets have wrought out their poems; their work, their art, has been a gift for those who came after. Provided that their subject-matter sanctifies their verse-making, provided that their Muse flourishes, they have been able to discourse on matters of faith with their faith unimpaired. So Sedulius ascends, and in his *Carmen Paschale* with fitting zeal sings the contents of the Old and New Testaments. So Arator arms his breast for *The Acts of the Apostles*, and his poetic plough cleaves the fields of prose. So, Prosper, neither do your *Epigrams* fail to win salutations of excellence, nor do your polemics lack judicious praise. But I am a crow who presumes to imitate these swans; I croak, not sing, the work I am attempting so badly. My very pen is to blame, for hacking out epic subjects in elegiac verse; my sickly Muse limps with contracted foot. I row my frail raft over the rough waves, wherever William's inspiration drives my sails.)

Not only was version R prompted by the author of W; it is 'apparently a versification of that Life amplified'.¹³ The fact is easily established by comparing a passage of William's prose with the corresponding lines in Ralph's poem. Take, for example, the episode in which St. Alban is beheaded. The two texts are set forth below.

His dictis ad fundendum sanguinem populi
furor accenditur: cincinnique Martyris ad stipitem
religantur. Ex omni populo carnifex unus eligitur,
qui scelus pro omnibus perpetraret. Qui mox expe-
ditus, sublatum alte consurgit in ensem; eumque
summis viribus librans in cervicem, uno ictu caput
sancti Martyris amputavit. Cadit in foveam cadaver

30

¹³ Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue* 1/1.13. Cf. Harden, *La vie de Seint Auban*, p. xiii ('based on' W); van der Westhuizen, *The Life of St. Alban and St. Amphibal*, p. 38 ('paraphrased' from W). Hardy notes the existence of a third copy, British Library MS. Cotton Claudius E.iv.3, fols. 47r-58v.

exanime, praepraratam caedi: pendet caput in sti-
 pite capillis irretitum. Crux vero quam vir sanctus 35
 jugiter in manibus ferre consueverat, felici jam
 cruore respersa, super herbam decidit: eamque oc-
 culte quidam Christianus, Paganis omnibus igno-
 rantibus rapuit et abscondit. Carnifex autem, cum
 adhuc staret juxta corpus, luminibus ejus in terram 40
 cadentibus totus efficitur tenebrosus: nec potuit
 miser objectu manuum oculis labentibus obsistere,
 nec lapsos in locum pristinum revocare. Quo viso
 plurimi Gentilium mutuo colloquentes vindictam
 hanc plenam justitia profitentur. 45

(W 3.22, p. 133b27-45)

Dictis ignescit rabies, dextrisque furentum
 insons arripitur instruiturque neci. 360
 Ingratis impensa refert hos gratia fructus,
 ut se salvantem perdere dulce putent;
 et tigres (vel tigrides *supra lineam Cotton*) domat obsequium, sed damna
 rependit
 obsequiis pejor tigride pravus homo.
 Implicitos solido nodant in stipite crines 365
 carnifices (carnificis *Cotton*), vigiles arte juvare manum.
 Sed vacuus labor est cupidum compellere; cervix
 pronam se tendit (reddit [vel tendit *supra lineam*] *Dublin*) prodiga
 sponte sui,
 a forti quod opus hoc extorquere quod offert,
 cujus erat dandi terminus ultro dare; 370
 qui firmum longi finem sibi figit agonis,
 praestolata diu cum venit hora placet?
 Subdit ovans gladio corpus mens certa coronae,
 quae properos hostes plus properare velit.
 Eligitur toto specialis ab agmine lictor, 375
 cujus ad hoc facinus vis animusque fuit (facit *Cotton*).
 Ille minax alte sublatum gliscit in ensem
 quem dextro vibrat robore dextra regens.
 Quo trahit Allecto? Quo te, funeste lanista,
 Tisiphone stimulat? Quove Megaera rapit? 380
 Falleris, infelix, quid fastus, quid furor ardens,
 quid feritas audax, quid tibi fata parent;
 innocuum plectens, te plectis eumque coronas;
 illi poenarum vespera, mane tibi.
 Conatu summo certum demissus in ictum 385
 uno transmittit vulnere colla mucro.

Scrobs truncum recipit in idem suffossa cadaver,
 sed retinet stipes foedere crine caput.
 At crux, sueta comes, sacro respersa cruore,
 dissolvente manus morte, remissa cadit. 390
 Hanc quidam fidei vas clausum, gente maligna
 ignorante, rapit; celat habetque sibi.
 Necdum carnificis rabidi (rapidi *Dublin*) rancore remisso
 fusum lingua secans perfodit ense suo:
 'Haec tibi sit merces, amor et devotio Jesu, 395
 quod par latroni, me perimente, jaces.
 Odibilis sectae vitae tibi devius error
 pervertit mores, imposuitque modum.
 Ambiat haec guttur torques, armilla lacertos,
 haec ornet corpus purpura, taenia (tena *codd.*) comas.' 400
 O res mira, novusque stupor, novitasque stupenda,
 sed de vindicta nacta sequente fidem!
 Solvitur in vocem caesum caput, et redivivo
 quae vomuit lictor diluit ore probra:
 'Vere me fortis ut mors dilectio Christi, 405
 vere me gladius perculit ille biceps;
 nec fragili vita vel fracta lege latronum
 contraxi culpam suppliciumve tuli.
 Verum martyrii fervens devotio, vocum
 causa, mihi titulum passio sarta dedit.' 410
 Verborum pondus vindex sententia pensat
 quae piis carnificis clade patente ferit.
 Nam dum perstat adhuc stillare venena perempto,
 et pascit sceleris visio pectus atrox,
 in terram subito, nervis et carne soluta, 415
 eruta natali lumina sede cadunt;
 nec licet objectu manuum labentibus obstat,
 et speculae frustra reddere lapsa velit.
 Scilicet interior nox addidit (addit *Dublin*) exteriorem,
 ut caeci cordis et casa caeca foret. 420
 Cujus poena docet quam sit grave cuique periculum
 si jactet crimen justificetque suum.
 (R, book 2, lines 359-422 = MS. Cotton Julius D.iii, fol. 146r13-v36 = MS.
 Dublin 177, fols. 13vb4-14ra33)

Though Ralph has embroidered and expanded his theme, he repeatedly offers a word-for-word metaphrasis of William's original, or quotes actual groups of words.¹⁴ Nor is this passage untypical.

¹⁴ For example, 'Dictis ignescit rabies', R 359; cf. 'dictis ... furor accenditur', W 27-28 (the

(iv) THE *TRACTATUS*: DATE AND SOURCES

The *Tractatus de nobilitate etc.* (T) is extant in at least two copies (British Library MS. Cotton Claudius E.iv, fols. 334v-336r; Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Bodley 585 (SC 2357), fols. 1r-9v). The British Library copy was 'probably written in or about the year 1394' under the direction of Thomas Walsingham, precentor of the abbey of St. Albans; the Oxford copy is detached from a manuscript 'probably written for, if not by, Edmund Shenley [friar of St. Albans] between 1440 and 1448'.¹⁵

Recently D. R. Howlett has suggested that Matthew Paris' *Vie de Saint Auban* (M¹) 'is almost certainly the *liber gallicus*' from which T was translated, and further, that the translator was probably John Whethamstede, abbot of St. Albans between 1420 and 1465 – of whom it is said '*vitam Albani transtulit*'.¹⁶ Both conjectures seem to the present writer rather unlikely. Whethamstede's *floruit* is too late to accommodate the date of the British Library text. As to the source of T, more than two thirds of its text is completely new in the context of Alban, bearing no relationship to anything in either M¹ or W.¹⁷ Even the

abbreviated references in this note are to the texts quoted above); 'nodant in stipite crines', R 365; cf. 'concinni ... ad stipitem religantur', W 28-29; 'Eligitur toto ... ab agmine lictor', R 375; cf. 'Ex omni populo carnifex ... eligitur', W 29; 'alte sublatum gliscit in ensem', R 377; cf. 'sublatum alte consurgit in ensem', W 31; 'crux ... sacro respersa cruore', R 389; cf. 'Crux ... felici jam cruore respersa', W 35-37; 'gente maligna ignorante, rapit; celat', R 391-392; cf. 'Paganis omnibus ignorantibus rapuit et abscondit', W 38-39; 'in terram ... lumina ... cadunt', R 415-416; cf. 'luminibus ... in terram cadentibus', W 40-41; 'nec licet objectu manuum labentibus obstat', R 417; cf. 'nec potuit ... objectu manuum oculis labentibus obsistere', W 41-42.

¹⁵ On the date of the British Library copy, see V. H. Galbraith, *The St Albans Chronicle 1406-1420* (Oxford, 1937), p. xxxviii (the source of the quotation in the text) and cf. p. lxi; van der Westhuizen, *The Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal*, p. 38 (it is the British Library text that van der Westhuizen transcribes in his Appendix A). On the Bodley text, see D. R. Howlett, 'A St Albans Historical Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 6.3 (1974) 195-200; the quotation is from 199 (J. A. W. Bennett kindly provided the reference).

¹⁶ Howlett, *ibid.*, 199.

¹⁷ So far as its relationship to W and M¹ is concerned, T falls into five parts.

(a) T 1, p. 277.1-7, p. 281.2 (118 lines in the published transcription) corresponds to nothing in W or M¹. (At least one folio is missing from the beginning of M¹.)

(b) T 7, p. 281.2-8, p. 281.28 ('Domino ducente pervenit Verulamium. ... per sex menses', twenty-seven lines) corresponds to W 1.3, p. 129b15-2.14, p. 132a23 ('Verolamium Domino ducente pervenit. ... mensibus sex et eo amplius') and to M¹ 10-712 ('Il vent a Varlam ... dimi an plener').

(c) T 9, p. 281.29-11, p. 283.9 (forty-seven lines) corresponds to nothing in W or M¹. (At least one folio is missing in M¹ between 715 and 716.)

(d) T 11, p. 283.10-35 ('ducitur ad locum supplicii. ... sepelierunt', twenty-six lines) corresponds to W 3.17, p. 132b32 - 3.23, p. 133b73 ('ad supplicia trahebatur. ... humo corpus operit') and to M¹ 750-978 ('hors de la cité l'unt trait. ... ad la sepulture').

(e) T 11, p. 283.35-15, p. 285.25 (fifty-nine lines) corresponds in full to nothing in W or

remaining third, which recounts several of the familiar situations, is considerably abbreviated, and has few exact verbal similarities to any of the previous texts. In these circumstances to say that T is *translated* from M¹ is a misuse of language. In fact one may be forgiven for expressing scepticism about the very existence of the alleged French original of T; it probably had as much reality as the English original of W.

It appears almost as if the author of T were writing a supplement to a familiar story, and had no need to consult earlier versions. Even where his episodes are duplicated in the older sources, he introduces novelties, or transposes events.¹⁸ There are a few verbal similarities between T and W or its epitome M⁴.¹⁹ There is at least one place in which T seems to go with M⁴ but not with W,²⁰ and we have other conclusive evidence that the writer of T made use of the manuscript in which M⁴ occurs.²¹ If we must give a source for parts of T, M⁴ will serve as well as any.

(v) THE *GILTE LEGENDE*: AUTHORSHIP

For the purposes of the present study, the writer has been content to consult photocopies of two manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende* (G): British Library Addit.

M¹: there is a passing mention at 12, p. 284.10 f. of Amphibal baptizing many Picts and Welshmen, and many citizens of Verulamium (cf. W 4.27, p. 134b38 and 4.35, p. 135b70; M¹ 1242); and at 13, p. 284.23-25 of the massacre of 989 Britons in Verulamium (cf. the 999 of W 4.36, p. 136a31 and M¹ 1404). But in neither case is there extensive parallelism.

¹⁸ For example, the author gives Alban a threefold title, 'urbis (s. civitatis) (Verulamii) dominus, princeps militum, et provinciae (s. totius Britanniae) senescallus' (T 7, p. 281.4-5; 10, p. 282.24-25; 11, p. 282.32-33). He is the first authority to identify the 'nefandus princeps' with Asclepiodotus, king of Britain (T 8, p. 281.19 et alibi). At T 11, p. 283.11 he imports 'whips and scorpions' from 1 Kings 12:11. He causes the converted soldier to be beheaded without torture, before Alban's death (T 11, p. 283.17-18), instead of with torture, after Alban's death (W 3.24, p. 134a15-16; M¹ 1014). To the water from Alban's fountain he ascribes the power to cure disease (T 11, p. 283.27), as well as merely to assuage thirst (W 3.21, p. 133b17-18; M¹ 882).

¹⁹ For example, 'caracalla. ... eduxit de civitate. ... versus Walliam. ... Albanus ... remeavit', T 8, p. 281.17-19; cf. 'caracallam. ... de civitate ... deducebat. ... in Walliam. ... Albanus ... remeavit', W 2.10, p. 131a28-40 and M⁴ 150.17-27; 'veniam precabatur', T 11, p. 283.17; cf. 'veniam deprecatur', W 3.20, p. 133a27-28 and M⁴ 151.20; 'montis cacumina', T 11, p. 283.19; cf. 'cacumen montis', W 3.21, p. 133a64-65 and M⁴ 151.24.

²⁰ 'Ut in montis cacumine fontem produceret', T 11, p. 283.23-24; cf. 'in montis cacumine fontem orando produxit', M⁴ 151.27.

²¹ T 14, p. 285.10-16 is clearly taken from Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* 1.148.11-25 Luard – the page facing the start of W⁴. In part, the phrasing goes back to Matthew's source, Geoffrey of Monmouth *Historia regum Britanniae* 5.6. See especially T 14, p. 285.14-15 (of Helen), 'virgo valde speciosa fuit artibus liberalibus et instrumentis musicis ad perfectum erudita'; cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora* 1.148.22-23 Luard, 'virginem valde speciosam, artibusque liberalibus et instrumentis musicis ad perfectum eruditam'; the corresponding passage in Geoffrey runs, 'Pulchritudo ejus provinciales puellas superabat, nec uspiam reperiebatur altera quae in musicis instrumentis sive in liberalibus artibus doctior illa censeretur.'

MS. 35298 (M14428), fols. 57r-61v (Kurvinen's A₂, here cited as G[A²]); and British Library MS. Harley 4775 (M52727), fols. 96r-104v (Kurvinen's H₂, here cited as G[H²]). Citations of both will include page, column, and line numbers.

The translator of the *Gilte Legende*, and presumably therefore of G, has been tentatively identified as the Augustinian monk Osbern Bokenham.²² Charlotte D'Evelyn has found support for the ascription in the colophon to one of the manuscripts, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS. Douce 372 (SC 21947, Kurvinen's D), which runs as follows:

And also here endith the lives of Seintis that is callid in latynne *Legenda Aurea* and in Englissh the *gilte legende*: the which is drawn out of Frensshe into Englissh, The yere of oure lorde a MCCCC and XXXVIII, bi a synfulle wrecche, whos name I beseche Jhesu Criste bi his meritis of his passioun and of alle these holie seintis afore written that hit mai be written in the boke of euerlastinge life. Amen....²³

D'Evelyn observes that 'the self-deprecating description, "synfulle wrecche", would not be out of keeping for that scholarly and unassuming Augustinian monk, author of the *Lives of Holy Women*'.²⁴ There are of course other arguments in his favour, but this particular one need not carry any weight; the phrase cited finds an echo at the end of the lives of 'Seinte Albone and Seinte Amphiabelle', and may in fact be inspired by it.

But and if ye desire to / knowe my name wete ye welle that if anye wolle / calle me a trewe name or a trewe man thaye most calle / me moost wrecchidfulle and most synfulle... (G[A²], 61va53-56).

... but yf eny desire / to knowe my name wite thei wel that yf eny / wil calle me a trewe name or a trewe man / they moste calle me most wrecchid and moste / synful (G[H²], 104vb25-29).

In this instance however the *sphragis* does not belong to the compiler of the *Gilte Legende*. It is translated from the life by William of St. Albans, who had put it into the mouth of his fabulous sixth-century source:

Sed ne posterī super meo nomine reddantur nimium solliciti: sciant quia si voluerint verum mihi ponere nomen, me miserum, me peccatorem ultimum nominabunt (W 5.47, p. 138a13-16).

²² Sister Mary Jeremy, 'The English Prose Translation of the *Legenda Aurea*', *Modern Language Notes* 59 (1944) 181-83.

²³ Quoted by Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. cxxxii.

²⁴ In Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 2.435.

(vi) CAXTON AND THE *GILTE LEGENDE*

Of the ten versions of 'Alban and Amphibal' listed above in section (ii), we see that those numbered 1-7 all seem to be related. Let us now turn to the remaining three. In the first place, we have long been told that the unpublished *Gilte Legende* of 1438 (G) was the immediate source for Caxton (C).²⁵ The close relationship leaps to the eye from the first sentence of both works:

After that Julyus Cesar the firste Emperoure / of Rome had so devidid the londe of fraunce / he made a shippyng into grete Bretayne the / which is now callid ynglonde and in the tyme of Cassi/belan kyng he came hider firste... (G[A²], 57ra58-62).

Aftir that Julius Cesar / the firste Emperour of / Rome had so devidid the / londe of Fraunce he made / a Ryuage in to Breteigne / which is now callid Engelonde in the tyme / of Cassibalan kynge (G[H²], 96rb7-13).

After that Julius Caesar, the first emperor of Rome, had divided the land of France, he made a shipping in to Great Britain, which now is called England, in the time of Cassibelaun, King of the Britons (C 236.31-237.3).

We at once observe (and shall have frequent opportunity to observe hereafter) that where G[A²] and G[H²] differ in their wording, C follows the former.²⁶

From time to time Caxton has ruthlessly abbreviated his source. In particular he tends to omit passages which wax unduly homiletical.²⁷

(vii) LYDGATE'S LIFE: SOURCES

Van der Westhuizen's edition of L enables us to see the interrelationship of the fifteenth-century lives more clearly than ever before. He discusses Lydgate's

²⁵ Horstmann, *Altenglische Legenden, Neue Folge*, p. cxxx, 'Diese Uebersetzung ist im Jahre 1438 angefertigt und nachmals zweimal von Caxton, ... mit vielen Zusätzen vermehrt, herausgegeben...'; p. cxxxv, 'Caxton's Ausgabe ... beruht auf dieser Uebersetzung, unterscheidet sich jedoch in vielen Beziehungen'; p. cxxxvi, 'Was das Text betrifft, so folgt er der älteren Uebersetzung nicht Wort für Wort, aber Satz für Satz, häufig kürzend.' Butler, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 83, after noting that he has positive evidence that Caxton used the earlier translation for certain other lives, continues, 'After a close comparison, I believe he used also the *St. Alban* found in that MS. and others.' See also Sister Mary Jeremy, 'Caxton and the Synfulle Wretche', *Traditio* 4 (1946) 423-28; Auvo Kurvinen, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and the Manuscripts of the *Gilte Legende*', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 60 (1959) 353-75.

²⁶ Kurvinen, *ibid.*, established that, for the *Life of St Catharine*, Caxton's source was either A² or a closely related manuscript.

²⁷ For example, T 5, p. 279.25-6, p. 280.15 (twenty-seven lines) is rendered *in extenso* in G (A², 57va29-68; H², 97ra12-b14), but is cut down to five lines in C (239.1-6); W 1.4, p. 129b38 - 2.11, p. 131b9 (233 lines; cf. G[A²], 57vb56-58va68; G[H²], 97va41-99rb6) is abbreviated to twenty-eight lines in C (240.24-241.15); W 4.33, p. 135a73 - 5.38, p. 136b37 (184 lines; cf. G[A²], 60va50-61ra51; G[H²], 103ra16-vb47) is represented by only seven lines in C (251.25-31).

sources, identifies them in detail, and prints at the foot of each page of the poem those texts which he takes to be the sources. The poet has added large stretches of his own composition; and towards the end several passages depend on Matthew Paris and on Bede. But the main part of the poems falls into four sections.

(a) From 'Cesar Iulyus' (L 107) = 'Julius Caesar' (T 1, p. 277.1), to 'Freely to graunte hospitalite.... This symple clerk ... conceyvid' (L 1093, 1095, 1096) = 'hospitium clerico libenter concessit' (T 7, p. 281.12). In this section (as elsewhere) there are additions by Lydgate; but where the source can be traced, it is invariably T, and some of the verbal responsions are close.

(b) From 'benyg[n]ly ... Mynystred hym al that was necessarie' (L 1096, 1097) = 'benigne ... vitæ necessaria ministravit' (W 1.3, p. 129b23), to verse 2150 ('causid bi som sorcerie', L 2145 = 'prævalente maleficio artis magicæ', W 2.15, p. 132a34-35; 'Elementis ... To shewe bi signes paynymes did hym wrong', L 2146, 2150 = 'injuriam martyris elementa testantur', W 2.15, p. 132a24-25). The source throughout, where identified, is W.

(c) From 'Asclepeodot ... bicause of dioclician To slee the martir durst nat *proceede*' (L 2151, 2153-2154) = 'Timebat nempe Asclepiodotus eum occidere ob familiaritatem quem habuerat cum Diocletiano' (T 8, p. 281.24-25), to 'This was the doom of the lugis tweyn ... For to avenge ther goddis Infernall Vpon Albon whom thei did deeme ... for a fals blasphemee' (L 2272-2276) = 'hanc sententiam lex dictavit quod deos præcipuos abnegavit' (T 11, p. 283.7-8). The source throughout, where identified, is T.

(d) The last division begins about line 2277; it likewise depends on W, and in fact there is a slight overlap with (b) above, because the same passage of W is reflected at the end of one and at the beginning of the other. 'No dew nor reyn' (L 2280) = 'ros aut pluvia' (W 2.15, p. 132a27); 'bi magik' (L 2287) = 'magicæ' (W 2.15, p. 132a35). It extends to 'Vnto Rome with the book he went ... All fals goddis & ydolis to forsake, Baptem receyve. ... this book with hym he brouht To be seyn ovyr' (L 4302, 4305-4308) = 'Romam autem proficiscar, ut illic gentilitatis errore deposito, et lavacro regenerationis adepto. ... libellum quoque ... afferam examini...' (W 5.47, p. 138a16-20).

(viii) THE *GILTE LEGENDE*: SOURCES

If we turn to consider the sources of Alban's life in the *Gilte Legende* (G), we find that it too depends on W and T.²⁸ Like Lydgate's version, it falls into four parts. (We shall quote the corresponding portions of C, to set the discussion in the secure framework of a published text, and to emphasize further the affinity between C and G.)

²⁸ Charlotte D'Evelyn had suggested, without discussion, that the 'probable ultimate sources' of G were W and T; see Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English* 2.563.

- (a) From the beginning (quoted above in section [vi]), which corresponds to

Julius Caesar primus Romanorum imperator, postquam Gallias subjugavit, Britanniae, quae nunc appellatur Anglia, arma intulit, temporibus regis Cassibelauni (T 1, p. 277.1-3),²⁹

to

and then Amphiabel / that had forsake alle worldly armes and toke on hym þe / signe of a clerke besought Albon of herburgh for the loue / of God the which Albon withoute feynynge had euer be / a louer of hospitalite and with gode wylle graunte hym / herburgh... (G[A²], 57vb34-39);

Than / Amphiabel that had forsake alle wordli ar/mes and toke uppon him the signe of a Cler/ke bisoughte Albon of herborwe for the loue / of God, the whiche, the whiche [sic] Albon with / oute eny faile had euer be a louer of Hospita/lite gladli grauntid to this this [sic] Clerke... (G[H²], 97va13-19);

Then Amphiabel, which had left the arms of a knight and was arrayed like a clerk, ... desired and prayed Alban of harbour for the love of God, which Alban without feigning, as he that always loved to do hospitality, granted him harbour... (C 239.35-240.6);

which corresponds to

Tandem Amphibalus qui jam arma contempserat saecularia et signa suscepit clericalia hospitium pro Deo petiit ab Albano. Cui nimirum Albanus qui semper cunctis peregrinis et pauperibus fuerat hospitaliter hospitium clerico libenter concessit (T 7, p. 281.9-12).

- (b) Beginning at

... and he receyuid hym fulle mekely and yeafe hym / mete and drynke that was necessary to hym for his le/vyng and when Albon was departid from his seruauitis / he wente prevely to this pilgryme and spake to hym in / this wyse... (G[A²], 57vb39-43);

... and / resceyued him benigneli and ministred to / him his necessarie lyvinge. And whanne / Albon was departid fro his seruauitis he / wente preuely to this Pilgryme and spake / to him in this wyse (G[H²], 97va19-24);

... and well received him, and gave to him meat and drink necessary for him. And after, when his servants were departed, he went unto this pilgrim secretly, and said to him in this wise (C 240.6-10);

²⁹ Of the two versions of G which we have consulted for this study, H² regularly follows its Latin source more closely than does A²; so, here, 'in the tyme' as opposed to 'and in the tyme', for *temporibus*. In both manuscripts we have followed the foliation assigned by the authorities of the British Library, which does not always coincide with the scribal numbering.

which corresponds to

Hic sanctum virum hospitio benigne suscipiens, vitæ necessaria ministravit. Quem tandem, remoto servorum strepitu, secretius allocutus (W 1.3, p. 129b22-25);

and extending as far as

... so that neither the trees nor / the feeldis brought forth the anye frute and alle þe elementis / foughten for this holy man ayenst these wyckid men... (G[A²], 59ra23-25);

so that neither the trees / ne the feldis brought forth the no frute. And / And [sic] alle the elementis foughte for the / Right wise man ayenst the Wicked men (G[H²], 99vb37-40);

so that neither trees ne fields brought forth no fruit, and thus the elements fought for this holy man against the wicked men (C 243.8-11);

which corresponds to

non agri, non arbores quidquam fructuum protulerunt, orbe terrarum pro justo contra impios dimicante (W 2.15, p. 132a30-32).

(c) From

... and / the Juge Askepedot drad gretely to slee hym for þe grete / loue that the Emperoure had to hym and for þe reuerence / of his dignyte and for the power of his kynne... (G[A²], 59ra25-28);

And the Juge Asclepedot drad gret/li to slee him for the gret familiarite that / he had with the Emperour Dioclician / and for the reuerence of his dignite and / for the power of his kynne... (G[H²], 99vb41-45);

And the judge Askepodot dreaded for to slay him because of the great love that the emperor had to him, and for the reverence of his dignity, and power of his kindred... (C 243.11-14);

which corresponds to

Timebant nempe Asclepiodotus eum occidere ob familiaritatem quam habuerat cum Diocletiano et reverentiam dignitatis suae et potentiam affinum suorum... (T 8, p. 281.24-26);

to

... and that the crosse that he bare and the / sclavyn that he weryd be beryed with hym in the erthe and / also that his body be closid in a chyste of led and leyde in the / sepulcre. This sentence the lawe hath ordeynid for that he haþe / renyed oure pryncipalle goddis (G[A²], 59rb19-23);

And that the Crosse that / he bere and the slaveyn that he werid / be buried with him in the erthe. And also / that his bodi be wrappid in a Chestre of / leede

and leide in a sepulcre. This senten/ce the lawe hath ordeyned for he hath renyed / our principal goddis (G[H²], 100rb31-37);

... and also the cross that he bare and sklavin that he ware should be buried with him, and his body to be closed in a chest of lead and so laid in his sepulchre. This sentence hath the law ordained because he hath renied our principal gods (C 244.34-245.3);

which corresponds to

Crux quem adoravit cum chlamyde quam gestavit cum eo mittantur in terram et sic locello plumbeo corpus involutum (involutur *Van der Westhuizen*) in sarcophago recondatur; hanc sententiam lex dictavit quod deos praecipuos abnegavit (T 11, p. 283.5-8).

(d) From

The grete murmur aroos among / the people and saide thaye myght not welle suffre þe Iniury / done to so noble and to so gode a man and namely hys kynne / and his frendis the which labourid fulle sore for hys dely/ueraunce... (G[A²], 59rb23-27);

Then a gret mur/mour aroos amonge the peple and seide / that thei myghte not eseli suffre the Iniurie / of so noble and so good a man and nameli / his kynne and his frendis whiche laboured / sore for his Delyueraunce (G[H²], 100rb37-42);

Then arose a great murmur among the people, and said that they ought not to suffer such injury done to so noble and so good a man, and specially his kindred and friends, which laboured full sore for his deliverance (C 245.3-8);

which corresponds to

Sed et per parentes et genus ejus magnum et valde præclarum, quod erat in civitate, non minima perturbationis rabies et dissensionis exoritur. Injuriam namque tanti ac talis viri æquanimiter ferre non poterant (W 2.15, p. 132a45-49);

to

This boke I brought in my honde to be exame/nyd of the Romayns that if it were not as it shulde / be thaye to correctid in to better by oure lorde Jesu Cryste / that levyth and reyneth worlde withoute ende amen (G[A²], 61va59-62);

this booke I broughte in / myne honde to be examyned of the Romay/nes that yf hit wer not as hit sholde be / thei to correcte hit in to better bi our Lorde / Jesu Criste that lyueth and regneth worlde / withoute ende (G[H²], 104vb32-37; the passage is omitted by C³⁰);

³⁰ Caxton omits the closing sections of W, with their prediction of Britain's eventual conversion and their autobiographical note. He curtails his source at 'the judge lost his reason and was mad' (C 253.10-11; cf. 'þe Juge lost his mynde / his reson and his vnderstondyng and is woxyn very / mad', G[A²], 61va33-35; 'the Juge loste his reson and his mynde and / his

which corresponds to

libellum quoque, istum, qui habetur in manibus, afferam examini Romanorum: ut si quid in eo secus quam debuit forte prolatum fuerit, hoc per eos dignetur in melius commutare Dominus Jesu Christus, qui vivit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen (W 5.47, p. 138a19-24).

(ix) A COMMON SOURCE FOR LYDGATE AND THE *GILTE LEGENDE*?

L and G (with C) then both fall into four sections; their sources may be summarized in tabular form.

Section	Sources of L	Sources of G (and C)
(a)	T 1, p. 277.1 – T 7, p. 281.12	T 1, p. 277.1 – T 7, p. 281.12
(b)	W 1.3, p. 129b23 – W 2.15, p. 132a35	W 1.3, p. 129b22 – W 2.15, p. 132a32
(c)	T 8, p. 281.24 – T 11, p. 283.8	T 8, p. 281.24 – T 11, p. 283.8
(d)	W 2.15, p. 132a27 – W 5.47, p. 138a20	W 2.15, p. 132a45 – W 5.47, p. 138a24

Not only are the two major sources for the *Gilte Legende* (and for Caxton) identical with those of Lydgate, but they are interwoven in exactly the same way, and the points of conjunction coincide closely. There are four conceivable explanations.

(1) L and G independently switched back and forth between T and W at the same places. This, surely, is asking too much of coincidence.

(2) L is the source of G. This is manifestly impossible, because G is in general much closer to his Latin sources than is L. For a typical example, see the renderings by L and G of T 8, p. 281.24-25 and T 11, p. 283.7-8 in the paragraphs labeled (c) in sections (vii) and (viii) above. We can point to passages which are translated in G, but completely missing from L; e.g., T 10, p. 282.9-13, 24-31 = G[A²], 59ra48-57, 72-b9; G[H²], 100ra23-33, b3-17 (C 243.30-244.3, 17-25).

(3) G (1438) is the source of L (1439). The proximity of time perhaps makes

vndirstondinge and was woxe made', G[H²], 104vb1-2) = 'Judex autem, amisso rationis intellectu, amens effectus est' (W 5.45, p. 137b52-53).

this unlikely. But there are also occasional passages in which L reflects the Latin original more faithfully than G.

'postquam Gallias subjugavit', T 1, p. 277.1-2; cf. 'Brou[h]t ... soget to them of Rome ton', L 113-115; 'had so devidid the londe of fraunce', G[A²], 57ra59; 'had so deuidid the / londe of Fraunce', G[H²], 96rb9-10; 'had divided the land of France', C 236.32.

'Si reatus eum conscientiae non remorderet', W 2.12, p. 131b26-27; cf. 'Or som remors of his conscience', L 1964; 'but if his gilty consyence had remo/tyd hym', G[A²], 58vb16-17; 'but yf his gilty conscience / had remotid him', G[H²], 99rb31-32; 'but that his conscience hath removed him', C 241.29-30.

'intolerabilis', W 2.15, p. 132a30; cf. 'intollerable', L 2138; 'vnsufferable', G[A²], 59ra23; 'vnsuffrabli', G[H²], 99vb37; 'insufferable', C 243.8.

'Albanus vir egregius, martyr extat gloriosus', W 3.25, p. 134a34-35; cf. '*Albanus vir egregius martir extat gloriosus*', L 2934b; 'Albon / the gloryous man is a noble martir of Jesu Cryste', G[A²], 60ra40-41; 'Albon this glorious man is a nobil mar/tir', G[H²], 102ra19-20; 'Alban the glorious man is a noble martyr of Jesu Christ', C 249.25-26.

'vinculis diutini morbi, quibus tenebatur, absolvitur', W 4.32, p. 135a57-58; cf. 'This sik man that lay bonde in peyn Of old siknesse ... Was made al hool', L 3390-3393; 'this syke man was made hole ../. and then his hondis were vnbounde withoute / anye mannys honde', G[A²], 60va33-35; 'the sore bondis of / the sike man were vnlosid', G[H²], 102vb44-45; 'and his bonds that his hands were bound with were loosed', C 251.18-19.

(4) L and G both drew on an earlier life which was chiefly a compilation of T and W. This is the most likely solution. In confirmation we may cite some passages in which L and G render the Latin by essentially the same words, which are not, as it happens, the most obvious rendering.

'vestibus auro textis', T 7, p. 281.6; cf. 'In a garnement freengid al with gold', L 1076; 'with clothis frengid with golde', G[A²], 57vb30; 'with clothis frenchid with / golde', G[H²], 97va7-8; 'with clothes fringed with gold', C 239.34.

'falsis et fallacibus', W 2.13, p. 131b71; cf. 'Fals & failyng', L 2058; 'fals and faylyng', G[A²], 58vb63; 'false and faylinge', G[H²], 99va43; 'false and failing', C 242.18.

'chlamyde', T 11, p. 283.5; cf. 'his sclaveyn', L 2270; 'sclavyn', G[A²], 59rb20; 'sclaveyn', G[H²], 100rb32; 'sklavin', C 244.35.

'locello plumbeo', T 11, p. 283.6; cf. 'chest of led', L 2269; 'chyste of led', G[A²], 59rb21; 'Cheste of / leede', G[H²], 100rb34-35; 'chest of lead', C 245.1.

'diaboli ... malitiam', W 2.16, p. 132a66; cf. 'the feende', L 2359; 'the feend', G[A²], 59rb32; 'the Fende', G[H²], 100va1; 'the fiend', C 245.12.

'fons ... erupit', W 3.21, p. 133b9-10; cf. 'sprang vp a welle', L 2692; 'there

sprange vp there sodenly a fayre / welle', G[A²], 59vb16-17; 'there spronge vp a / welle', G[H²], 101rb34-35; 'sprang up a fair well', C 248.3.

'Cadit in foveam', W 3.22, p. 133b33; cf. 'fil to grounde', L 2781; 'fylle to the grownde', G[A²], 59vb39; 'fallinge downe to the / grounde', G[H²], 101va18-19; 'fell to ground', C 248.20.

'carnifex', W 3.22, p. 133b39; cf. 'This tormentour', L 2788; 'þe turmen/toure', G[A²], 59vb45-46; 'the turmentour', G[H²], 101va26; 'the tormentor', C 248.21.

'caput amputarunt', W 3.24, p. 134a15-16; cf. 'thei smyten of his hede', L 2885; 'thaye smete of his hed', G[A²], 60ra18; 'thei smo/te of his heed', G[H²], 101vb41-42; 'smote off his head', C 249.18.

'verbum vitæ', W 4.27, p. 134b27; cf. 'The worde of god', L 3102; 'the worde of god', G[A²], 60rb7; 'the worde of god', G[H²], 102rb16; 'the word of God', C 249.32.

(x) THE LOST LIFE: CHARACTERISTICS

The texts cited in the previous section might suggest that the lost original of L and G was already in English. Yet there are indications that the compiler of the *Gilte Legende* was working directly from a Latin text: passages in which it appears that the Latin was misread or misunderstood.³¹

'postquam Gallias subjugavit', T 1, p. 277.1-2; cf. 'had so devidid the londe of fraunce', G[A²], 57ra59; etc. (the other relevant readings are given above, in section [ix]; the translator evidently read *sejugavit* for *subjugavit*).

'milites Alemannicos Cyprios et Cretenses tirones', T 4, p. 279.9-10; cf. 'knyghtis of Almayne of / cypre and of cretence', G[A²], 57va2-3; 'knyghtes of Almay/ne of Cipre and of Cretence', G[H²], 96vb27-28; the corresponding passage is omitted by C (a false toponym is extracted from the ethnic *Cretenses*).

'ad occidendum Carausium memoratum', T 5, p. 279.31-32; cf. 'for to sle Carusian and to put hym oute of / mynde', G[A²], 57va42-43; 'for to slee Carusian and to putte him oute / of mynde', G[H²], 97ra28-29; omitted by C (*memoratum*, in the sense of 'aforesaid', is misunderstood).

'Hoc modo Virgo Deum, ancilla Dominum, Patrem filia meruit generare', W 1.4, p. 129b58-59; cf. 'and in this wyse the virgyn to god / the seruauunt to the lorde the doughter deservid to be hyr / fader', G[A²], 58ra9-11; 'And in this wyse the virgyn to god, / the seruauunte to the lorde, the doughtir disser/vid to be her Fadir', G[H²], 97vb20-22; omitted by C (*generare* is neglected, and the sense of the passage is lost, though the order of the words is retained).

³¹ In general, on mistakes in 'Caxton's' renderings of the originals of the *Golden Legend*, see Sister Mary Jeremy, 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and Varagine's *Legenda Aurea*', *Speculum* 21 (1946) 212-21, and 'Caxton's *Golden Legend* and De Vignai's *Légende Dorée*', *Mediaeval Studies* 8 (1946) 97-106.

'Subsequitur eum candidatorum infinitus exercitus', W 1.6, p. 130a60-61; cf. 'syngers withoute nombre folowid / hym', G[A²], 58ra79-b1; 'syngers withoute / nombre folowid him', G[H²], 98rb15-16; omitted by C (reading *cantatorium* for *candidatorium*).

'tugurium', W 1.9, p. 131a5; cf. 'Tygurryn', G[A²], 58va16; 'Tugurryn', G[H²], 98vb34; 'Tigurium', C 241.3 (a common noun made into a place-name).

'Si reatus eum conscientie non remorderet', W 2.12, p. 131b26-27; cf. 'but if his gilty conscyence had remo/tyd hym', G[A²], 58vb16-17; etc. (see above, section [ix]; reading *removeret* for *remorderet*).

'Hæc verba inter verbera resonabant', W 2.14, p. 132a17; cf. 'these wordis among his betynges he sownyd', G[A²], 59ra12; 'these wordis amonge his betinges / he sowned', G[H²], 99vb22-23; 'These words sounded he among his beatings', C 242.33 (reading *resonabat* for *resonabant*).

'de sua conversione', T 8, p. 281.26; cf. 'of his / conuersacion', G[A²], 59ra29-30; 'of his conuersacion', G[H²], 99vb47; 'of his conversation', C 243.15-16 (reading *conversacione* for *conversione*).

Apparently G misread his Latin source from time to time, and L occasionally got it right where G blundered. It looks as if the common text from which they drew was in Latin.³² This lost Life of Alban and Amphibal was apparently compiled between 1394 (the date of T) and 1438 (the date of G). It contained certain words, found in both L and G, which are not derived from either T or W.

'reynyn[n]g in Briteyn', L 231 = 'reignyng in the londe of Bre/taigne', G[A²], 57rb17-18; 'reignynge in the londe of Bre/taigne', G[H²], 96ra48; 'reigned in the land of Britain', C 237.18; cf. 'Regnante igitur in hac terra', with no explicit mention of Britain, T 2, p. 278.1.

³² This is not to say that Lydgate renders each passage correctly. We saw above, in section (ix), sub-section (3), that his versions of T 1, p. 277.1-2 and W 2.12, p. 131b26-27 were more accurate than those of G. To them we might add W 1.4, p. 129b58-59; cf. 'Thus hath a maide... To bere hir lord graciously deservid, A chose douhtir... To bern hir fadir', L 1213-1216. Elsewhere Lydgate treats the text with such liberty that we cannot always ascertain how he read his original. Incidentally we find another confirmation that he was working from the Latin: 'ancilla', W 1.4, p. 129b58, is reflected in 'ancill', L 1222.

This leaves aside the question of how to account for the similarity of two independent English versions. What seemed remarkable in section (ix), sub-section (4), above, must after all be not so significant. Without too much special pleading we could probably blunt the impact of our list. Thus, 'locellus', 'diabolus', 'carnifex' are fairly naturally rendered 'chest', 'fiend', 'tormentor'. Sometimes the lure of an assonance proved irresistible, and 'fallacibus' became 'failing', and 'chlamyde' 'sclavyn'. At other times a stereotyped phrase inevitably intruded: 'word of God'. Occasionally, perhaps, the Latin text had been altered, 'cadit in foveam' passing into 'cadit in terram'. And so on.

'Asclipiodot the Iuge', L 1932 = 'the Juge Askepodot', G[A²], 58va71; 'the Juge Askepedot', G[H²], 99rb9-10; 'the judge Askepodot', C 241.17; cf. 'Judice', without the name, W 2.11, p. 131b11.

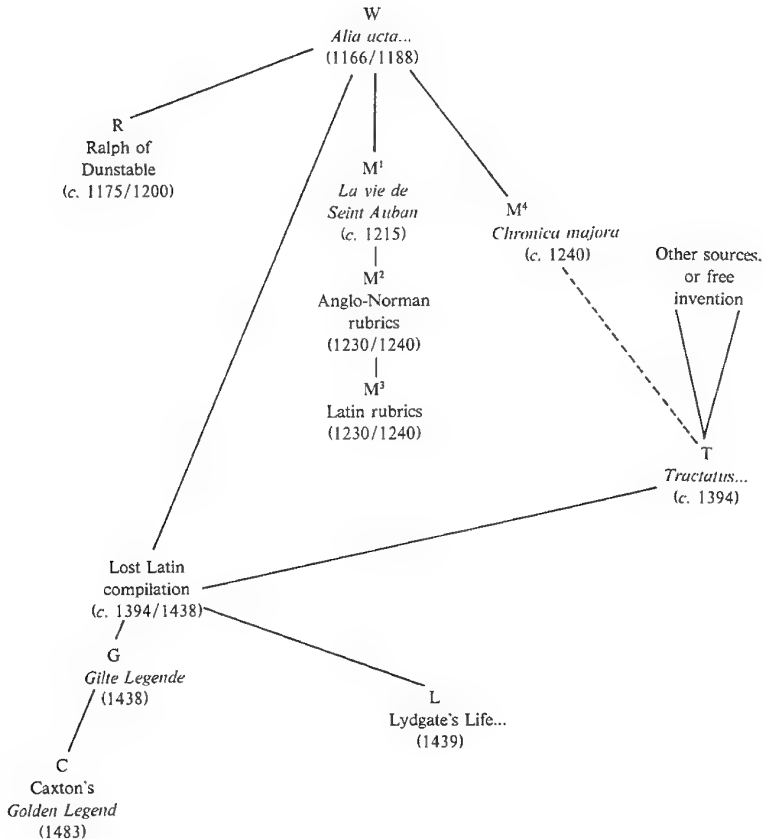
'Asclepeodot sittying as Iuge...', L 2151 = 'the Juge Askepedot', G[A²], 59ra26; 'the Juge Asclepedot', G[H²], 99vb41; 'the judge Askepodot', C 243.11; cf. 'Asclepiodotus', without the title, T 8, p. 281.24.

Apparently in individual words it occasionally deviated from its exemplars:

'Ful sixe wikes', L 2122, original version = 'vj wekis and more', G[A²], 59ra17; 'vj. wokes and / more', G[H²], 99vb29-30; 'six weeks and more', C 243.2; cf. 'mensibus sex et eo amplius', W 2.14, p. 132a23.

(xi) SUMMARY

The relationship of these various lives may be shown in a *stemma*.



In summary, Monk William's Life of Alban and Amphibal was the source of most of the mediaeval lives of the two saints. Somewhat later, another life, the *Tractatus*, incorporated fresh material. Lydgate and the compiler of the so-called *Gilte Legende* (which was Caxton's source) relied heavily on a Latin life put together between 1394 and 1438; it drew upon William and the *Tractatus* (both of which were current at St. Albans), but from time to time it exhibited occasional trifling idiosyncrasies of its own.

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RAOUL GLABER'S 'DE DIVINA QUATERNITATE':
 AN UNNOTICED READING
 OF ERIUGENA'S TRANSLATION
 OF THE *AMBIGUA* OF MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR

Paul Edward Dutton

THE reputation of the Cluniac historian Raoul Glaber, who died about 1050, has been equivocal. On the one hand, students of *mentalité* have found the strange and wonderful accounts which fill his chief work, the *Historiarum libri quinque*,¹ to be fascinating and characteristic of the time;² on the other, historians interested in a factual reconstruction of the past have by and large been critical of his history.³ So little remains certain in our knowledge of Glaber's life or work that even the few references made by him to his own life have defied scholarly consensus.⁴ Glaber himself admitted that early in his

¹ The edition of Duchesne from 1641 is reprinted in PL 142.611D-698C. This edition was revised, by comparing it to Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 6190, under the general editorship of L. Delisle. *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* 10 (Paris, 1874), pp. 1-63. A partial edition by G. Waitz is to be found in MGH *Scriptorum* 7 (Hanover, 1846), pp. 51-72. The best edition and the one used here is by M. Prou, *Raoul Glaber: les cinq livres de ses histoires (900-1044)* in *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire* [= *Historiae*] 1 (Paris, 1886). On other editions and the MSS. of the *Historiae*, see Prou, pp. xi-xv.

² See, in particular, Émile Gebhart, 'L'état d'âme d'un moine de l'an 1000: le chroniqueur Raoul Glaber', *Revue des deux mondes*, 3^e Pér., 107 (1891) 600-28; Paul Rousset, 'Raoul Glaber, interprète de la pensée commune au XI^e siècle', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 36 (1950) 5-24; Margarete Vogelgsang, 'Der cluniacensische Chronist Rodulfus Glaber', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 71 (1960) 151-85; Georges Duby, *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme* (Paris, 1978), pp. 236-43.

³ See, for instance, G. Monod, 'Études sur l'histoire de Hugues Capet', *Revue historique* 28.2 (1885) 270-72; A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie (1494)* 2 (Paris, 1902), p. 3; Robert-Henri Bautier, 'L'hérésie d'Orléans et le mouvement intellectuel au début du XI^e siècle: documents et hypothèses' in *Actes du 95^e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes* (Reims, 1970): *Section de philologie et histoire jusqu'à 1610* 1 (Paris, 1975), pp. 66-67.

⁴ See Ernst Sackur, 'Studien über Rodulfus Glaber', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* [= *Neues Archiv*] 14 (1889) 377-418; Julien Havet, 'Note sur Raoul Glaber', *Revue historique* 40.2 (1889) 41-48; Ernest Petit, 'Raoul Glaber', *Revue historique* 48 (1892) 283-99. For a brief treatment of Glaber's life, see Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* 2 (Munich, 1923), pp. 347-53.

monastic life the brothers of a monastery had expelled him from their community because he was too troublesome.⁵ From that time on, his life was to be spent in frequent movement from monastery to monastery, in and about Burgundy. He stayed for a time at Saint-Bénigne of Dijon where he made the friendship of the abbot, William of Volpiano, whose biography he later wrote.⁶ It is generally believed, though, that by about 1030 Glaber had arrived at the monastery of Cluny.⁷ There he began the work of history which he dedicated to Odilo, the fifth abbot of Cluny.⁸ After a brief introduction, he began the *Historiae* with a chapter entitled the 'De diuina quaternitate'.⁹ It is a section of the *Historiae* which has in turn fascinated, puzzled, and annoyed historians.¹⁰

Glaber ends his introduction to the *Historiae* by saying that it is appropriate for one who is about to describe the events of the four-cornered world to include in his work a treatment of the divine quaternity and its congruent harmony (*ejusque conformem conuenientiam*).¹¹ God, according to Glaber,

⁵ *Historiae* 5.1.3, p. 116.

⁶ *Vita sancti Guillelmi* (PL 142.701D-720B). Some extracts were also edited by G. Waitz in *MGH Scriptorum* 4 (Hanover, 1841), pp. 655-58.

⁷ See Havet, 'Note sur Raoul Glaber', 46-48; Petit, 'Raoul Glaber', 296-98; Manitius, *Geschichte*, pp. 347-48.

⁸ *Historiae* 1.dedic., p. 1: 'Clarorum uirorum illustrissimo Odiloni, Cluniensis coenobii patri, Glaber Rodulfus', and 1.introd.1, p. 2: 'et idcirco, prout ualeo, uestrae preceptioni ac fraternae uoluntati obedio. ...'

⁹ *Historiae* 1.1.2-3, pp. 2-5. There are many translations, whole and partial, of this section. In English, see Joan Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157* (Oxford, 1931; rpt. New York, 1968), pp. 119-20 and *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 110-11; D. Herlihy, ed. and trans., *The History of Feudalism* (New York, 1970), pp. 20-21; R. Brantl, ed. and trans., *The Image and the City* (New York, 1966), pp. 74-76, which is untrustworthy. In French, see E. Pognon, ed. and trans., *L'an mille* (Paris, 1947), pp. 46-48; G. Duby, ed. and trans., *L'an mil* (Paris, 1967), pp. 66-69.

¹⁰ Among the critics of the scheme may be counted A. Ehrhardt, 'Vir bonus quadrato lapidi comparatur', *Harvard Theological Review* 38 (1945) 191, who called it 'an obscure introduction' and E. Pognon, *L'an mille*, pp. 42-43, who wrote 'À d'autres moments, le conformisme de Raoul s'élève jusqu'au domaine de la pensée pure; mais, hélas! son esprit indigent et superficiel ne lui dicte alors que des dissertations aussi vides de substance que riches de mots, tel son discours initial sur la Quaternité divine, que nul lien logique ne relie au corps de l'ouvrage. ...' The scheme has often been considered representative. See, for instance, the surveys of Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* 1 (New York, 1929), pp. 674-76 and H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale: les quatre sens de l'Écriture* 2.2 (Paris, 1964), pp. 32-40. Among the friends of the scheme may be counted Gebhart, 'L'état d'âme ...', 613-14; S. Giet, 'La divine quaternité de Raoul Glaber', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 5 (1949) 241, wrote, in response to Pognon, 'Que l'on apprécie comme on voudra ces conceptions bizarres, il faut du moins reconnaître que le bon moine a suivi son idée avec une application méritoire; et quand il nous confie qu'il lui tenait à cœur de nous livrer cette pensée, je n'irais pas trop vite à parler d'un verbiage vide de sens: je gage que, pour lui, c'était, de toutes ses Histoires, la pièce maîtresse, j'entends la spéculation la plus profonde. ...' See also Evans, *Cluniac Art*, pp. 110-11 and Duby, *Les trois ordres*, pp. 237-43, who attempt to fit the scheme into contemporary Cluniac thought.

¹¹ *Historiae* 1.introd.1, p. 2.

distinguished things in their various forms and figures in order to lift up the wise man, through his eyes and his mind, to a simple contemplation of the Deity.¹² The Greek Fathers, whom he praises as orthodox and no mean philosophers (*catholici non mediocriter philosophi*), were the first, he claims, to distinguish themselves in investigating certain quaternities by which this present lower world and the future higher world might be understood.¹³ These quaternities, or sets of four, he continues, can be extremely beneficial to the inquirer for 'the quaternities and their correspondences (*earumque in sese reflexus*), once they have begun to be fixedly allotted by us, will render more joyful the minds and also the intellects of those having caught sight of them.'¹⁴ Glaber then begins to sort these correspondences into what amount to horizontal and vertical sets of four. The vertical sets are hierarchically arranged; when set side by side against each other, these sets form horizontal layers of comparable things. In the 'De diuina quaternitate' there are two such groups of four sets of four.

In the first group there are four Gospels in the higher world, four elements in the lower world, and four virtues in the intellectual world. Glaber adds to these the quaternity of the five senses which occurs in man, who is a little world. The scheme can be set out by us as follows:

	1	2	3	4
	<i>Lower world</i>	<i>Intellectual world</i>	<i>Higher world</i>	<i>Little world</i>
1	ether	prudence	John	sight and hearing
2	air	fortitude	Luke	smell
3	water	temperance	Mark	taste
4	earth	justice	Matthew	touch

Glaber provides an explanation for each of the horizontal associations. Prudence is like the fiery element ether because it rises like fire in seeking to be around God (*circa Deum*). Fortitude relates to air because it fortifies in the intellectual world just as air enlivens things in the material world. Temperance, desirous of divine love, is the nurse of the virtues as water nurses living things. Justice and earth are alike in providing balance and proportion. To this first correspondence of elements and virtues, Glaber then affixes the four Gospels. He says, perhaps thinking of its vertical supremacy, that the Gospel of John is like ether and prudence because it is more sublime than the other Gospels in

¹² *Historiae* 1.1.2, p. 2.

¹³ *Historiae* 1.1.2, pp. 2-3.

¹⁴ *Historiae* 1.1.2, p. 3.

introducing faith and a simple knowledge of God. The Gospel of Luke is said to be similar to air and fortitude since it is spatially diffuse and yet solidly based on history. Here Glaber seems to be comparing the spatial spread of air to the length of Luke's account and the strength connoted by the virtue of fortitude to the strong historical sense of Luke. The Gospel of Mark, Glaber says, is like water and temperance since it proclaims penance from the baptismal effort of John the Baptist. The element of water, it would seem, is referred to in baptism and the virtue of temperance in the penance moderately (*temperanter*) preached by John. Lastly the Gospel of Matthew, because it reveals more openly than the other Gospels the fleshly reality of Christ as man, bears a mystical likeness to earth and justice. In this last instance, Glaber may have been thinking of the symbolic portrayal of Matthew as a winged creature with the head of a man.

Glaber then goes on to say that man, to whose obedience all earthly things are given, is tied together (*sociatur*) by these speculative connections of elements, virtues, and Gospels because the substance of his life is a microcosm or little world, according to the Greek philosophers. Thus the very senses of man can be linked to the elements and virtues. Sight and hearing as the servants of understanding and reason harmonize with ether, the upper element, because being more sublime and subtle than the other elements, it is also more noble and clear. Next comes smell which is linked to air and fortitude, then taste which is joined to water and temperance, and finally touch which, as the lowest of the elements and so the firmest and most solid, can be likened to earth and justice. Before beginning the second set of quaternities, Glaber concludes the first by saying 'Therefore from these most apparent connections (*complexibus*) of things, God is openly, most beautifully, and silently proclaimed ...',¹⁵ since each quaternity, unchanging in itself, points out the other quaternities. The total effect is one of a movement of created things in the direction of God.

Glaber then sets out a second scheme following the pattern of the first. From Eden in the east there flows a river which in turn divides into the four famous rivers: the Phison, Gheon, Tigris, and Euphrates. With these rivers he associates the four virtues and the four ages of the world. Although he does not delineate the correspondence, Glaber also includes the four Gospels in this second group of quaternities. This poses certain problems, however, since the ranking of the virtues is not the same as in the first group. The second formulation of quaternities, with the correspondence of Gospels and virtues taken from the first (reversed order is indicated by an asterisk), can be schematized by us as follows:

¹⁵ *Historiae* 1.1.3, p. 4. Cassiodorus, *Complexiones in epistulis apostolorum*, Praefatio (PL. 70.1322A2-3) says: 'Complexiones autem similium rerum juncta copulatio. ...'

	1	2	3	4
	<i>Rivers of Paradise</i>	<i>Virtues</i>	<i>Gospels</i>	<i>Ages of the world</i>
1	Phison	prudence	John	Creation to the Flood
2	Gheon	temperance*	Mark*	from Abraham
3	Tigris	fortitude*	Luke*	from Moses
4	Euphrates	justice	Matthew	from the Incarnation

Glaber explains, in similar fashion, how each quaternity links horizontally with the other quaternities. Each river is linked to its correspondent virtue by means of an etymology and each virtue is then said to be manifested in an age of the world. With the historical quaternity of the four ages of the world Glaber resumes his account of contemporary history. He believes that he lives in the fourth age, in which the virtue of justice brought by Christ is dominant, and he immediately begins to describe the activities of men who are *catholicae fidei cultores et iustitiae*.¹⁶ In the *Historiae* it is Glaber's intention to read the signs of Christ's justice which occurred around the year of the millenium.¹⁷

How Raoul Glaber came to conceive the notion of the *diuina quaternitas* has always been an elusive matter. Some scholars have actively searched for his sources. Edmond Pognon, no great admirer of Glaber's speculative chapter, wrote:

C'est en vain que j'ai recherché dans les Pères de l'Église grecque cette théorie de la Quaternité divine dont Raoul leur attribue l'invention. Un éminent spécialiste de la théologie byzantine, consulté, n'a pu que m'orienter sur des pistes qui se sont révélées décevantes.¹⁸

In response to Pognon's lack of success, Stanislas Giet set out to find Glaber's source and, in following the trail, even sought the help of 'un éminent spécialiste de la théologie occidentale'.¹⁹ In the end, however, he too confessed, 'Certes, je ne me flatte pas de retrouver chez les Pères grecs tout ce merveilleux système.'²⁰ He does mention some possible points of contact such as Irenaeus, Basil, and Gregory of Nyssa, but none of these authors speaks of Glaber's scheme. This puzzlement continues to persist among scholars so that recently Georges Duby, in his *Les trois ordres ou l'imaginaire du féodalisme*, was able to

¹⁶ *Historiae* 1.1.4, p. 5.

¹⁷ See, for instance, *Vita sancti Guillelmi* 27 (PL 142.718B13-C13), where Glaber outlines his reasons for writing the *Historiae*.

¹⁸ *L'an mille*, p. 268 n. 7.

¹⁹ 'La divine quaternité de Raoul Glaber', 239 n. 9.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 240.

conclude only that Glaber's source was not the Pseudo-Dionysius.²¹ Indeed some scholars have been less concerned by the question of Glaber's sources because they have simply assumed, along with Paul Rousset, that 'tout cela n'est guère original; ce sont des idées familières au Moyen Âge.'²²

Yet even aside from Glaber's attribution of the scheme to the Greek Fathers, there are certain telltale signs in the *Historiae* which suggest that Glaber was drawing upon several sources. In the first place, he characterizes those who investigated the quaternities as *patres Graecorum* whereas those who defined the substance of man as a microcosm are called *Greci philosophi*. Also, within his discussion of the quaternities there are several inconsistencies. Glaber, for instance, proposes two different sets of the quaternity of the senses. In the first, touch is excluded because it serves the higher senses, while, in the second, touch stands alone as one unit and sight and hearing are joined together as one.²³ There is also the matter of the ranking of the virtues and their correspondence with the Gospels. In the first scheme based on the elements, the order from top to bottom is prudence, fortitude, temperance, and justice, but in the scheme based on the rivers of Paradise the order is prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice. Glaber, it would seem, was aware of this difficulty since he says that the rivers bear a likeness to the virtues and equally (*pariter*) to the Gospels, without spelling out the contradictory correspondence. To make the second scheme specific as we did previously, it is necessary to alter the ranking of the Gospels. It would appear likely, then, that Glaber was at least drawing upon a different source for each of his two major schemes. Lastly, the idea of the four ages of the world is countered at the end of the first book of the *Historiae* by the six ages of the world based on the six days of creation.²⁴ These discrepancies, since they point to other sources, lead us directly into a consideration of Raoul Glaber as a reader at Cluny.

Any speculation about what a monk of this monastery might have been reading around the year 1030 should be compared with Cluny's two earliest book lists. The first of these, containing a list of sixty-four books and their readers, is to be found in the *Consuetudines Farfenses*.²⁵ It was compiled,

²¹ See p. 237.

²² 'Raoul Glaber, interprète de la pensée commune', 11 n. 17. See also J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1965), p. 183 and Herlihy, *The History of Feudalism*, p. 19, who seem to consider the scheme fairly typical.

²³ *Historiae* 1.1.2, p. 3 and p. 4.

²⁴ Cf. *Historiae* 1.1.3, p. 4 and 1.5.26, pp. 24-25. On the six ages of the world, see A. Luneau, *L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Église. La doctrine des âges du monde* (Paris, 1964).

²⁵ André Wilmart, 'Le convent et la bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI^e siècle', *Revue Mabillon* 11 (1921) 92-94, reedited this list; the earlier edition was by B. Albers in *Consuetudines*

according to André Wilmart, at Cluny during the Lent of 1042 or 1043.²⁶ The second list was drawn up during the abbacy of Hugh III (1158-61) and, although the original is no longer extant, is known from the several editions which Léopold Delisle made from a poor copy of it.²⁷ It lists 570 volumes with brief descriptions of the contents of individual codices. Both of these book lists, of course, date from after Glaber's residency at Cluny, but it would not be unreasonable to expect that the sources he consulted in 1030 when beginning his *Historiae* at Cluny would be there at a later time.

Take, for instance, the second scheme of Glaber's quaternities, the one based on the four rivers of Paradise. It seems most likely, as a few scholars have realized in recent years,²⁸ that he drew his knowledge of it from Ambrose's *De paradiso*.²⁹ Roughly 40% of Glaber's vocabulary (108 words out of 276), in the passage which begins 'Constat etiam ...' and ends 'omnem justitiam', comes from *De paradiso* 3.12-23. Moreover, the order of presentation, which considers the rivers collectively, individually, their correspondence with the virtues, and the four ages of the world which manifest the virtues, is consistent in both. Glaber also seems to have followed Ambrose's distinctive manner of linking the virtues to the rivers of Paradise in his second scheme, even though it disagreed with the order set out in his first scheme and ran counter to the tradition of popular medieval writers such as Isidore, Bede, and Hrabanus Maurus, who followed Augustine.³⁰ Furthermore, the *De paradiso* was well

monasticae 1 (Stuttgart, 1900), pp. 185-86. See also J. Wollasch, ed., *Cluny im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 46-47.

²⁶ *ibid.*, 124.

²⁷ See *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 2 (Paris, 1874), pp. 458-81 and the improved edition, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Fonds de Cluni* (Paris, 1884), pp. 337-73.

²⁸ Evans, *Cluniac Art*, p. 111 n. 1 wrote: 'He probably drew the signification from St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, resumed in a gloss of Walafrid Strabo, Glos. Ord. in Gen., PL 113. col. 87.' This source is neither from Walafrid, nor does it account for Glaber's scheme. S. Mähl, *Quadriga virtutum: Die Kardinaltugenden in der Geistesgeschichte der Karolingerzeit* (Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 9; Cologne, 1969), p. 46 n. 139, without specifying the section of Glaber's 'De diuina quaternitate' being talked about, says: 'Rudolf fusst dabei auf Ambrosius, *De paradiso* 3.19 ff., was von Giet (S. 239) nicht erkannt worden ist.' Barbara Maurmann (Bronder), *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters: Hildegard von Bingen, Honorius Augustodunensis und andere Autoren* (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 33; Munich, 1976), p. 194 and n. 129, made an even more precise connection. None of these, however, constitutes a demonstration of Glaber's dependence on the *De paradiso*.

²⁹ Ed. by Carl Schenkl in *Sancti Ambrosii opera* 1 (CSEL 32; Vienna, 1897), pp. 272-80. On Ambrose and the four rivers, see H. Savon, *Saint Ambroise devant l'exégèse de Philon le Juif* 1 (Paris, 1977), pp. 215-41.

³⁰ For a recent survey of this subject, see Reinhold R. Grimm, *Paradisus coelestis, paradisus terrestris: Zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses im Abendland bis um 1200* (Medium Aevum: Philologische Studien 33; Munich, 1977), pp. 121-28.

represented in Cluny's library, at least in the twelfth century. In the book list drawn up under Hugh III no less than three complete copies of the *De paradiso* are mentioned.³¹ The book list from the *Consuetudines Farfenses*, tentatively dated to 1042 or 1043, also records that a certain Girard read a volume entitled the *Exameron ambrosii*.³² This codex may have contained the *De paradiso* since volume 100 of the twelfth-century list, in a section devoted to Ambrose's works, begins 'A volume in which are contained the six books of the *Exameron*, the seven books of the *De paradiso* ...',³³ and it was the precentor's custom to reduce the Lenten entry to a single work contained in the codex. Glaber would seem then to have employed one of these copies of Ambrose's *De paradiso* to complete his 'De diuina quaternitate'.

But the first of Glaber's two schemes, the one which gives life to the whole design, is not easily located, as Pognon and Giet confessed, in another source. Part of the reason for this is simply that the number four was so popular in the Middle Ages, particularly amongst Carolingian writers,³⁴ that it is difficult to unravel the lineage of any given scheme. In the case of Glaber's first scheme, the central feature is the quaternity of the elements. Now the Pseudo-Jerome did set out, in his *Expositio quatuor euangeliorum*, some comparisons between the four Gospels, four elements, four rivers of Paradise, four virtues, four letters of Adam's name, and many other fourfold manifestations,³⁵ but it does not seem to fit Glaber's scheme. The work lacks both the quaternity of the senses and Glaber's intricate explanations for the correspondences. In his homily, the *Vox spiritualis*, John Scottus Eriugena employs a scheme which relates the four

³¹ See Delisle, *Inventaire* 80. 341. 90. 342. 100. 343. Vol. 138, p. 345, contained one book of Ambrose's *De paradiso*.

³² Wilmart, 'Le convent et la bibliothèque de Cluny', 92, no. 9.

³³ Delisle, *Inventaire*, p. 343. This copy of the *Exameron*, however, may have been contained in vol. 101, p. 343, or vol. 138, p. 345.

³⁴ On the Carolingian interest in the number four, see Mähl, *Quadrige virtutum*. On the medieval interest, in general, see B. Bronder, 'Das Bild der Schöpfung und Neuschöpfung der Welt als orbis quadratus', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien: Jahrbuch des Instituts für Frühmittelalterforschung der Universität Münster* 6 (1972) 188-209 and *Die Himmelsrichtungen im Weltbild des Mittelalters*; Edgar de Bruyne, *Études d'esthétique médiévale* 2 (Bruges, 1946), pp. 343-68; Ehrhardt, 'Vir bonus quadrato lapidi comparatur'; A. C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Amsterdam, 1978); Gerhart B. Ladner, 'The So-called Square Nimbus', *Mediaeval Studies* 3 (1941) 15-45 and 'The Symbolism of the Biblical Corner Stone in the Mediaeval West', *Mediaeval Studies* 4 (1942) 43-60.

³⁵ Prologus, PL 30.549A-551B and PL 114.861B-864A contain the same text. On this text, see B. Bischoff, 'Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter', *Mittelalterliche Studien* 1 (Stuttgart, 1966), pp. 240-41; R. E. McNally, 'The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin Tradition' in *Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, ed. J. Autenrieth and F. Brunhölzl (Stuttgart, 1971), pp. 111-22.

elements to the four senses of Scripture.³⁶ But again this use of the number four bears little likeness to Glaber's conception of the quaternities and, in any event, this homily does not seem to have been available in Cluny's library.³⁷

Eriugena's own scheme, however, was an adaptation of a passage from the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor,³⁸ the Greek Father who died in 662. Eriugena had translated this work, specifically identified as the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*,³⁹ from Greek into Latin by sometime between 862 and 864.⁴⁰ Three manuscripts of this translation were known in the seventeenth century. The *Codex Remensis* probably perished in the fire which struck Reims in 1774, but a copy of it was obtained by Mabillon for Thomas Gale, who published a small portion of it as an appendix to the first printed edition of the *Periphyseon*.⁴¹

³⁶ Chap. 14, ed. and trans. by É. Jeuneau, *Homélie sur le prologue de Jean* (Sources chrétiennes 151; Paris, 1969), pp. 270-72, lines 5-17.

³⁷ See É. Jeuneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny et les œuvres de l'Érigène' in *Pierre Abélard, Pierre le Vénérable: les courants philosophiques, littéraires et artistiques en occident au milieu du XII^e siècle, Colloque International du C.N.R.S.* (Paris, 1975), pp. 703-25.

³⁸ See Jeuneau, 'Appendice 3'. *Homélie sur le prologue de Jean*, pp. 327-28. The Greek edition of the *Ambigua* by Oehler is found in PG 91. 1032-1417. The portion employed by Eriugena in the *Vox spiritualis* is 1245A-1248A. On this section, see Polycarp Sherwood, *The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and His Refutation of Origenism* (Rome, 1955), pp. 45-46.

³⁹ The *Ambigua* as it exists in PG 91 is composed of two works, the *Ambigua ad Thomam*, 1032-60, and the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*, 1061-1417. The first was actually written after the second. See Polycarp Sherwood, *An Annotated Date-List of the Works of Maximus the Confessor* (Rome, 1952), pp. 31-32 and *The Earlier Ambigua*, pp. 39-40. See also P. Canart, 'La deuxième lettre à Thomas de Saint Maxime le Confesseur', *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 415-45. Eriugena only knew the *Ambigua ad Iohannem*.

⁴⁰ On this translation, see I. P. Sheldon-Williams, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Johannes Scottus Eriugena', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 10 (1959) 203-205; M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène, sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain, 1933), pp. 162-72, 'La Versio Ambiguum Maximi de Jean Scot Érigène', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* [=RTAM] 30 (1963) 324-29, and 'Glose inédite de Jean Scot sur un passage de Maxime', RTAM 31 (1964) 320-24; J. Dräseke, 'Zu Maximus Confessor', *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* 47 (1904) 250-59 and 'Maximus Confessor und Johannes Scotus Erigena', *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 84 (1911) 20-60, 204-29; É. Jeuneau, ed. and trans., *Eriugena, Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean* (Sources chrétiennes 180; Paris, 1972), pp. 383-95, *Homélie sur le prologue de Jean*, pp. 29-34, and 'Quisquilie e Mazarinaeo codice 561 depromptae', RTAM 45 (1978) 79-129.

⁴¹ See Gale, *Johannis Scoti Erigenae De divisione naturae libri quinque diu desiderati. Accedit appendix ex Ambiguis Sancti Maximi Graece et Latine* (Oxford, 1681; rpt. Frankfurt, 1964). This partial edition of Gale was placed beside the Greek edition of the *Ambigua* by Oehler in PG 91. 1062A-1115D and amongst the works of Eriugena in PL 122.1193D-1222B. On Gale, this edition, and the *Codex Remensis*, see É. Jeuneau, 'La traduction érigénienne des *Ambigua* de Maxime le Confesseur: Thomas Gale (1636-1702) et le *Codex Remensis*' in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie, Colloque International du C.N.R.S.* (Paris, 1977), pp. 135-44. A witness of the *Codex Remensis* survives in two manuscripts, 0.9.5 (1417) and 0.10.36 (1488), of the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Édouard Jeuneau has skillfully shown that the *Codex Carmelitanus*, another manuscript known in the seventeenth century, was at Saint-Bénigne of Dijon as early as 1052 when Halinard was abbot there.⁴² Later this manuscript passed to the Carmelites of Paris and survives today as MS. 561 of the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris.⁴³ It contains 220 folios of parchment measuring 205 × 240-250 mm. on which 23 lines, written in a large, long, ninth-century hand, are to be found. The margins at the top, bottom, and sides are very generous and are dotted by numerous glosses, most of them from the ninth century.⁴⁴ While Glaber may have known this manuscript since he lived for a period at Saint-Bénigne, it is the third of our seventeenth-century manuscripts which touches closest to home. This volume, called the *Codex Cluniacensis*, can be identified as entry 298 of Cluny's twelfth-century book list which reads 'A volume in which is contained the explanation of the monk Maximus concerning the ambiguous meanings of Gregory the Theologian.'⁴⁵ Anselme Le Michel, who examined the book list and this work at Cluny in 1645, specified this as the translation by Eriugena.⁴⁶ Jeuneau has confirmed that this volume survives today as MS. 237 of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris.⁴⁷ This manuscript contains 184 folios of parchment measuring 195-200 × 247 mm. on which are also to be found 23 lines written in a large, long, ninth-century hand with many accompanying marginal glosses.⁴⁸ But even if this manuscript was at Cluny as early as 1030, we are still faced with the problem of deciding whether or not Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor was the source for Raoul Glaber's notion of the *diuina quaternitas*.

Perhaps the best way to proceed, since the relevant section of the *Ambigua*

⁴² 'Quisquiliae e Mazarinaeo codice 561 depromptae', 83-101. See also Cappuyns, 'Les Bibli Vulgadi et Jean Scot Érigène', *RTAM* 33 (1966) 137-39.

⁴³ See Jeuneau, 'La traduction érigénienne des *Ambigua*', 140-44.

⁴⁴ For a description of Maz. 561, see Sheldon-Williams, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Johannes Scottus Eriugena', 204; C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste* 1 (Paris, 1959), p. 416, entry 179; Jeuneau, 'Quisquiliae e Mazarinaeo codice 561 depromptae', 83-101.

⁴⁵ Delisle, *Inventaire*, p. 355.

⁴⁶ Jeuneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 707, quotes Le Michel: 'M. Maximi monachi opus de locis apud Gregorium Nazianzenum difficilibus. ex translatione Johannis Scoti seu Eriigenae. Grande opus et antiquum. Optimae notae'. See also P. Gasnault, 'Dom Anselme Le Michel et les manuscrits de l'abbaye de Cluny', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 131 (1973) 213 and n. 5.

⁴⁷ 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 717-24.

⁴⁸ For a description of Ars. 237, see Sheldon-Williams, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Johannes Scottus Eriugena', 204; Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine* 1. 396, entry 61; Henry Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* 1 (Paris, 1885), p. 128. Microfilms of both Maz. 561 and Ars. 237 were kindly acquired for me by the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

(no. 17 in Eriugena's translation⁴⁹) remains unedited,⁵⁰ will be to set the two passages side by side. Similar vocabulary will be found italicized.

Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua*, no. 17, trans. by Eriugena (Maz. 561, fols. 111v-112v; Ars. 237, fols. 104v-105r)

Raoul Glaber, *Historiae* (ed. Prou, 1.1.2, p. 3)

Atque ideo *quattuor sunt numero euaggelia*, tanquam his qui adhuc sub sensum sunt et corruptionem locata. *Tot etenim elimenta hunc mundum constituunt*, et *quattuor iterum uirtutes ex quibus ipse secundum intellectum spiritualis constat mundus*, ut interim in nobis intelligibilem mundum et eum in quo sumus ueritatis uerbum circumscribat. et sibi inuicem eos inconfuse *per adunationem* committat, et a se inuicem iterum inseparabiliter constituentium eos elimentorum similitudinibus discernat.

Quod enim est ut aiunt aether, hoc est *igneum elimentum*, in mundo *sensibili*, hoc est *prudentia in mundo intellectuali*: habitus quippe est illuminans et in singulis existentium spirituales proprie rationes ostendens, ipsam in totis symplam sic per eas causam explanans, et animae *desiderium circa Deum* attrahens.

Et *quod est aer in mundo sensibili*, hoc *fortitudo in mundo intellectuali*: habitudo

Quattuor igitur sunt Euangelia quae *constituunt in nostris mentibus supernum mundum*; *tot enim constant elementa*, quae perficiunt istum infimum; *quattuor quoque uirtutes*, quae ceterarum gerunt principatum, nosque *per adunationem* sui ad ceteras informant. Pari etiam ratione *quattuor sensus existunt corporis* preter tactum qui subtilioribus famulatur ceteris.

Quod est igitur aether, igneum elementum, in mundo *sensibili*, idem est *prudentia in intellectuali*; sursum namque sese erigens hanelansque *desideranter esse circa Deum*.

Illud quoque *quod aer in mundo corporali*, id ipsum *fortitudo in intellectuali*, qui

⁴⁹ It is possible that the system of numbering the *Ambigua* employed by Eriugena reflects an older Greek manuscript tradition. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène*, pp. 168-71 edited this table of contents. Oehler's Greek edition of the *Ambigua* contains no numbered divisions. The system used by Polycarp Sherwood is different from Eriugena's, although he occasionally relies on it, because he begins with the *Ambigua ad Thomam*, which Eriugena did not know. Thus Eriugena's *Ambiguum* 17 corresponds to Sherwood's *Ambiguum* 21. See Sherwood, *The Earlier Ambigua*, pp. 30-33 and *An Annotated Date-List*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ R. Flambard prepared a preliminary edition for his thesis, now in manuscript form in Paris, Archives Nationales AB XXVIII¹⁰⁰. See Flambard, 'Jean Scot Érigène, traducteur de Maxime le Confesseur' in *École nationale des Chartes. Positions des thèses ... de 1936*, pp. 43-47. Because of his premature and unfortunate death this work remains incomplete and unpublished. See A. Vernet, 'Raymond et Anne-Marie Flambard', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 106 (1945-46) 164-65.

É. Jeaneau has announced his intention of editing Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua*. See E.-R. Labande and B. Leplant, *Répertoire international des médiévistes* (Poitiers, 1971), p. 387 and *Speculum* 50 (1975) 182.

siquidem est motiua et insitae secundum spiritum uitae continuatiua, simul atque *actiua* et ipsius secundum animam circa diuinum *motionis roboratiua*.

Et quod est *aqua in mundo sensibili*, hoc est *temperantia in mundo intellectuali*: habitudo subsistens uitalis in spiritu fertilitatis effectrix et semper pullulantis *per desiderium* erga diuinum amatorii focus genitrix.

Et quod est in *sensibili mundo terra*, hoc est in *intellectuali mundo iustitia*: habitus secundum *speciem* omnium quae in existentibus sunt rationum genitiuus *subsistens*, et ipsius in spiritu iuxta quod aequum est unicuique uitalis *distributionis* dispertiuius, et proprii in bono secundum positionem fundamenti *immutabilis collocatio*.

Terrae itaque et iustitiae mystice rationem continet *euangelium* secundum Mattheum, quasi naturaliore sermonem faciens.

Aquae autem et temperantiae secundum Marcum, ueluti ex *Ioannis baptismate* et ab eo praedicatione *poenitentiae* secundum quam *temperantia* est constituta incipiens.

Aeris uero et fortitudinis illud secundum Lucam, tanquam *spatiosius et pluribus historiis* frequens.

Aetheris quoque atque prudentiae illud secundum Ioannem, omnium quippe *sublimissimum et symplam de Deo mystice fidem* introducens et notitiam.⁵¹

cuncta uiuentia uegetans et in quemcumque *actum promouentia roborat*.

Simili quippe modo quod gerit *aqua in mundo corporali*, iddem [sic] *temperantia in intellectuali*; nutrix quippe est bonorum efferensque copiam uirtutum, ac seruans fidem *per diuini amoris desiderium*.

Conformem quoque *terra gerit speciem mundi infimi, iustitiae speciei in intellectuali*, scilicet *subsistens atque immobilis collocatio recte distributionis*.

Dinoscitur namque per omnia similis Euangeliorum complexio spiritualis.

Euangelium itaque Mathei terrae ac iustitiae mysticam continet figuram, quoniam Christi hominis ceteris apertius demonstrat carnis substantiam.

Illud autem secundum Marcum *temperantiae et aquae speciem gerit*, cum ex *Iohannis baptismate penitentiam temperanter* indicit.

Illud quoque juxta Lucam *aeris et fortitudinis praefert similitudinem*, quoniam *spaciatim diffusum plurimisque est historiis roboratum*.

Illud uero secundum Ioannem ignifici *aetheris ac prudentiae*, quodque ceteris constat *sublimius formam signanter exprimit*, dum *simplicem Dei notitiam et fidem insinuans* introducit.

⁵¹ The texts of Maz. 561 and Ars. 237 are virtually the same for this passage, the only differences being orthographical in nature. Where Maz. 561 has *habitudō*, *Mattheum*, and *Ioannis*, Ars. 237 has *abitudo*, *Matheum*, and *Iohannis*. Eriugena's own orthography is also notable in one instance. He spells *euangelium* instead of the usual *euangelium* because in coming to the Greek language afresh in the ninth century he read *εὐαγγέλιον*. The two gammas (γγ), which in Greek have the sound of *ng*, he rendered in Latin as *gg*. Touches like these in the Latin

Immediately after this passage in the *Historiae* Glaber puts forward the idea that man is a microcosm,⁵² a notion that is crucial to his understanding of man's relationship to the quaternities because it provides the rationale for the comparison of the quaternity of the senses, which operates in the little world of man, to the other quaternities. This seemingly paradoxical reduction of the five senses to four was not a very common idea in the early Middle Ages,⁵³ yet it too is to be found in Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor shortly after the passage set out above. In the accounts of both Maximus and Glaber, sight and hearing serve understanding and reason, smell is attached to fortitude, taste to temperance, and touch to justice. The respective texts can again be compared.

Maximus the Confessor, *Ambigua*, trans. by Eriugena (Maz. 561, fols. 113v-114r; Ars. 237, fol. 106r-v) Raoul Glaber, *Historiae* (ed. Prou, 1.1.2, p. 4)

Verbi gratia prudentiam quidem ex ipsa per copulationem *intellectualis et rationalis* uirtutis ad *aspectiuum et auditiuum* sensum circa earum sensibilia gnostica et disciplinabili operatione.

Fortitudinem uero ex ipsa per copulationem irascibilis ad *olfactum*, id est narem in qua furibundus ut aiunt possidet spiritus circa connaturale sensibile summa secundum operationem facilitate.

Visus quippe et *auditus*, qui *intellectum et rationem* ministrant, superiori conueniunt aetheri, quod constat subtilius in elementis, quodque quantum ceteris sublimius, eo honestius ac lucidius.

Subsequitur uero *olfactus*, qui aeris et *fortitudinis* significantiam sorte exprimit.

translations of Eriugena attest, in part, to the fashionableness of Greek at the court of Charles the Bald.

⁵² *Historiae* 1.1.2, p. 4: 'Nam et illius uitae substantiam Greci philosophi microcosmum, id est paruum mundum, dixerunt.' In the *Novum glossarium mediae latinitatis ab anno DCCC usque ad annum MCC: M-N*, ed. Franz Blatt (Copenhagen, 1959-1969), col. 469-470, Glaber is the only one listed who uses this particular expression employing *substantia* and *paruus mundus* together. Yet in the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* 8.28.2, ed. B. Rehm (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte 51; Berlin, 1965), p. 233, one encounters: 'id est ad hominis substantiam, qui est alius in paruo mundus. ...' A copy of this work would appear to have been available at Cluny in vol. 24 of the twelfth-century list. See Delisle, *Inventaire*, p. 339 and Le Michel's confirmation, printed in Jeaneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 708.

The literature on man as a microcosm is vast, but see Rudolf Allers, 'Microcosmos from Anaximandros to Paracelsus', *Traditio* 2 (1944) 319-407; M.-T. d'Alverny, 'L'homme comme symbole. Le microcosme', *Simboli e simbologia nell'alto medioevo* 1 (Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 23; Spoleto, 1976), pp. 123-83; G. P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy* (New York, 1922); F. Rico, *El pequeño mundo del hombre. Varía fortuna de una idea en las letras españolas* (Madrid, 1970).

⁵³ See, however, Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* 3.4, ed. J. Zycha (CSEL 28; Prague, 1894), pp. 66-67. This correspondence of elements to the senses is different from Glaber's and rejected by Augustine.

Temperantiam quoque ex ipso per copulationem ipsius quae secundum concupiscentiam est uirtutis ad *gustatiuum* sensum circa proprium sensibile temperato usu.

Iustitiam deinde ex ipsa in totis per *tactiuam* et circa tota fere sensibilia uitalem uirtutem secundum operationem aequali et bene ordinata et compacta uirtute.

Gustus namque conuenienter aquae et *temperantiae* parem portendit significantiam.

Tactus ergo, qui omnium constat infimus, ceterisque solidius ac stabilius terrae ac *iustitiae* congruentissime prefert indicium.

It should be noted that Glaber has added the elements, an idea which is suggested in Maximus, but not specifically drawn out.⁵⁴ At this point the similarities between the two texts begin to disappear. Maximus proceeds to reduce the four virtues to two, wisdom and meekness, and finally to one, charity. Glaber turns to the scheme of the quaternities based on the four rivers of Paradise, which seems to derive from Ambrose's *De paradiso*. But in Glaber's introduction to the second scheme we find one last textual affinity between the two: the *Ambigua*, in Eriugena's translation, says that '*...Deus occultatur silentio praedicatus, pulcherrimum ...*', and the *Historiae* that '*pulcherrime silenterque praedicatur Deus. ...*'⁵⁵ Indeed the very title for Glaber's chapter, the 'De diuina quaternitate', may be discovered in Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua*, for, after the comparison of the four elements and four virtues to the Gospels, we read, 'Otherwise they say that the symbol of the holy Gospels is a quaternity (*quaternitatem*) of faith, action, and natural and theological philosophy.'⁵⁶ It was this very division of philosophy into four species which prompted Eriugena to speak of the four senses of Scripture in his homily.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Ambigua*, Maz. 561, fols. 112v-113r; Ars. 237, fol. 105v: 'Et iterum sicut sensibilis mundus elementis est constitutus secundum naturam quinque sensuum, succumbens eis ad sui comprehensionem ducens, sic et ipse secundum intellectum mundus uirtutum animae succumbens potentiis disponit eas ad spiritum uniformes operans, circa ipsum solum eas mouendo et ipsius receptionibus circunligando, et eos quoque sensus corporis secundum sibi discretam diuiniorum rationem instituias esse quidam dicunt animae potentiarum, dum eas silenter instituant ad operationem receptionibus per seipsas earum quae in existentibus sunt rationum per quas uelut per litteras quasdam acute aspicientibus ad ueritatem Deus Verbum legitur.' Perhaps it should be noted here that Eriugena has *sensus* (masculine) as the subject of *instituias esse* (feminine) because he sometimes translated the Greek words, retaining their gender as he came to them, without making the necessary agreement in Latin. For the Greek in this case, see PG 91. 1248A13-15.

⁵⁵ *Ambigua*, Maz. 561, fol. 113v; Ars. 237, fol. 106r. *Historiae* 1.1.3, p. 4.

⁵⁶ Maz. 561, fol. 112v; Ars. 237, fol. 105r: 'Aiunt autem et aliter symbolum esse sanctorum euangeliorum quaternitatem fidei et actionis et naturalis et theologicae philosophiae.'

⁵⁷ See n. 36 above.

Pure chance alone, it would seem, cannot explain this coincidence of words between Raoul Glaber's *Historiae* and Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor. About 45% of Glaber's vocabulary in the main columnar comparison (97 out of 216 words) corresponds to Eriugena's Latin translation. Moreover, the order of presentation is consistent in Glaber's text, even when Maximus presents the comparison of the elements to the Gospels (earth, water, air, and ether) in the reverse of the order used to compare them to the virtues (ether, air, water, and earth). Also the reduction of the five senses to four and their correspondence to the virtues, as already mentioned, is a highly unusual feature to be found in both sources. Perhaps greatest importance, though, should be attached to the presence in both texts of the word *quaternitas*. This word was used relatively infrequently in the early Middle Ages. In a Christological context it often referred to the addition of the human nature of Christ to the Trinity as a fourth, and thus was something to be rejected.⁵⁸ Much rarer are the cases, such as Glaber's, where the word *quaternitas* was used to describe other fourfold phenomena. Bede employed it once in exegesis to explain a numerical reference and Arnold of St. Emmeram referred to the solidity of its sides, when thinking of the four Gospels.⁵⁹ Eriugena, who used the word in his translation of the *Ambigua*, seems, despite his fondness for the number four,⁶⁰ to have employed it only this one time. It is

⁵⁸ See, for example, Jerome, *Tractatus in Marci Euangelium* 11, 1-10, ed. G. Morin (CCL 78; Turnhout, 1958), p. 487; Augustine, *Epistulae* 140, ed. A. Goldbacher (CSEL 44.3; Leipzig, 1904), p. 164; *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur Collectio*, ed. O. Guenther (CSEL 35.1; Prague, 1895), pp. 184, 190, 196, 198, 200, 204, and 216; Faustus of Riez, *De spiritu sancto* 2.4, ed. A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 21; Prague, 1891), p. 139; Boethius, *Contra Eutychen*, ed. and trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester, in *The Theological Tractates* (The Loeb Classical Library; London-Cambridge, Mass., 1973), p. 118; the Sixth Council of Toledo in 638 (PL 84.395A4-8) and *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni*, ed. P. Hinschius (Leipzig, 1863), p. 376B; Hincmar, *Vita Remigii episcopi Remensis*, ed. B. Krusch (MGH *Scriptorum rerum Merovingicarum* 3; Hanover, 1896), p. 276.

⁵⁹ Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis* 2.14 (PL 93.178A3-6) and Arnold of St. Emmeram, *De miraculis et memoria beati Emmerammi* 2 (PL 141.1066A8-B5).

⁶⁰ In the *Periphyseon* (PL 122), for instance, one finds *quaternarum* at 526C5, *quaternarius* at 654A15-B1 and B14, *quaternario* at 654C10, *quaternaria* at 781D6, *quadriformem* at 640B3 and 1019A2, *quadripertitam* at 690A8 and, of course, many uses of *quattuor*. Extended use of the number four may be found in the *De diuina praedestinatione* 1.2, ed. G. Madec (Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis 50; Turnhout, 1978), p. 6; *Periphyseon* 1, ed. I.P. Sheldon-Williams (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 7; Dublin, 1968), p. 36 (also PL 122.441B-442A) and *Periphyseon* 4 (PL 122.816A14-B6 and 822B-C10). Prudentius of Troyes, at the time of the predestination controversy, protested against Eriugena's use of the number four: see *De praedestinatione contra J. Scotum* (PL 115.1352A15-C1). For some further Eriugenian uses of the number four, see B. Bischoff and É. Jeauneau, 'Ein neuer Text aus der Gedankenwelt des Johannes Scottus' in *Jean Scot Érigène et l'histoire de la philosophie*, p. 114 n. 2.

Other passages in the *Ambigua* are concerned with the meaning of numbers, but nowhere

extremely likely, then, that Eriugena's translation of Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua* was not only the source for the first scheme of Glaber's 'De diuina quaternitate', but also for his knowledge of the very word *quaternitas*.

The *Ambigua* was not, it seems, very well known in the Middle Ages⁶¹ and this passage was not in any recognizable form in the work of Eriugena himself. Yet at both Saint-Bénigne of Dijon and Cluny, Raoul Glaber could probably have known a manuscript containing the text of the *Ambigua* in Latin. Of the two manuscripts which Glaber might have used, Arsenal 237, identified as the *Codex Cluniacensis*, would seem to be the more likely, given the nature of Glaber's introduction to the *Historiae*; he dedicated the work to the abbot of Cluny, Odilo, and it is generally believed that he was at Cluny when he began the *Historiae*.⁶² It should be pointed out that Glaber's dedication and introduction, which appear to link him to Cluny, precede and introduce the treatment of the quaternities. Glaber's work on the theme of the quaternities would therefore seem to coincide with his stay at Cluny. If indeed he did seek out the *Codex Cluniacensis*, as seems probable, this manuscript (Arsenal 237) can be placed at Cluny some 125 years earlier than previously believed, that is to say about 1030.⁶³

One wonders why Glaber did not specifically refer to Maximus as the source for his information about the quaternities. Instead he said that 'Therefore the Greek Fathers, catholic and no mean philosophers, gained renown in searching out and examining these things thoroughly for the first time.'⁶⁴ Perhaps part of the reason for this lack of attribution stems from Glaber's own sense of importance, for the *Historiae* acknowledges few sources. But the statement which Glaber encountered, in the translation of the *Ambigua*, that 'Otherwise they say that the symbol of the holy Gospels is a quaternity of faith, action, and natural and theological philosophy', may have suggested to him the collectivity of Greek patristic thought on the quaternities (*aiunt*) and its diffusion (*aliter*).

does *quaternitas* occur; see PG 91.1393B-1404D (Maz. 561, fols. 202v-209r; Ars. 237, fols. 175v-180v). Many of the marginal glosses are specifically concerned with the number four, but again lack *quaternitas*; see Maz. 561, fol. 101v left margin, Ars. 237, fol. 96r right margin; Maz. 561, fol. 105v left margin, Ars. 237, fol. 99r right margin-99v left margin; Maz. 561, fol. 64v left margin, Ars. 237, fol. 62r right margin. Also see Jauneau, 'Quisquilliae e Mazarinaeo codice 561 depromptae', 104, 118-28.

⁶¹ Apart from the three codices known in the seventeenth century, there were only some later medieval extracts from the *Ambigua* which survived the Middle Ages. See Sheldon-Williams, 'A Bibliography of the Works of Johannes Scottus Eriugena', 204.

⁶² See nn. 7 and 8 above.

⁶³ The earliest previous date was, of course, 1158, the earliest date for the composition of Hugh III's book list.

⁶⁴ *Historiae* 1.1.2, p. 2.

The same statement may have also encouraged Glaber to see these Greek Fathers as *catholici non mediocriter philosophi*, since they studied the symbol of theological philosophy. Others had referred to Maximus in similar terms.⁶⁵ It is also possible, however, that Raoul Glaber was not entirely sure about the nature or authorship of the unusual work he was reading.⁶⁶ The *Ambigua*, as Glaber would have found it, was the translation of an explanation of the thought of several thinkers, the chief of whom was Gregory of Nazianzus, and occasionally the Pseudo-Dionysius. The Latin translation was prefaced by a dedicatory letter of John Scottus Eriugena to Charles the Bald⁶⁷ and the dedication of Maximus the Confessor to John, archbishop of Cyzicus. Compounding such confusing features is an anomaly in this presentation in Arsenal 237, the manuscript most likely used by Glaber. There the scribe began to copy out Maximus' dedication first, but when he realized his error he left fol. 1r unfinished and added some other material. At fol. 2r he began with Eriugena's letter.⁶⁸ But despite this particular confusion and the general complexity of the *Ambigua* as a work, Raoul Glaber knew, at the very least, that the source he was consulting was by a Greek Father.

Glaber was not a simple copyist. He approached the text of the *Ambigua* in a complex fashion, as part reader and part writer. His introduction to the quaternities, at the end of his own introduction to the *Historiae*, by way of the four-cornered world is his own insertion and a departure from the *Ambigua*. Having gone through the text of Eriugena's translation at least far enough to encounter the word *quaternitas*, Glaber began his own account. He vaguely attributed the idea to the Greek Fathers and set out the basis for the scheme. At this stage of his account Glaber was probably fashioning his statements out of a memory of what he had just read. This explains why he has two different sets of the quaternity of the senses: the first shows that he remembered that there was a quaternity of the senses, but is his own arrangement; the second, when he came again to the passage in the *Ambigua*, reflects a direct reading. This initial section, before the direct comparisons begin, also indicates that Glaber had absorbed part of the Eriugenian vocabulary used in the translation. His schematization of the *presens mundus infimus* and *mundus futurus supernus*,

⁶⁵ Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 1, ed. Sheldon-Williams, p. 52 (also PL 122.449A9-10): 'Maximum monachum, diuinum philosophum ...', and Pope Nicholas I, in a letter of 865 sent to the Byzantine Emperor Michael III, ed. E. Perels (MGH *Epistolarum* 6; Berlin, 1925), p. 486: 'Maximus, uenerabilis monachus, et illo in tempore apud uos pene solus catholicus.'

⁶⁶ Some Cluniac monks of the seventeenth century, for instance, believed that the *Ambigua* was a collection of sermons by Maximus; see Jeaneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 718.

⁶⁷ See PL 122.1193C2-96C6 and PG 91.1061-62, as edited by Gale. The letter was also edited by E. Dümmmler (MGH *Epistolarum* 6. 161-62).

⁶⁸ See Jeaneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 720.

along with his later use of the *mundus intellectualis*, have their place in Eriugena's use of *hic mundus*, *futurus mundus*, and *mundus intellectualis*.⁶⁹

But at the point where the direct comparisons of elements and virtues begins, as set out in the columns above, Glaber began to work more closely with the translated text of the *Ambigua*. The structured presentation of Maximus, captured in the Latin prose of Eriugena, elicited a standardized response from Glaber. In each of the comparisons, Glaber adopted a large part of the introductory sentence in which the sharpest correspondence is made. Here he felt compelled to change only the filler words: *ut aiunt*, *hoc est*, and *et quod est* become *igitur*, *illud quoque*, *id ipsum*, *simili quippe modo*, *iddem*, and *conformem quoque*. Glaber also substituted *in mundo corporali* and *speciem mundi infimi* for Eriugena's constant use of *in mundo sensibili*. Moreover he felt free to leave out words like *mundo* and *in mundo intellectuali* which would be understood in context. The word order of Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* was also freely altered by Glaber.

In the explanations, however, which accompany each of the comparisons, Glaber radically simplified. There is a marked tendency though, on his part, to retain or adapt the words with which Eriugena completed his explanations. The effect then is of Glaber not only shaping the given text, but working within its framework. Glaber, for instance, says that prudence is like ether 'in lifting itself upward and panting desirously to be around God' (*desideranter esse circa Deum*), whereas the Latin version of the *Ambigua* says that prudence is like ether in being a condition that illuminates and reveals the spiritual reasons of existing things and so points out the simple cause of them, thus 'attracting the desire of the soul to be around God' (*animae desiderium circa Deum*).⁷⁰ The reasoning is similar, but is more detailed and subtle in the translation of the *Ambigua*. In addition, phrases such as *circa Deum*, which are very characteristic of Eriugena's approach to Maximus and have a highly specific meaning,⁷¹ cannot have been fully comprehended by Glaber. Seldom, however,

⁶⁹ See the columnar passages above, with the exception of *futurus mundus* which occurs immediately preceding the passage in both MSS.

⁷⁰ See the first columnar comparison in the text above.

⁷¹ Maximus, *Ambigua* (PG 91.1112D7) and Eriugena, *Periphyseon* 2 (ed. Sheldon-Williams, p. 100) both speak of a *motus circa Deum* by which they mean that the 'animus semper circa Deum uoluitur. ...' See Eriugena, *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean* 4.5, p. 304 lines 27-28, and also *Periphyseon* 2, ed. Sheldon-Williams, p. 110 (PL 122.574C1-13). See also Jeaneau, in *Commentaire sur l'évangile de Jean*, pp. 305-306 n. 4. Perhaps it should also be pointed out that Glaber was dependent on a process of transmission from Maximus to Eriugena which has its own special set of problems. In the columnar passage above in the text, Eriugena wrote *sympalam sic*; at PG 91.1245B6 one finds *ἀπλανῶς*, but instead of reading *ΑΠΛΑΝΩC*, Eriugena read *ΑΠΛΑΝ* as *sympalam* and *ΩC* as *sic*. Remember also that Glaber would have encountered the

does Glaber depart too far from the main idea of the *Ambigua*, in its translated form, except that where it explains the comparison of the Gospel of Matthew to earth and justice by 'making, as it were, a more natural discourse', Glaber felt it necessary to elaborate that it was so 'since it demonstrates more openly than the others the substance of flesh, of Christ as man.' At some points Glaber may even have misinterpreted what he was reading. He says, for example, that the Gospel of Mark is like water and temperance because 'it proclaims (*indicit*) penitence moderately from the baptism of John.' Yet Maximus intended to say, as it stands in the translation Glaber encountered, that the Gospel of Mark 'begins (*incipiens*) from the baptism of John and the preaching of penitence', which is a simple statement about the material with which the Gospel of Mark commences. Another point at which we can see Glaber at work on the *Ambigua* is in the first of the senses to be compared to the elements. There, in plucking out the main words which link sight and hearing to the element of ether, he left out the virtue of prudence,⁷² even though the *Ambigua* and each of Glaber's other senses possesses its correspondent virtue. Somehow Glaber, in his effort to reshape this sentence, overlooked the word *prudentia*.

In the overall comparison of the senses to the virtues, another stage of Glaber's response to the Latin version of the *Ambigua* is reached. Here he read the relevant passage of the *Ambigua*, but merely exploited the main idea without bothering to mine Eriugena's prose for either structure or vocabulary. When Glaber had reached the end of the comparison of the Gospels to the virtues and elements, he encountered another set of four in Maximus. But this quaternity of the species of philosophy did not greatly appeal to him and so he read on to the point where the senses and virtues were compared. Furthermore, to complement his other worlds, the *mundus sensibilis*, *mundus intellectualis*, and *supernus mundus*, Glaber also introduced the *parvus mundus* of man. In Maximus' treatment there were at least five groupings of four and then a general reduction of the virtues from four to two, to one. Glaber took the scheme in hand and reduced the groups of four to four. In the process, he adapted, shortened, and simplified the Latin prose of Eriugena. Whereas Maximus was primarily interested in setting out the virtues, Glaber's main concern seems to have been with the quality of fourness.

A certain importance should be attached to Raoul Glaber's reading of Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor. The idea of the number four may have been common at Cluny,⁷³ but the *Ambigua* was a

unusual form *euangelium* (see n. 51 above) and unusual grammatical situations (see n. 55 above). É. Jeuneau kindly pointed out many of these peculiarities to me.

⁷² See the second columnar comparison in the text above.

⁷³ See, for instance, Odo, *Occupatio* 6, ed. A. Swoboda (Leipzig, 1900), pp. 123-24, lines 145-

very uncommon source indeed. Aside from Eriugena's extensive use of his thought, Maximus the Confessor's work was little known in the early Middle Ages. While two of his works, the *Ambigua* and the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, were available in Latin, in translations by Eriugena, few manuscripts of these survive.⁷⁴ Yet a wide range of influence has been ascribed to Maximus by scholars.⁷⁵ J.-M. Déchanet, for instance, believed that William of St. Thierry was influenced in the twelfth century by Maximus.⁷⁶ Robert E. McNally even speculated, in connection with Irish treatments of the number four, that portions of the *Ambigua* had circulated in a patristic collectaneum or oral tradition in the early Middle Ages.⁷⁷ But, in actual fact, here in Glaber's *Historiae* we have hard evidence of a clear and relatively early reading of Maximus in the West. Déchanet further posited that, while the Cistercians had turned an appreciative eye to the thought of the Greek Fathers, the *orientale lumen*, at the end of the eleventh century, the Cluniacs had resisted it.⁷⁸ Yet in Raoul Glaber, a Cluniac monk of the eleventh century, we see just the opposite. Not only did Glaber praise the Greek Fathers as orthodox and thoughtful, indeed as great philosophers, but he actually read one of them. Furthermore, the characterization of Cluny as a whole being antipathetic to the *orientale lumen* seems generally unfair. In the *Occupatio* of Abbot Odo, for instance,

165; Odilo, *Sermo VII* (PL 142.1010C1-14); Jotsald, *De uita et uirtutibus Odilonis abbatis* (PL 142.897A-909A10 but especially 901A16-B3). Glaber himself added an exposition on the fourfold nature of the cross to *Historiae* 1.5.23-24, pp. 21-23. On Cluny's artistic interest in the number four, see Joan Evans, *Cluniac Art*, pp. 110-19 and *Art in Mediaeval France, 987-1498* (London, 1948), pp. 44-46. On Cluny's political and social interest in the number four, see Duby, *Les trois ordres*, pp. 236-51.

⁷⁴ For the *Ambigua*, see n. 62 above; for the *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, see the discovery made by Paul Meyvaert, 'The Exegetical Treatises of Peter the Deacon and Eriugena's Latin Rendering of the *Ad Thalassium* of Maximus the Confessor', *Sacris erudiri* 14 (1963) 130-48. Most of the work done has been on the nature and influence of Eriugena's translation of the Pseudo-Dionysius. See G. Théry, 'Scot Érigène, traducteur de Denys', *Bulletin du Cange* 6 (1931) 185-278; R. Roques, 'Traduction ou interprétation? Brèves remarques sur Jean Scot, traducteur de Denys' in *The Mind of Eriugena*, ed. J. J. O'Meara and L. Bieler (Dublin, 1973), pp. 59-76. Much less work has been done on the nature and influence of Eriugena's translations of Maximus the Confessor, but see J. Dräseke, *Johannes Scotus Erigena und dessen Gewährsmänner in seinem Werke De Divisione Naturae Libri V* (Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche 9.2; Leipzig, 1902; rpt. Aalen, 1972), pp. 27-64.

⁷⁵ See, for instance, E. Gilson, 'Maxime. Érigène. S. Bernard' in *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters* 1, ed. A. Lang, J. Lechner, and M. Schmaus (Münster, 1935), pp. 188-95; M.-D. Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, 3rd edition (Paris, 1976), pp. 278-80, 290.

⁷⁶ See *Aux sources de la spiritualité de Guillaume de Saint-Thierry* (Bruges, 1940), p. 73 and *William of St. Thierry: The Man and His Work*, trans. R. Strachan (Spencer, Mass., 1972), p. 155. In neither case does Déchanet provide a demonstration.

⁷⁷ See 'The Evangelists in the Hiberno-Latin Tradition', 113-14.

⁷⁸ *Aux sources de la spiritualité*, pp. 60-79. See also Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, pp. 289-308.

there is a frequent, if sometimes irritating, use of words derived from Greek.⁷⁹ A tradition at Cluny relates that one of the monastery's abbots, Majol, had fallen asleep one night while reading the *Celestial Hierarchy* of the Pseudo-Dionysius.⁸⁰ Odilo, to whom the *Historiae* was dedicated, had an interest in Gregory of Nazianzus' sermon 'De luminibus quod est de secundis epiphaniis', which he knew in a translation by Rufinus.⁸¹ Glaber himself may have consulted the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones*, also translated by Rufinus, for some of his information on man as a *paruus mundus*.⁸² In very little of this can Déchanet's contention about a Cluniac prejudice towards the *orientale lumen* be seen. Cluniac monks, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, may not have been reading Greek Fathers in the original Greek, but they were not adverse to reading them in Latin when they could. Raoul Glaber's reading of Maximus the Confessor, as translated by Eriugena, is the most remarkable of these instances.

But despite the importance of Glaber's reading of the *Ambigua*, it should not be assumed that Glaber was a careful reader of the entire *Ambigua*. It is, after all, a long and difficult work. What probably attracted his attention to the relevant portion of the *Ambigua* was the extended discussion of the number four to be found there. Both surviving manuscripts, Mazarine 561 at fol. 111v and Arsenal 237 at fol. 104v, have a Chrismon in the left margin at precisely the point where the comparison of the four elements to the four virtues begins. Often a scribe would place this sign in a margin to call the attention of readers to a particularly interesting passage. Yet there is one aspect of Glaber's thought which may reflect a deeper reading of Maximus. Glaber speaks of God's essence as immobile⁸³ and his goodness as *inmobilitate mobilis et mobilitate immobilis*.⁸⁴ This unity of opposites, of God as rest in motion and motion at rest, is to be found frequently in the *Ambigua* and the glosses which dot its

⁷⁹ See, for instance, *Occupatio* 1, p. 3, lines 16-20. Odo seems here to reflect Heric of Auxerre's *Vita sancti Germani*, ed. L. Traube (MGH *Poetae latini aevi carolini* 3; Berlin, 1896), pp. 432-517, but especially pp. 432-36.

⁸⁰ See Odilo, *De uita beati Maioli abbatis* (PL 142.955B12-956A1).

⁸¹ See Odilo's reference at PL 142.995C11 and the source in Rufinus' translation, *Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni novem interpretatio*, ed. A. Engelbrecht (CSEL 36.1; Vienna, 1910), p. 109. On the textual history of these sermons, see P. A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur in der lateinischen Kirche bis zum zwölften Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1949), pp. 82-85. The book list of the twelfth century at Cluny records several codices which may have contained this sermon. See Delisle, *Inventaire* 65. 341, 66. 341, and 183. 348. Jotsald also claimed, in the *De uita et uirtutibus* 1.14 (PL 142.909B13-14), that Odilo was 'in Scripturis utriusque linguae, Graecae uidelicet et Latinae, facundissimus. ...' This was often a hagiographical commonplace, however; see M. Coens, 'Utriusque linguae peritus: en marge d'un prologue de Thierry de Saint-Trond', *Analecta Bollandiana* 76 (1958) 118-50.

⁸² See n. 52 above.

⁸³ *Historiae* 3.8.28, p. 77.

⁸⁴ *Historiae* 1.5.25, p. 24.

margins.⁸⁵ God, according to the Eriugenian version of the *Ambigua*, is 'still in his motion and, what is truly remarkable, moving in his stillness' and furthermore 'it should be properly said that God is neither moved, nor does he entirely rest.'⁸⁶ Eriugena, of course, was fascinated by this paradox which he employed frequently. He denied that God was either at rest or in motion,⁸⁷ but rather was both 'motion at rest and rest in motion.'⁸⁸ It is interesting to note that it is precisely this passage from the *Periphyseon*, proposing an etymology of the name of God, which was utilized by Aldebald of Cluny, around the year 1000, in his slight revision of Syrus' *Vita sancti Majoli*.⁸⁹ While a copy of the *Periphyseon*, according to the book list of the twelfth century, was available at Cluny,⁹⁰ Aldebald drew his material directly from a manuscript of Heric of Auxerre's *Vita sancti Germani* which possessed glosses composed of extracts from the *Periphyseon*.⁹¹ Aldebald concludes the prose portion of the prologue of his second book of the *Vita sancti Majoli* with the statement, adapted from Eriugena, that 'All things are made, of course, by the motion of God, since he is

⁸⁵ The idea may be found in the Eriugenian version of the *Ambigua* at Maz. 561, fol. 103r. Ars. 237, fol. 97v; Maz. 561, fol. 71r, Ars. 237, fol. 68r; and Maz. 561, fol. 174v, Ars. 237, fol. 153v. The notion had a long neo-Platonic tradition; see S. Gersh, *KINHΣΙΣ AKINHΤΟΣ: A Study of Spiritual Motion in the Philosophy of Proclus* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 103-17 and *From Iamblichus to Eriugena: An Investigation of the Prehistory and Evolution of the Pseudo-Dionysian Tradition* (Leiden, 1978), pp. 243-51. It should not be forgotten that a similar idea, taken from the *Parmenides*, is found in Boethius, *Philosophiae consolatio* 3.12.37, ed. L. Bieler (CCL 94.1; Turnhout, 1957), p. 62: 'rerum orbem mobilem rotat dum se immobilem ipsa conseruat'.

⁸⁶ *Ambigua*, Maz. 561, fol. 101r, Ars. 237, fol. 95v: 'In motu statum et in statu quod est ualde mirabile motum ...' and Maz. 561, fol. 96v, Ars. 237, fol. 91v: 'proprie dicendum Deus neque mouetur omnino neque stat.'

⁸⁷ *Periphyseon* 1, ed. Sheldon-Williams, p. 62 (PL 122.453A10-11).

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 60 (PL 122.452C12-13).

⁸⁹ See *Acta sanctorum, Maii* 2 (Paris, 1866), p. 672. This is virtually identical to *Periphyseon* 1, ed. Sheldon-Williams, p. 60 (PL 122.452B-D). On Aldebald and his work, see W. Schultze, 'Ueber die Biographien des Majolus', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 24 (1884; rpt. 1968) 155-72; Ernst Sackur, 'Noch einmal die Biographien des Majolus', *Neues Archiv* 12 (1887) 505-16; L. Traube, 'Abermals die Biographien des Majolus', *Neues Archiv* 17 (1892) 402-407; especially B. de Vregille, 'Le copiste Audebaud de Cluny et la Bible de l'Abbé Guillaume de Dijon' in *L'homme devant Dieu: mélanges offerts au Père Henri de Lubac* 2 (Paris, 1964), pp. 7-15 and trans. in *Clunian Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. N. Hunt (London, 1971), pp. 85-97.

⁹⁰ See Delisle, *Inventaire* 455. 366 and Jeaneau, 'La bibliothèque de Cluny', 707 and nn. 14 and 15.

⁹¹ See *Vita sancti Germani*, p. 433 and the gloss in the notes. Traube, 'Abermals die Biographien des Majolus', 406, originally made the connection between Aldebald and the *Vita*. It seems likely then that the copy of the *Vita* which Aldebald knew had glosses similar to those in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 13757, from which Traube made his edition. In the twelfth-century list of Cluny's library holdings there are at least three copies of the *Vita sancti Germani*; see Delisle, *Inventaire* 316. 356, 426. 364, and 459. 366.

motion, and likewise he is stillness and motion at rest.'⁹² When Glaber, in similar language, speaks of God as *immobiliter mobilis et mobiliter immobilis* he may be reflecting his own reading of the *Ambigua* and, at the same time, be confirming an idea current at Cluny, which had come by a more complex route from Maximus, Eriugena, Heric of Auxerre, and the glossarist of the *Vita sancti Germani* to Aldebold.

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The fact that Raoul Glaber read at least a small portion of Eriugena's translation of the *Ambigua* of Maximus the Confessor is interesting in a number of ways. Glaber himself is a figure about whom we know so little that any concrete contact with his time and his way of thinking is revealing, and until now scholars have had relatively few examples of his use of sources.⁹³ But the complex fashion in which he approached the Latin version of the *Ambigua*, and the same seems to hold true for his use of Ambrose's *De paradiso*, may suggest why more of these sources have not been detected. Not only does Glaber seem to have had a propensity for choosing an unusual source, but once chosen he shaped it to his own highly individualized end. In the case of the 'De diuina quaternitate', he made the thought of two Fathers, one Latin, one Greek, into a distinctive scheme for comparing fourfold features of the world in which he lived. Along the way he has also furnished us with yet another example of John Scottus Eriugena's considerable influence on the subsequent Middle Ages and, in this instance, through an Eriugenian translation which was not widely known to medieval thinkers. By all accounts this reading of Maximus the Confessor must be considered rare; that it comes from the much maligned Raoul Glaber may only serve to increase our sense of surprise.⁹⁴

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⁹² See n. 90 above.

⁹³ See, for instance, the complex question of Glaber's dependence on sources raised by Sackur, 'Studien über Rodulfus Glaber', 408-409 and L. Musset, 'Raoul Glaber et la balaine: les sources d'un racontar du XI^e siècle', *Revue du moyen âge latin* 4 (1948) 167-72.

⁹⁴ When this article was already in proof, John France's 'The Divine Quaternity of Rodulfus Glaber', *Studia monastica* 17 (1975) 283-94 came to my attention. France should be counted among those scholars who have gone looking for Glaber's sources. While he notes Glaber's dependence on Ambrose, he was unable to find the first scheme. The text of the *Ambigua* explains the contradictions which France found in Glaber's presentation and will, I hope, put to rest the search for his sources.

ANGLO-NORMAN BIDDING PRAYERS FROM RAMSEY ABBEY

K. V. Sinclair

THE ancient general prayers of the Church, known as the *Oratio fidelium*¹ or Prayer of the Faithful, survived the Dark Ages and, as J.-B. Molin and G. Oury have demonstrated,² assumed several forms in medieval times. In France they are called 'Prières du prône',³ in England 'Bidding Prayers',⁴ both terms being of high antiquity. In an earlier study⁵ the attention of scholars was drawn to their use for the solace and comfort of the sick in the Hospital of the Knights of Saint John of Jerusalem at Acre. The present study attempts to attribute a new version of the prayers to monks of the Benedictine Order, and thereby to throw light on devotional practices pertaining in a great English monastery in the thirteenth century.

In medieval parish *ritualia*, *manualia* and *missalia* the orison may be headed *preces dominicales* or *preces in dominicis dicende*, rubrics which emphasise its place in the Sunday mass at the parish church. With the hortatory words *Oremus* or *Deprecemur* the celebrant invites the worshippers to pray with him for peace in the land, for the state of the Church, for its prelates and clergy, for the lords temporal of the kingdom, for the Holy Land, for pilgrims, for toilers on land and at sea, for the fruits of the earth, for local benefactors and for the departed.

¹ Cf. H. Leclercq, 'Prône' in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq (Paris, 1948), 14/2.1898-1902.

² 'L'*Oratio fidelium*: ses survivances', *Ephemerides liturgicae* 73 (1959) 310-17. See also Guy Oury, 'Les survivances de l'*Oratio fidelium* au XII^e siècle (Honorius d'Autun)', *Revue grégorienne* 40 (1962) 142-48.

³ Some medieval French versions are edited and discussed by J.-B. Molin, 'Les prières du prône à Provins au XIV^e siècle', *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'arrondissement de Provins* 114 (1960) 57-59 and 116 (1962) 45-54. Some are also listed by J. Sonet, *Répertoire d'incipit de prières en ancien français* (Geneva, 1956), nos. 246, 781, 1267, 1268, 1711; and in K. V. Sinclair, *Prières en ancien français* (Hamden, Conn., 1978), nos. 246, 781, 1267, 1711.

⁴ Cf. H. O. Coxe, *Forms of Bidding Prayer* (Oxford, 1840), pp. xv-xliv; T. F. Simmons, *The Lay Folks Mass-Book* (EETS OS 71; London, 1879), pp. 315-20.

⁵ *Mediaeval Studies* 40 (1978) 484-88.

The language for the prayer was often prescribed as *lingua materna*; one therefore finds it recited in German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, English and so on, according to the location of the parish. The earliest known vernacular text of the orison in England is Anglo-Saxon, dating from the eleventh century and pre-Conquest.⁶ Middle English versions survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.⁷ For the intervening two and a half centuries when Anglo-Norman was commonly spoken, no copy has been recorded.⁸ It was therefore an unexpected pleasure to discover one recently in the course of research into expressions of lay piety in the Middle Ages.⁹

The Anglo-Norman text occurs among memoranda copied in the first four folios of Cambridge, University Library MS. Hh.6.11,¹⁰ and bearing no relation textually to the Latin didactic treatises in the rest of the codex.¹¹ The memoranda concern the Benedictine monastery of Ramsey, and one on fol. 2r even states that the volume was given to the community by their brother librarian, one R(adulphus) de Olneya.¹² Other notes refer to random happenings at Ramsey in the years 1266-80. The prayer has been transcribed on fol. 3r.¹³

⁶ Copied, first half of the eleventh century, on fol. 161v of the York Minster's Gospel-book. I derive this dating from N. R. Ker's description in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 468-69, no. 402, item iii, e. To the bibliographical notes supplied for the text one may add the edition in Simmons, *Mass-Book*, p. 62.

⁷ Cf. Simmons, *Mass-Book*, pp. 64-65 (text c. 1405); Coxe, *Forms*, pp. 11-25 (1349), pp. 29-40 (1483), pp. 40-50 (1509).

⁸ There is no entry for the Bidding Prayers in the standard bibliography for Anglo-Norman: J. Vising, *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* (London, 1923), currently under total revision by Emerita Professor Ruth J. Dean. I recorded nothing for the orison in my critical bibliography 'Anglo-Norman: The Last Twenty Years', *Australian Journal of French Studies* 2 (1965-66) 113-55, 225-78. M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (Oxford, 1964) does not mention the set of petitions.

⁹ Some 1500 unnoticed texts are the subject of my *French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages* (Westport, Conn., 1979).

¹⁰ It gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, E. B. Ceade! Esq. M.A., and to his staff in the Manuscript Room who accorded me every facility to examine the manuscript and to transcribe relevant sections of it.

¹¹ A detailed account of all the contents is printed in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 7 vols. (Cambridge, 1856-67), 3.305-309.

¹² This Cambridge MS. is listed as a survivor from the abbey's library in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd edition (London, 1964), p. 153.

¹³ The Cambridge *Catalogue*, p. 306, fails to point out that immediately following the Bidding Prayers on fol. 3r is an unrubricated form of absolution in Anglo-Norman, inc. 'Benedicite. Dominus. ke dities: esteez sus. Deu nus doint isi parler ke sauveté soit a nos almes e al confusion de l'enemi....' It ends on fol. 3v. I am preparing a paper on its place in the vernacular devotional tradition.

Internal evidence in the orison itself will help to confirm its Ramsey origins:¹⁴

1. Prium por la pes de seinte Eglise et por la pes de la tere: ke Deus, por le honur de sei memis,¹⁵ la meintage!
2. Et por l'apostoye¹⁶ de Rome: ke Jhesu Crist li doint sa grace bien gouverner seinte Eglyse!
3. Et por la Terre seinte: ke Deu la delivere de la paene gent et mette la seynte crestienté!
4. Por le roi et la reine e lur enfauns: ke Deu prodeshumes les face a l'honor de sei memis et de la terre!
5. Et por le erscewesche de Cant', le ewesche de Nichole et tuz les prelaz de seinte Eglise: ke Deu lur doint bien gouverner ceos ke il unt a gouverner, a l'honor Deu et a sauveté de lur suggés!
6. E por nos memis: ke Deu nos doint vereie charité et dileccioun entre nos, et nos doint sa grace ke nos pusun tel servise fere par quei nos pusun nos almes sauver, et nos defent de mal e de peché et de tuz encumbres!
7. Et por la mesun de ceins, de Burc, de Wirecestre, de la Houme¹⁷ et por tutes les autres mesuns ke a nus sunt aliez par familiarité: ke Deu les avaunce et garde en bien e en honur, et les defent de damage et de perte e de tuz maus en nos jurs!
8. Por nos parens e nos amis ke en ço secle sunt: ke Deu lur doint sa grace bone vie mener e bone fin fere quant li plera!
9. Por les malades dedeins e dehors: ke Deu par sa misericorde tele saunté lur doint ke mester soit al cors e as almes!
10. Et por le alme le cunte Ailwine, le ewesche Eylriz, le roi Henri, le roi R(ichard), le roi J(ehan), e tuz les bienfeturs de ceins, et tuz nos freres de ceins ke sunt parti de ço secle; et por les almes nos peres e nos meres, nos freres e nos soers, nos parens e nos amis, et por tut le poeple Deu vif e mort: ke Deu doint vivis prosperitatem et pacem, defunctis vitam et requiem sempiternam per misericordiam suam! Amen!

The first element that strikes one who is familiar with the wording of Bidding Prayers in Continental French is the concision of many of the Anglo-Norman

¹⁴ The text is printed in accordance with standard editorial practice for medieval French works, i.e., cedilla on soft *c*; acute accent only for final stressed *e*; *v* is distinguished from *u*, and *j* from *i*. I am responsible for the numbering and sectional divisions, believing they will assist the reader to appreciate better the extent and content of each petition.

¹⁵ An unusual graphy for the word *memes*, but one that occurs repeatedly in this copy. The minim before *s* is stroked, that is, carries a superscript diagonal trait sloping right. The same trait can be seen on the minim of *i* when it is in proximity to *m*, *n* or *v* in such forms as *amis*, *doint*, *vie*.

¹⁶ MS. la apostoye.

¹⁷ The Cambridge *Catalogue*, p. 306, erroneously states: 'The local petition is, "Pour la mesun de teins (*sic*) de Burc de wirecestre de la houme".'

petitions; they contrast noticeably with the conflated forms found, say, in the Provins and Amiens versions.¹⁸ The order of the exhortations on the other hand is quite traditional and almost identical with the pattern outlined above: for peace in the Church and over the land, for the pope, for the Holy Land, for the monarch and his family, for prelates, for the worshippers themselves, for sinners, for brethren in other houses, for relatives and friends, for the sick, for founders and benefactors, and, lastly, for the souls of the deceased. One notes the absence of petitions for pilgrims, for toilers on land and at sea, and for the fruits of the earth, which occur in many of the parochial versions. We find instead emphasis on matters of concern to a coenobium: other communities or houses (*mesuns*) joined to it in a common bond of religious experience (*aliez par familiarité*); 'our need' of God's *vera caritas et dilectio*; the names of benefactors, whom we shall presently identify as abbatial and not parochial; and the reference to 'all our brethren of this community' (*de ceins*).

The passages that point to Ramsey as the location for this version of the Bidding Prayers are in the fifth, seventh and tenth petitions. After the words *mesun de ceins* come the place-names of Burg (modern Peterborough), Worcester and Hulme in Norfolk (also known as Holme St. Benet's, St. Benet of Hulme or St. Benet at Holm).¹⁹ All three towns had important Benedictine houses.²⁰ Mention of the archbishop of Canterbury recalls the primacy of that See. The words *ewesche de Nichole*²¹ refer to the bishop of Lincoln, *Nichole* being an Anglo-Norman form of the Latin *Nicholia*, an alternate name for *Lincolnia*. Ramsey Abbey stood within the boundaries of the medieval diocese of Lincoln.

The names of Earl Ailwin and Bishop Aetheric in the tenth petition concerning benefactors would be among the most revered for the worshippers. The former was the fourth son of Aethelstan, half-king, and founder of Ramsey Abbey c. 969. The circumstances surrounding the foundation are well documented and require no rehearsal. In his lifetime Ailwin also made considerable benefactions that enabled the community to stabilize and

¹⁸ The two Provins texts were printed by Molin in the articles cited in n. 3 above. A defective edition of the Amiens version can be read in *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements* (Octavo Series) 19 (Paris, 1893), pp. 84-88.

¹⁹ In 1186 one Radulphus, prior of Ramsey, was made abbot of Hulme; cf. *Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray (RS 83; London, 1886), p. 341. Henceforth we refer to this edition as *Chron*.

²⁰ Cf. D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edition (London, 1971), pp. 73, 75, 81.

²¹ One recalls that in the rubric of the Anglo-Norman version of Robert Grosseteste's treatise on husbandry, the bishop is called 'le bon evesque de Nichole'; see S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 158.

consolidate quickly its precarious position on an island in the Fens.²² Succeeding occupants of the abbey never forgot him. About 1230 a statue of him was placed in a niche of the gatehouse facade²³ to keep his memory alive for the visitor. Abbot William of Godmanchester (1267-85) had a monumental brass made for the earl's tomb in the conventual church.²⁴ Ailwin was selected by illustrators for three appearances in the miniatures that adorn the abbey's psalter, dated between 1303 and 1316 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS. M.302 and St. Paul in Carinthia, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 25/2, 19).²⁵

Bishop Aetheric (*alias* Ethelric, Etheric, Helric) was also distinguished, but for other reasons. He was a monk at Ramsey before occupying the See of Dorchester²⁶ from 1016 to 1034. He made generous benefactions to his former spiritual home.²⁷ Furthermore, he is known to hagiographers on account of his association with St. Felix, first bishop of East Anglia,²⁸ whose relics he caused to be transferred from the royal manor of Soham to Ramsey in 1027.²⁹ In fact, so highly respected by the monks was Aetheric that, on his death, his remains were interred beside their high altar.³⁰

It is difficult to determine how munificent Henry I, Richard I and John were in their benefactions, since the records preserve only charters³¹ as mute testimony of their concern for the monks' liberties, rights, privileges and endowments. These manifestations of royal support were doubtless as valued in their way as were the tangible and visible gifts of funds or property from lesser mortals.

The naming of benefactors, while a common feature of all Bidding Prayers, needs also to be seen for what it was at Ramsey: another of the many ways the

²² Details of the foundation and of benefactions by Ailwin can be read in *Chron.*, pp. 11-13, 29-45, 52-55 and in the *Cartularium monasterii de Rameseia*, ed. W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons (RS 79; London, 1884-93), 2.52-56, 3.165, 170. This will be referred to henceforth as *Cart.*

²³ Cf. Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, no. 34: *Bedfordshire and the County of Huntingdon and Peterborough* (Harmondsworth, 1968), pl. 28.

²⁴ *Chron.*, p. 348 and note.

²⁵ Discussed and reproduced by Lucy M. Sandler, 'The Historical Miniatures of the Fourteenth-Century Ramsey Psalter', *The Burlington Magazine* 111 (1969) 605-11. The matter subsequently became part of her major study *The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and Other Fenland Manuscripts* (London, 1974), p. 42 (fig. 75), p. 43 (fig. 79), and pp. 117-18.

²⁶ The See was transferred by Bishop Remigius to Lincoln in 1072; cf. F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edition (London, 1961), p. 219.

²⁷ *Chron.*, pp. 128-29, 146; *Cart.* 1.267, 270 and 3.173.

²⁸ Cf. Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, p. 222.

²⁹ *Chron.*, pp. 127-28; *Cart.* 3.174.

³⁰ *Chron.*, pp. 147, 339; *Cart.* 3.173, 177.

³¹ For Henry I, see *Chron.*, pp. 214-32, 276-84 and the Index in *Cart.* 3.440; for Richard I: *Chron.*, p. 299 and *Cart.* 1.83-85, 115, 124, 2.64, 85; for John: *Chron.*, p. 323 and *Cart.* 1.80-84, 2.62, 64, 86, 89, 297, 3.53, 92, 96.

monks paid tribute to their patrons. For instance, the title given to the abbey's Annals betrays the keen sense of indebtedness to them by the community: *Liber benefactorum ecclesiae ramesiensis*.³² The calendar prefixed to the early fourteenth-century psalter of the abbey shows 15 May to be the *Anniversarium benefactorum nostrorum*.³³ The special prayer for psalter users, copied before the *Beatus* folio, is furnished with a miniature depicting past royal and ecclesiastical patrons and with a legend that reads *Benefactorum anime nostrorum requiescant in pace*.³⁴ The common days for benefactors at the abbey were also occasions for solace to the poor.³⁵

It seems highly likely that the Bidding Prayers were copied into the Cambridge manuscript by one of the brethren when it was in the Ramsey library. The copyist employed a Gothic book hand, with variations. We find an archaic long-stemmed *r* in such forms as *lur*, *honur*, *sauver*, *servise* and *autres*. Distinctive court hand elements are a *d* with flourished ascender and a final *s* with the appearance of a capital *B*. All three traits can also be found in the scripts used for the memoranda on nearby folios, where the court hand is consistently used. Our scribe was equally at home with the elegant book hand for theological texts as he was with the court hand for routine abbey official documents. His transcription of the prayer is undated, but on paleographical grounds one could venture the opinion that it was made in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. This view would be in accord with the range of dates given by different hands to the memoranda: fol. 1v – a 1280 request from Archbishop Peckham to the convent to summon a general chapter, a 1271 letter by abbots and presidents at Evesham and Winchcomb to the abbot of Ramsey, a 1276 note on the purchase of the manor of Barnwell, and another for the same year recording Christmas Day as the inauguration of the new refectory; fol. 2v (opposite the Bidding Prayers) – a 1266 minute on the destruction of Ramsey town by conflagration as an incident in the barons' war.³⁶

Another element for dating could be, naturally, the text of the orison itself, but what looks at first to be an attractive *terminus ad quem* may be unreliable. We refer to the exhortation to pray for the deliverance of the Holy Land: 'ke Deu la delivere de la paene gent et mette la seynte crestienté' may seem to be alluding to a post-1291 situation, that is, to the aftermath of the fall of Acre. Yet, the assumption is unwarranted. A similar petition occurs in the Continental

³² Edition in *Chron.*, pp. 1-200.

³³ Sandler, *Peterborough Psalter*, p. 165.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 43 (fig. 80).

³⁵ *Chron.*, p. 392.

³⁶ The text is in *Chron.*, p. xlvi n.

French version, recited in the decade 1270-80 at the Hospital in Amiens:³⁷ '... si prions pour la sainte Tere d'outremer, que Diex le reнге es mains des crestiens...' while Christians still held sway in the Holy Land.

The prayer for the Royal Family (*por le roi et la reine e lur enfauns*³⁸) also needs to be given a temporal setting. Although unnamed, two kings in the thirteenth century suggest themselves.³⁹ Henry III wed Eleanor of Provence in 1236 and their first child (the future Edward I) was born in 1239; the second, Margaret, in 1240; the third, Beatrice, in 1242; a fourth child, Edmund (Crouchback), in 1245; and then another girl, Katherine, in 1253. Whereas Katherine died aged four, the others were still alive in 1256. If we take the word *enfauns* at its face value to mean prepubescent children, we could not fairly argue for more than eleven or twelve years for the king's offspring. This would place Edward in the year 1252, Margaret in 1253 and Edmund in 1258. Such a line of reasoning suggests that the orison was composed in the early fifties. However, were this so, it would antedate the transcription by a generation and lead us to suppose that the scribe was reproducing an earlier text – not an impossible situation, by any means. But there is still the reign of Edward I to explore before we conclude.

The Seventh Crusade (1248-54), mounted by Louis IX, had little impact on England. It was the next crusade that saw the country and its leaders involved and committed to throwing out Saracens, usurpers and paynims from the Holy Land. In the sixties, Bibars, the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, began to win victory after victory against Mongols and Christians alike from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates. Clement IV and his legates had little difficulty in persuading Christian princes that it was time for deeds, not words. In 1268 Henry III's sons, the lord Edward and the lord Edmund, took the cross at Northampton, and the king himself expressed every intention of setting out at the head of the

³⁷ See n. 18 above for the edition.

³⁸ Other evidence of the Benedictine Order's devotion to the Royal Family can be found in the Statutes of the General Chapter held at Southwark in 1249: '... primo die capituli celebretur una missa de Sancto Spiritu, pro Romano pontifice et curia Romana, pro rege Anglie et regina et eorum heredibus.... Statutum est insuper ut in singulis monasteriis singulis diebus in missa beate Marie virginis, pro domino rege et regina et eorum liberis fiat memoria specialis....' In those for the General Chapter at Reading in 1277 and confirmed the following year, we read 'In missa cotidiana beate virginis semper pro papa, rege et prelati ordinis dicatur una oratio specialis...'; and again in the fragmentary proceedings of the Abingdon General Chapter of 1279 '... super consuetis precibus declaratur quod pro papa, rege, regina et liberis eorum...'; see W. A. Pantin, *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1540* 1 (Camden Third Series 45: London, 1931), pp. 43 and 45, 99, 103, respectively.

³⁹ As the names of the members of the Royal Family under consideration are not in dispute, we rely on the information supplied by Powicke and Fryde, *Handbook*, pp. 34-35.

English forces. He ordered commissioners in 1269 to devise a new tax structure to pay for the expedition. It was decided that a twentieth in aid of the Holy Land was 'to be paid on the evaluation of all personal property'.⁴⁰ The crusade becomes a matter of concern for all, and it is tempting to think that the wording of the third petition of the Bidding Prayers reflects this new climate. Edward is absent from the kingdom for six years, from 1268 to 1274, during which time (1272) his father dies. If we now consider the Royal Family in terms of the orison, we find Edward as king from 1272, his queen is Eleanor of Castile, and their children living are Eleanor born 1264, Henry 1267, Isabel c. 1269, Joan 1272 and Alfonso 1273. Even without taking into account the birthdays and ages of later progeny, we find by the years 1272-74 that there are three infants, a boy aged 5-7 and his sister aged 8-10. It therefore seems more likely that the statements on the Royal Family and the Holy Land fit the circumstances of the period 1272-74 than those of the fifties.

Our last comment is reserved for the language in which the prayer was recited. Clearly, English had not yet totally eclipsed Anglo-Norman in this area of the Fens. There is even a hagiography thought by some scholars to have been composed in the same dialect at Ramsey in the thirteenth century; we refer to the anonymous rhymed *Passiun seint Edmund*. Its author is known to have drawn heavily on the Latin *Passio*, itself compiled in the last quarter of the tenth century by Abbo of Fleury, at the request of the monks of Ramsey.⁴¹ Anglo-Norman is still employed for writs⁴² originating at the abbey in the years 1330, 1339 and 1345.

Benedictines in other abbeys and priories composed much in Anglo-Norman and made considerable contributions to literature, as M. Dominica Legge showed in her study *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*.⁴³ The language was also spoken at select abbeys to explain the *Regula* to novices and untrained brethren. The revised Statutes of the General Chapter at Reading in 1277 prescribed that the *Regula* should be read daily in chapter and that a short account of it should follow: '... statutum est quod una leccio de regula nostra cotidie post martilogium (*sic*) legatur in capitulo, summatimque in vulgari seu gallico ab ipso qui tenet capitulum ... exponatur.'⁴⁴ Other telling evidence was

⁴⁰ We follow here the standard authority for the reign of Henry III: F. M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward: The Community of the Realm in the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1947), in particular, 2.551-96.

⁴¹ *Chron.*, p. 43; Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 245. The argument is not discussed, strangely enough, by Judith Grant who recently edited the text: see *La passiun de Seint Edmund* (ANTS 36; London, 1978), pp. 8-10, 50-51.

⁴² Edition respectively in *Cart.* 3.108 and 1.217-18, 77-79.

⁴³ (Edinburgh, 1950), pp. 6-51, 111-14.

⁴⁴ Pantin, *Documents*, p. 95.

adduced by Professor Legge from the Customary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, dating from c. 1266, and in which we find the words '... sed Gallice jugiter, sicut in capitulo, ab omnibus et a singulis in clauastro est loquendum'. Professor Legge also observes: 'What is, perhaps, even more interesting is that French formulae are given, to be used *ut moris est*, rather than the Latin ones, when request was made for admission to the monastery, and later for profession or consecration to higher orders.'⁴⁵

All things considered, the Anglo-Norman Bidding Prayers of Ramsey Abbey have some claim to distinction: they are *sui generis* among Anglo-Norman religious texts; they are one of the earliest datable French versions to survive; they are the only ones to come to light so far that can be attested in use by Benedictine monks. Finally, these particular petitions allow us in unexpected ways to penetrate into the very heart of the life and the devotional practices in a great Fenland abbey some seven centuries ago.

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⁴⁵ This and other passages are fully discussed, with bibliographical references, by Professor Legge in the course of her paper 'The French Language and the English Cloister' in *Medieval Studies Presented to Rose Graham* (London, 1950), pp. 149-50.

LIVRES MÉDICAUX ET ÉDUCATION MÉDICALE: À PROPOS D'UN CONTRAT DE MARSEILLE EN 1316

Joseph Shatzmiller

Si la profession médicale s'est propagée, au cours du bas moyen-âge, attirant d'une génération à l'autre des centaines de jeunes gens, ce fut en grande partie (abstraction faite de motifs d'ordre humanitaire et de prestige) en raison des profits financiers qu'elle leur assurait. Enracinée de plus en plus dans la société, la profession médicale visait au ^{xiv}^e siècle un champ social assez étendu, incluant aussi bien les habitants de la ville que les paysans des villages voisins. Les médecins, pour leur part, ne semblaient pas être tourmentés par de pieux scrupules concernant la légitimité – ou plutôt la moralité – d'une rémunération. Aussi bien exigent-ils des honoraires pour leurs soins: plusieurs d'entre eux n'embrassaient cette profession que pour les bénéfices qu'elle rapportait. Ainsi du moins le leur reprochaient quelques Juifs, critiques moralistes de ce temps-là.¹ Léon Joseph de Carcassonne, médecin juif de la fin du ^{xiv}^e siècle, qui traduisit en hébreu des ouvrages médicaux, nous décrit cette situation avec beaucoup d'amertume dans l'introduction d'un de ses travaux. Cet état de choses, d'après lui, était une des causes du déclin de la profession médicale juive que l'on constatait à cette époque.²

Durant cette période même – le témoignage étant toujours celui de Léon Joseph de Carcassonne – l'université de Montpellier interdisait aux médecins juifs tout accès aux livres médicaux latins écrits par ses professeurs. Pour citer notre auteur dans son langage propre: 'Les érudits du Mont(pellier) menaçaient d'excommunier et d'exiler celui qui les vendraient (les livres) à un non-chrétien.' Afin de se procurer ces ouvrages, qu'il a ensuite traduits, Léon Joseph

¹ Comme exemples de 'critiques moralistes', on peut citer Kalonymos ben Kalonymos d'Arles (1286 - après 1328) et Léon Joseph de Carcassonne à la fin du ^{xiv}^e siècle. Voir le livre de Kalonymos, *Even Boḥan* (héb.), éd. A. M. Haberman (Tel Aviv, 1956), pp. 44-48. Au sujet de Léon Joseph de Carcassonne, voir la note suivante.

² Son long témoignage, très important, fait partie de l'introduction précédant sa traduction, en 1394, de l'une des œuvres de Gérard de Solo. Le texte fut publié par E. Renan dans *Les écrivains juifs français du ^{xiv}^e siècle* (*L'histoire littéraire de la France* 31; Paris, 1893), pp. 771-75. Pour les renseignements concernant le boycottage de l'université de Montpellier, voir p. 774.

dut guetter l'occasion propice pendant des années, soit à Montpellier, soit à Avignon. Une fois que ces livres si précieux étaient repérés, il fallait investir une grosse somme pour les obtenir.

La tension religieuse entre médecins juifs et médecins chrétiens vers la fin du xiv^e siècle permet évidemment d'expliquer où se situait la cause directe du boycottage à Montpellier. On ne peut, cependant, déduire de là que, outre ces contradictions religieuses, d'autres difficultés étaient inexistantes: loin de là. Un contrat à Marseille, de l'hiver 1316, nous montre quels étaient les obstacles que devait surmonter un médecin juif de l'époque qui désirait se procurer la copie d'un livre médical dont il avait besoin. Il s'avère notamment que même les Juifs entre eux exigeaient un prix pour l'autorisation de reproduire l'exemplaire du manuscrit d'un livre médical. Avec la 'commercialisation' de la profession, l'information médicale elle aussi était devenue une marchandise. C'est ce contrat, rédigé le 10 février 1316 chez le notaire Bernard Blancard (et conservé aujourd'hui dans les Archives municipales de la ville de Marseille)³ à l'occasion du transfert d'un livre médical d'une main à une autre, qui retiendra notre attention dans les lignes qui suivent.

'Mossonus, Juif, citoyen marseillais, fils de feu Maître Abraham, Juif, médecin (*medicus, fisicus*)', – c'est en ces termes que le propriétaire du livre (manuscrit) médical nous est présenté dans notre contrat de 1316. Il est donc clair qu'il n'appartient pas lui-même à la profession médicale, profession que pratiquait son père. L'autre partie du contrat, en revanche, est médecin et fils de médecin: 'Bonifilius Iudeus medicus, filius magistri Bonastrugi medici Iudei condam habitator Avinionis'. C'est pratiquement tout ce que l'on apprend sur sa personnalité d'après notre document. En effet, aucun de ces trois médecins n'est connu par ailleurs dans l'histoire de la médecine juive, du moins pas par ces noms-là. Ils seraient trois parmi des dizaines, des centaines même, qui ont pratiqué la médecine dans les grandes et petites villes de Provence à cette époque. Pour ce qui était de leur formation, ils ne l'ont pas acquise dans les universités, dont l'accès leur était encore interdit. Ils ont suivi un enseignement privé, une sorte d'apprentissage, pendant plusieurs années, auprès d'un médecin agrégé qu'ils payaient.⁴ À la fin de leurs études, ils passaient des examens

³ Archives de la ville de Marseille, Notaires II 35, ff. 81v-82r. L'historien Édouard Baratier mentionne ce document dans deux de ses travaux: *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* 2 (Paris, 1954), p. 89 n. 2, et plus tard dans *Histoire de Marseille* (Toulouse, 1973), p. 113; cependant il n'a pas identifié le livre. Voir aussi Philippe Mabilly, *Les villes de Marseille au Moyen Âge* ([Marseille.] 1905), p. 151.

⁴ Voir Kalonymos, *Even Boḥan*, p. 45: 'On dit qu'il était apprenti pendant quatorze ans dans la maison de Éver le Giléadite, chef des médecins de Giléad. De ses paroles il soutient le cœur des

officiels auprès d'un comité du gouvernement municipal ou du comtat. S'ils réussissaient, ils recevaient le permis de pratiquer la médecine (*licentia practicandi*), les qualifiant de *medicus* ou *fiscus*, et étaient reconnus sous le titre de *magister*. S'ils pratiquaient la médecine sans permis, ils étaient sujets à de fortes amendes.⁵

Déjà, dès le début du XIII^e siècle, il y avait à la disposition de ces futurs médecins juifs une bibliothèque médicale très riche, composée entièrement de travaux traduits en hébreu. Cet effort monumental de traduction commença au XII^e siècle et continua tout au long des deux siècles suivants. Ces livres étaient indispensables pour la pratique médicale et l'éducation de centaines de candidats. Les livres de sciences, traduits d'abord de l'arabe et ensuite du latin, constituaient, en d'autres termes, un instrument d'importance capitale pour ces médecins juifs et la formation de leurs élèves.⁶

Voilà ce qu'on lit à propos de l'ouvrage qui constitue l'essentiel de notre contrat de Marseille du 9 février 1316: '... quendam librum (meum) medicine vocatum zaaram'. Apparemment, il s'agit de la traduction hébraïque du *Kitab al-Tasrif* du médecin espagnol du XII^e siècle, Abul-Qasim Khalaf al Zahrawi. En hébreu, le livre s'appelle *séfér ha-Shimoush*, mais les médecins juifs du XIII^e et du XIV^e siècles s'y référaient en tant que *séfér ha-Zahrawi* ou simplement *ha-Zahrawi*.⁷ C'était un livre d'importance aux yeux des intellectuels juifs de ce

hommes. Il a beaucoup appris de ses maîtres et acquis une sagesse supérieure....' Un peu plus loin dans ce passage, le médecin s'adresse ainsi à la famille d'un patient: '... et maintenant donnez-moi mes cinquante pièces d'argent ... de même que j'ai payé (pour devenir médecin) vous aussi (devez me payer) ... ce n'est pas pour rien que mon maître m'a instruit. Donnez-moi un premier versement, puis le reste lorsqu'il récupérera sa santé.' Voir aussi A. Crémieux, 'Les Juifs de Marseille au moyen âge', *Revue des études juives* 46 (1903) 43, où sont mentionnés deux contrats entre Juifs (datés de 1326 et de 1443) concernant l'enseignement de la médecine à Marseille. Ces deux contrats ont été publiés par L. Barthélémy: *Les médecins à Marseille avant et pendant le moyen-âge* (Marseille, 1883), pp. 13-14, 31-32.

⁵ Cecil Roth, 'The Qualifications of Jewish Physicians in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 28 (1953) 834-43. À titre d'exemple concernant les amendes infligées aux médecins juifs pratiquant leur métier sans permis, voir Leopoldo Piles Ros, 'Notas sobre judios de Aragón y Navarra (Ejercicio de la medicina. Fiscalización de recaudaciones)', *Sefarad* 10 (1950) 176-81.

⁶ La référence la plus importante pour ce chapitre de l'histoire culturelle des Juifs du moyen-âge est toujours le livre classique de Moritz Steinschneider: *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher* (Berlin, 1893). Voir l'article récent de David Romano: 'La transmission des sciences arabes par les Juifs en Languedoc', *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 12 (1977) 363-86.

⁷ Voir Steinschneider, *ibid.*, pp. 740-48. Une description détaillée du livre et notamment les titres de ses trente chapitres se trouvent dans le catalogue d'A. Neubauer: *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* 1 (Oxford, 1886), pp. 723-24 (nos 2118-2119). À propos du nom 'Livre de Zahrawi' (*Sefer ha-Zahrawi*), voir le n° 2118 de ce catalogue. Dans le n° 2120 (p. 724) on lit: 'Souviens-toi que tout le Zahrawi n'a que trente articles'. Édouard Barattier, cité ci-dessus en note 3, a déchiffré le nom du livre en tant que 'Zaaram' – un déchiffrement

temps. Shem Tob ben Yossef Falaquera (c. 1225-95), dans son livre encyclopédique *ha-Mévakesh*, le recommande comme livre de base pour l'étude de la médecine, à côté des œuvres d'Hippocrate, de Galien, de Razi et d'Avicenne. D'après lui, 'les dires de Al-Zahrawi sont bons (à retenir) et faciles (à apprendre)'.⁸ Emmanuel de Rome (c. 1261 - après 1328), son jeune contemporain, défie un rival anonyme, selon lui un ignorant, en lui demandant: 'As-tu étudié le Zahrawi?'⁹

Le livre a été traduit en hébreu, entre les années 1254 et 1258, par Shem Tob ben Isaac de Tortose (1196-après 1264). Notons immédiatement que la traduction a été effectuée justement dans la ville de Marseille, là où habitait Shem Tob. Dans l'introduction à sa traduction, Shem Tob raconte d'ailleurs un incident survenu à un médecin juif en mars 1261 (l'année où il a révisé sa traduction). Ce médecin avait traité un patient à l'aide d'un remède qu'il avait négligé d'examiner. Le malade mourut et le médecin prit la fuite, au grand péril de toute la communauté juive de Marseille.¹⁰

Notre contrat de 1316 ne concerne pas l'achat ou la vente du livre: j'ai mentionné plus haut que le livre 'passe d'une main à une autre'; maintenant je peux définir l'affaire de façon plus précise. Mossonus dit: 'loco et ex causa locationis concedo ... ad exemplandum et transscribendum'. Le livre est loué pour la durée d'un an, l'espace de temps nécessaire pour en reproduire une copie. En outre, le propriétaire du livre conservera des droits non seulement sur l'original mais aussi sur sa future copie. On constate l'importance de l'opération en question aux conditions imposées par le prêteur. Voyons d'abord le prix: la location du livre et le droit de le recopier coûtent vingt florins en or. Comparons ce prix-là (quelques seize livres en monnaie provençale de l'époque) à celui que rapportent d'autres volumes de ce temps dans la même région: à Manosque en 1314, on vendait quatre fascicules du *Guémara* pour la somme de deux livres, c'est-à-dire le huitième du prix cité dans notre document.¹¹ D'après une référence d'Édouard Baratier, un volume médical d'Avicenne se vendait à

légitime. Étant donné la graphie latine du temps, on peut supposer que le copiste a confondu les lettres 'ui' avec 'm'.

⁸ Voir Shem Tob ben Yossef Falaquera, *Sefer ha-Mévakesh* (Amsterdam, 1772 (?), réimprimé à Jérusalem, 1970), p. 36.

⁹ Voir *The Cantos of Immanuel of Rome* (héb.), éd. Dov Jarden, 1 (Jérusalem, 1957), p. 155.

¹⁰ Sur la traduction de Shem Tob ben Isaac, voir Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, pp. 740-45 et aussi la note brève d'E. Renan dans *Les écrivains*, p. 592. Voir aussi les propos intéressants de S. C. Kook dans ses *Iyunim u-Mehkarim* (héb.) 2 (Jérusalem, 1963), pp. 262-65; l'introduction a été publiée entièrement par Süssman Müntner (voir ci-dessous, n. 16).

¹¹ Archives de Provence à Marseille (auparavant Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône) 56H1093, f. 80r: document daté du 28 février 1314.

Marseille en 1312 pour plus de douze livres.¹² Deux ans auparavant, un autre exemplaire du même livre ('quendam librum medicine vocatum Avicenni') fut vendu à Marseille pour 13 livres, 6 sous, 8 deniers.¹³ Vingt florins est donc un prix élevé, mais tout de même acceptable. Ce qui le rend un peu excessif est le fait qu'il concerne uniquement la location et le droit de reproduction.

Les stipulations imposées par le propriétaire semblent sévères sans doute, et dénotent que ce dernier voulait à tout prix limiter la propagation du livre et sa circulation. La première condition est que Bonfils d'Avignon copie le livre lui-même, et non qu'un autre le fasse pour lui. Deuxièmement: il n'en fera qu'une seule copie et cette copie ne doit être ni reproduite ni prêtée. Le livre ne sera à sa disposition que pour la durée d'un an, pas plus. La nouvelle copie ne doit passer que par les mains d'un minimum de personnes: Bonfils lui-même et son fils, ce dernier seulement à condition qu'il ait atteint l'âge de quinze ans à la mort de son père. La dernière condition, la plus étrange de toutes, prouve à quel point Mossonus veut réduire le nombre de personnes ayant accès au livre: si Bonfils meurt sans héritier, la copie doit être envoyée à Marseille et lui être confiée.

Si Bonfils se rend à toutes ces exigences, financières et autres, c'est que l'affaire lui convient malgré tout. Le livre, désormais en sa possession, lui donnera plus de connaissances médicales, donc plus d'autorité. La rareté du livre, le mystère du secret qui l'entoure, attribueront au médecin plus de prestige. À ce propos, le critique de la société de l'époque, Kalonymos ben Kalonymos d'Arles fait parler ainsi un médecin: 'Il dit: je possède un livre de médecine précieux et rare, ainsi que les œuvres d'Hippocrate, de Galien et de tant d'autres savants dont la science m'est bien connue. J'ai tout lu, j'ai tout compris, j'ai tout appris.'¹⁴ Kalonymos, c'est évident, s'exprime ici de manière bien ironique. Le médecin Bonfils, pour sa part, est prêt à dépenser beaucoup d'argent pour acquérir un tel livre, 'précieux et rare'.

Que doit-on penser d'un tel contrat? Les conditions n'en sont-elles pas draconiennes? Sont-elles véritablement typiques de l'époque? Il n'y a pas, à ma connaissance du moins, d'autres documents de ce genre en Provence, ce qui exclut presque toute tentative de proposer un jugement sur l'affaire. On peut supposer cependant que ce contrat représente une situation particulière, voire exceptionnelle. Bien que ce ne soit qu'une hypothèse très fragile, elle aura peut-être l'avantage de mettre en relief certaines caractéristiques de notre document.

Rappelons d'abord le fait que le 'Zahrawi' a été traduit à Marseille par le

¹² Baratier, *Histoire de Marseille*, p. 113, qui ne donne pas de référence précise sur l'origine du document.

¹³ Archives de Provence 381E20, f. 36r-v: document daté du 9 février 13(10).

¹⁴ Voir Kalonymos, *Even Boḥan*, p. 44.

médecin Shem Tob de Tortose. 'Tortuosiensis', c'est aussi le surnom d'un autre Juif de Marseille, Abraham, qui avait participé aux alentours de 1280 à la traduction en latin d'un chapitre de ce même livre médical. Ce fait fut déjà remarqué par les savants du siècle dernier, M. Steinschneider et A. Neubauer, qui ont considéré la possibilité (avancée surtout par Neubauer) selon laquelle cet Abraham ne serait autre que le fils du traducteur Shem Tob de Tortose.¹⁵ Pourtant, Shem Tob lui-même, dans l'introduction de son œuvre, affirme catégoriquement qu'il est un homme seul, 'sans postérité'.¹⁶ Il est cependant possible qu'il y ait eu des rapports de parenté d'un autre degré entre ces deux traducteurs du 'Zahrawi', Shem Tob de Tortose et Abraham 'Tortuosiensis'. Remarquons maintenant que le propriétaire du 'Zahrawi' à Marseille en 1316 s'appelait 'Mosse ... le fils de feu Maître Abraham, médecin' (un 'magister Abraham medicus' figure dans nos documents marseillais des années 1270).¹⁷ Il se pourrait donc qu'il soit de quelque façon lié au traducteur du livre qu'il possède et qu'il loue. Si son manuscrit du 'Zahrawi' constituait un bien familial, on comprendrait mieux pourquoi il exigerait non seulement que l'exemplaire original lui soit rendu, mais aussi, dans certaines circonstances, même sa copie. En termes modernes, on peut dire qu'il désire assurer les droits d'auteur de la traduction, voire même en profiter.

Cette hypothèse a au moins l'avantage de nous faire discerner un problème d'importance primordiale: l'aspect économique de cette vague de traductions en hébreu au bas moyen-âge. Ces traducteurs, travailleurs persévérants et idéalistes, n'avaient-ils pas droit à une rémunération pour leur peine? Lorsque

¹⁵ À propos du rôle d'Abraham dans cette traduction, nous ne possédons que l'information suivante: '... translatus a Simone Januensi, interprete Abrahamo judeo Tortuosiensi'. Cette information se répète dans l'introduction précédant la traduction en hébreu effectuée vers la fin du xiv^e siècle d'après cette version latine. Le traducteur, un médecin juif de Perpignan qui s'installa en Italie, Azarie fils de Joseph ibn Abba-Mari (appelé Bonafoux Bonfil Astruc), a complété la nouvelle traduction vers la fin de l'année 1429. Lui aussi était au courant du rôle d'Abraham, 'l'Hébreu de Tortose'. Voir A. Neubauer, 'Documents inédits. III: Bonafoux Bonfil Astruc de Perpignan', *Revue des études juives* 5 (1882) 41-46, notamment 43. De même, il a participé aux deux traductions (en 1282 ?) du *De plantis* attribué à Galien; voir Lynn Thorndike, 'The Pseudo-Galen, *De Plantis* (with Latin Text of Chapters on Stones and Those of Chemical Interest)', *Ambix* 11 (1963) 87-94.

¹⁶ Cette introduction fut publiée d'après le manuscrit héb. 80 de la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München par Süssman Müntner dans son article (en hébreu) 'R. Shem Tob fils d'Isaac de Tortose' sur la vie du médecin hébraïque et sa moralité dans *Sefer ha-Yovel la-Yarhon Sinai* (recueil en l'honneur de la revue *Sinai*) (Jérusalem, 1957), pp. 321-37. Pour les informations biographiques, voir p. 325: '(Aussi) est-ce mon intention de rendre cette traduction un souvenir permanent de moi, Shem Tob, "alors que je m'en vais sans postérité" [Gen 15:2]. Je commence à traduire au mois d'Eloul de l'an cinq mille et quatorze [août-septembre 1254] à l'âge de cinquante-huit ans.'

¹⁷ Archives de Provence 381E2. Dans un document du 2 avril 1278 il est désigné comme défunt.

ce même livre de Zahrawi fut traduit de l'arabe en langue catalane, le traducteur Jahuda, fils d'Astruc de Bonsenior, reçut de la cour d'Aragon en 1313 la somme de 1000 sous de Barcelone (soit 50 livres) en compensation de son effort, 'pro translato et redigendo de arabico in romanico'.¹⁸ Ce qui est vrai pour la langue vulgaire, est peut-être vrai aussi pour les traductions en hébreu. Évidemment il était impossible de trouver à cette époque un patron pour la langue hébraïque du niveau du roi d'Aragon. (Meshulam de Lunel semble jouer, au XII^e siècle, un rôle semblable pour son temps.¹⁹) Mais d'autres moyens existaient pour rémunérer ces traducteurs en hébreu. Des centaines de médecins juifs, qui ne connaissaient pas l'arabe et qui avaient grand besoin de ces traductions, étaient obligés de les payer, comme c'était le cas de Bonfils à Marseille en 1316. Si l'on parle donc d'un bien de rapport, pourquoi les traducteurs n'auraient-ils pu le léguer à leurs descendants?

APPENDICE

Marseille, le 9 février 1316 n.s. – Contrat notarial concernant la copie du livre de médecine 'Zahrawi': Mossonus, fils du médecin Abraham, Juif de Marseille, prête son exemplaire à recopier à un médecin d'Avignon, Bonfils, fils de Bonastruc. (Archives de la ville de Marseille, Notaires II 35, ff. 81v-82r).

Instrumentum Mosse Iudei filii magistri Habrae

In nomine domini amen. Anno Incarnationis eiusdem millesimo trecentesimo quintodecimo, Indictione quartadecima, quinto Idus februarii, circa primam. Noverint universi presentes pariter et futuri quod ego Mossonus Iudeus civis Massilie filius magistri Habrae Iudei medici fisici condam, bona fide et sine omni dolo et fraude, loco et ex causa locationis concedo tibi Bonifilio Iudeo medico, filio magistri Bonastrugi medici Iudei condam habitatori Avinionis, presenti conducenti et recipienti, quendam librum meum medicine vocatum zaaram ad exemplandum et transscribendum eundem a festo paschatis proximo futuro in unum annum, loquerio videlicet viginti florenorum auri quos tibi confiteor et in veritate recognosco me a te habuisse et recepisse integre in plena numeratione: Exceptioni dictorum viginti florenorum mihi a te non numeratorum et non traditorum et a me non habitorum et non receptorum ex causa predicta scienter renunciando, et omni exceptioni doli mali et in factum et conditioni indebiti sive causa quod non possim dicere veritatem rei aliter se habere quam in hoc publico instrumento continetur sub pactis et conditionibus infrascriptis inter me et te factis et habitis, stipulatione vallans videlicet, quod tu manu tua propria illum librum transscribes et non

¹⁸ Voir J. Cardoner Planas, 'Nuevos datos acerca de Jahuda Bonsenior', *Sefarad* 4 (1944) 287-93, notamment 291.

¹⁹ I. Twersky, 'Aspects of the Social and Cultural History of Provençal Jewry' dans H. H. Ben-Sasson et S. Ettinger, *Jewish Society through the Ages* (New York, 1971), pp. 185-207, publié aussi dans *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale* 11 (1968) 185-207.

alius, et quod de dicto libro non facies nec fieri facies nisi unum librum unicum, et a festo paschatis proximo futuro in unum annum dictum librum meum restitues in pace et sine contradictione. Item quod completo seu facto dicto tuo libro, illum alicui non tradas mutues seu loces pro transscribendo te vivente, verum post mortem tuam illum librum non dimites seu dabis nec dare possis alicui nisi dumtaxat filio tuo, qui tamen esset etatis quindecim annorum. Et si filium dicte etatis non haberes quod tu illum librum tuum michi aut meis reddere et restituere debeas et tenearis ex pacto inter me et te habito sine fraude. Promitens tibi dictum librum non auferre nisi, demum completo termino supradicto, obligans inde tibi omnia bona mea presentia et futura. Et versa vice ego predictus Bonus filius Iudeus bona fide locationem dicti libri in modum et formam predictos et sub pactis et conditionibus suprascriptis et declaratis recipiens, confiteor sollempniter et in veritate recognosco tibi dicto Mossono Iudeo presenti recipienti et interroganti me ab te habuisse et recepissee dictum librum vocatum zaaram ex causa predicta, renunciens inde exceptioni dicti libri qua <tenuis> (f. 82r) <a te> non traditi et a me non habiti et non recepti, ex causa locationis predictae, et quod non possum dicere vel allegare rei veritatem aliter se habere quam in hoc publico instrumento continetur. Quem quidem librum promito tibi per stipulationem sollempnem reddere et restituere in pace et sine contradictione a festo paschatis proximo futuro in unum annum, promitens etiam tibi stipulanti et recipienti predicta pacta conditiones et conventiones habita et habitos inter <nos> et quamlibet earum custodire servare et adimplere bona fide et sine fraude. Quod nisi facerem quod absit promito et convenio tibi per stipulationem dare et solvere pro pena et nomine pene ac interesse tuo prout de iure melius et utilius valere poterit ad utilitatem tuam viginti quinque libras regalium. Et si pro recuperando petendo vel exigendo libro tuo predicto, termino supradicto lapso, te vel alium tuo nomine aliquos sumptus vel expensas dampna disturbia vel interesse facere incurere aut sustinere deberet, omnes illos sumptus expensas dampna disturbia ac interesse reddere et restituere tibi et tuis promito, et de hiis tibi et tuis credere promito ex pacto simplici verbo tuo sine testibus et iuramento et omni alia probatione, supponens me et mea quantum ad omnia et singula supradicta complenda et observanda ex pacto iurisdictioni curie regie Massiliensis cum sciam me esse alterius iurisdictionis. Et pro predictis omnibus et singulis arrendendis complendis et contra non veniendis obligo tibi omnia bona mea et iura presentia et futura, renunciens inde fori privilegio induciis viginti dierum et quatuor mensium et omni demum alii dilationi exceptioni deffentioni et iuri quibus contra predicta vel aliquid predictorum venire possem aut etiam modo aliquo infringere vel revocare ita prout supra dictum est attendere complere et contra non facere vel venire, iuro super legem Mozaicam a me sponte corporaliter tactam.

Actum Massilie in domo Hugonis Aurioli in presentia et testimonio Bertrandi de Bucco domicelli, Isnardi de Corno tabernarii, Stephani de Andusia, Iacobi Mitama, civium et habitatorum Massilie, Testium, ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, et mei Bernardi Blancardi notarii publici Massilie comitatuumque Provincie et Forchalquerii qui requisitus et rogatus hanc publicam cartam scripsi.

Scriptum est instrumentum dicto Mossono.

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JOACHIM OF FIORE AS A LINK BETWEEN ST. BERNARD AND INNOCENT III ON THE FIGURAL SIGNIFICANCE OF MELCHISEDECH

Robert E. Lerner

IT is well known that appeal to the figure of Melchisedech, the biblical king and priest of Salem who appears first in Gen 14:18, was one of Pope Innocent III's favorite arguments in support of the royal dimension of papal authority. It has also been thought that it was one of his most original contributions to papal hierocratic theory.¹ No canonist had ever appealed to Melchisedech before Innocent, and twelfth-century theologians supposedly saw Melchisedech only as a prefiguration of the priestly, not kingly, office. Unnoticed evidence, however, shows that Melchisedech the papal monarch did not spring fully clothed with orb in hand from the brow of the Segni pope.

To review briefly what has already been known, there is no doubt that in the early Middle Ages the very opposite of the Innocentian position concerning Melchisedech was maintained. In the late fifth century Pope Gelasius I conceded that before the coming of Christ certain men like Melchisedech had acted as kings and priests.² In fact Satan had done so too, as had Satan's minions, the pagan emperors. But after the time of Christ, the one true King and Priest, there was a proper division of offices, interdependent though they might afterwards be. Melchisedech, however, might still have a prefigurative role, for if he did not foreshadow Christian priest-kings, he could be seen to foreshadow

¹ Kenneth Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views on Church and State: A Gloss to *Per venerabilem*' in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), pp. 49-67, especially pp. 56-57, and further literature cited p. 64 n. 32. See also Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*, 3rd edition (London, 1970), p. 26 n. 3. I wish to thank Professor R. A. Kieckhefer and Vita Maniscalco for helpful criticism.

² Gelasius I, *De anathematis vinculo* (PL 59.108-109). See the summaries of Gelasius' argument by Ullmann, *ibid.*, pp. 23-26, and Karl F. Morrison, *Tradition and Authority in the Western Church, 300-1140* (Princeton, 1969), p. 101. A useful brief review of the various uses made of the Melchisedech image by both ecclesiastical and royal publicists (I exclude the latter from consideration here) is Joseph Funkenstein, 'Malkizedek in der Staatslehre', *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie* 41 (1954) 32-36.

Christian priests. For this interpretation two scriptural texts could be adduced. One was Paul to the Hebrews, 5:6, that Christ was 'a priest forever after the order of Melchisedech' (see also Ps 110 [109]:4, Heb 5:10, 6:20, 7:11, 15 and 21). Insofar as Christ was the founder of the Christian priesthood, Melchisedech was therefore its earliest figural representative. The other scriptural passage was the report in Genesis that Melchisedech 'brought forth bread and wine' to Abraham. Clearly this offering foreshadowed the Eucharist and allowed Melchisedech to be considered ever since the time of St. Ambrose as 'auctor sacramentorum'. For both reasons medieval biblical exegetes from the fourth to the twelfth century and beyond considered Melchisedech to be the figural forerunner of Christ and all priests.³

If Melchisedech was figurally the earliest priest, could he not stand as well for the pope, the highest of priests? It might be thought that this conclusion would have been easy to draw, but apparently it was not drawn until the twelfth century. The first writer known to have applied the figure of Melchisedech specifically to the office of the papacy was St. Bernard. Perhaps the reason for this was that Bernard was one of the earliest theorists to conceive of the pope as 'vicar of Christ' instead of 'vicar of Peter': if the pope stood clearly in Christ's place, then undoubtedly he also belonged to Melchisedech's order, just as Christ did.⁴ Whatever the implicit reasoning, Bernard did say to Pope Eugenius III in the *De consideratione* – that enormously influential seedbed of subsequent papal doctrine – that 'in orders you are Melchisedech'.⁵ But the saint did not go any further: although he surely knew that Melchisedech had been a king as well as a priest, it was not his purpose to argue explicitly for papal monarchy.

In an important recent article Kenneth Pennington has stated that 'St. Bernard used Melchisedech to symbolize the pope's priestly office in *De consideratione* ... but Innocent was the first, so far as I know, to connect

³ On the medieval exegetical tradition, Gottfried Wuttke, *Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem: eine Studie zur Geschichte der Exegese* (Giessen, 1927), pp. 46-47, 58-59. Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views', 65 n. 46, cites the twelfth-century *glossa ordinaria* that distills this tradition in making Melchisedech superior to Aaron. The early fourteenth-century theologian and publicist, John of Paris, continued to espouse these views, thereby implicitly rejecting the Innocentian hierocratic position: see the translation by John A. Watt, *John of Paris: On Royal and Papal Power* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 89-90.

⁴ On St. Bernard's conception of the pope as 'vicar of Christ' instead of 'vicar of St. Peter', Ullmann, *Growth of Papal Government*, pp. 428-30. The entire subject is treated in greater detail by M. Maccarrone, *Vicarius Christi* (Rome, 1952).

⁵ *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, 3 (Rome, 1963), p. 423. See the translation by John D. Anderson and Elizabeth T. Kennan, *Five Books on Consideration: Advice to a Pope* (Cistercian Fathers Series 37; Kalamazoo, 1976), p. 66.

Melchisedech with the pope's royal powers'.⁶ It now can be added that a noteworthy writer stood both temporally and conceptually between Bernard and Innocent in treating Melchisedech as a figure for the papacy: namely, the Calabrian abbot and seer Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135-1202). Since Joachim was neither a mainstream exegete nor a systematic commentator on ecclesiology or politics, it is not surprising that his writings have been overlooked by students of papal thought. But Joachim pored over Scripture at least as much as anyone of his day, and he also had strong views about the relationship between the papacy and the temporal power.⁷

As a vigorous papal partisan and anti-imperialist, Joachim enunciated political arguments that should be viewed as part of developing papal hierocratic theory. Although Joachim supported the curial peace party in advocating conciliation with 'persecuting' rulers like the Hohenstaufen Henry VI, he nonetheless saw the papal office as superior to that of kings. One clear expression of this position appears in his *Intelligentia super calathis*, written most likely in 1191. Here he states that the papacy originally inherited the 'fullest kingship' ('summa regni') because the pope is the successor of Christ, the one true King and Priest: only the fact that priests are prohibited from carrying weapons or shedding blood obliged the pope to choose a layman to be king in order to execute justice and defend Christians from the heathen.⁸

In his major exegetical and prophetic treatise, the *Concordia novi ac veteris testamenti*, written between 1182 and 1191, Joachim phrased this view with special reference to Melchisedech. In the fourth book of the *Concordia* Joachim states that it was fitting for the Roman pope to be king and priest at one time, just as Melchisedech had been.⁹ Constantine the Great in fact had recognized this and therefore had granted imperial authority to Pope Sylvester. The popes,

⁶ Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views', 64 n. 32.

⁷ Best on Joachim's political views is Herbert Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit und Kaisermacht um 1190 in der Sicht Joachims von Fiore', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 19 (1963) 353-96, reprinted in Grundmann, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, Teil 2: *Joachim von Fiore* (Stuttgart, 1977), pp. 361-402. Hereafter I cite the pagination of the reprint.

⁸ The *Intelligentia super calathis* remains unedited, but the passage in question is printed by Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit', 372-73 n. 20.

⁹ *Concordia novi ac veteris testamenti* (Venice, 1519; rpt. Frankfurt, 1964), 4/3, fol. 45ra. I follow the modernized punctuation given by Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit', 373 n. 20: "Tu es sacerdos in eternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech": Secundum hoc oportebat romanum pontificem esse simul regem et sacerdotem. Quod intelligens Constantinus imperator beato pape Silvestro imperialem, quam ipse tenere videbatur, tamquam debitam Christo regi sponte obtulit dignitatem. Verumtamen quia "regnum Christi non est ex hoc mundo" (Joh. 18, 36) sic visum fuit romanis pontificibus debitam Christo accipere potestatem, ut tamen usum temporalis regni vel potius onus corporalis regiminis illis cogerentur permittere, qui mundi gloriam querunt, ne hi, qui iuxta apostolum militant Deo (2. Tim. 2, 4), implicarentur temporalibus negociis."

however, knew that 'the kingdom of Christ is not of this world', and therefore turned over the exercise of worldly power to worldly rulers.

Joachim's argument seems to proceed about two thirds of the way from Bernard to Innocent III. Going well beyond Bernard, Joachim sees Melchisedech standing for the royal as well as the priestly power of the papacy. Moreover, he argues that the royal power was acknowledged by Constantine and implies that it is now wielded by worldly rulers only as a result of papal decision to delegate it. But Joachim stops short of maintaining that popes should exercise the secular power directly.¹⁰ That was the step taken by Innocent III when he used the figure of Melchisedech in the decretal letter *Per venerabilem* of 1202 to support his argument that the papacy could 'exercise temporal jurisdiction in certain cases', and even more explicitly when he wrote to the bishop of Fermo in 1205 that the pope as 'priest forever in the order of Melchisedech ... holds the highest power in spiritual affairs, but truly even in temporal affairs he holds great power....'¹¹

It is not impossible that Innocent knew of Joachim's use of the Melchisedech image. Not only had Joachim had personal contacts with four out of five of Innocent's immediate papal predecessors, but Lucius III in 1184, Urban III probably in 1186, and Clement III in 1188 had all encouraged Joachim to complete his *Liber concordie*.¹² Later, in a testamentary letter of 1200, Joachim ordered his heirs to submit all his writings to the papal see for examination except the *Book of Concord*s, which he had been able to present to the apostolic chair himself.¹³ Herbert Grundmann speculates that the presentation took place on Joachim's visit to Rome in August 1196, toward the end of the pontificate of

¹⁰ On Joachim's view of the role of the papacy in the future, too complicated a subject to be pursued here, see, in addition to Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit', Bernhard Töpfer, *Das kommenden Reich des Friedens* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 72-76; Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 395-97; Gert Wendelborn, *Gott und Geschichte: Joachim von Fiore und die Hoffnung der Christenheit* (Leipzig, 1974), pp. 159-67; and B. McGinn, 'Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist', *Church History* 47 (1978) 155-73 (158-59).

¹¹ *Per venerabilem* in X, 4.17.13, ed. E. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1879-81), 2.714-16, or PL 214.1130-34. An abridged English translation is by Brian Tierney, *The Crisis of Church and State, 1050-1300* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1964), pp. 136-38. The letter to the bishop of Fermo is in PL 215.767; I cite the translation of this passage by Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views', 56. On some of Innocent's other uses of the Melchisedech image, Pennington, *ibid.*, 65 n. 49.

¹² Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit', 389.

¹³ *ibid.*, 390-91. The letter is published as preface to the *Concordia* (above, n. 9), fol. 2r-v. On its authenticity, Reeves, *Influence of Prophecy*, pp. 28-29, citing further literature. I do not accept Reeves' view that the letter gives a 'hint' that Joachim was aware of hostility on the part of Innocent III. There is nothing suspicious about Joachim's profession of obedience and orthodoxy, and no evidence whatsoever aside from this raises any possibility that Innocent objected to Joachim's prophetic thought.

Innocent III's predecessor Celestine III.¹⁴ Whatever the date, it is quite possible that a copy of the *Book of Concord*s remained in the curia for Innocent III to peruse. If he did not, someone in Innocent's entourage may have learned of Joachim's use of the Melchisedech image and brought it to the pope's attention.

Apparently Joachim and Innocent never met, but Innocent did honor Joachim's memory. In letters of 1204 Innocent referred favorably to the abbot as founder of the Florentian Order, and subsequently he supported the Florentians in their conflicts with other cloisters.¹⁵ It is true that Innocent presided over the Fourth Lateran Council which condemned Joachim's treatise on the Trinity, but there are no grounds for supposing that Innocent initiated this action himself.¹⁶ Moreover, the condemnation was strictly limited to the trinitarian issue and did not extend to Joachim's eschatology or the *Concordia*. Commenting on the Lateran decree before the middle of the thirteenth century, the well-informed Cistercian chronicler Alberic of Troisfontaines reported that Innocent III had not only exempted all of Joachim's works other than the trinitarian treatise from condemnation but had in fact 'approvingly commended' them.¹⁷

In asking whether Innocent may have read Joachim's *Concordia* it should by no means be assumed that Innocent was a dispassionate lawyer pope, indifferent to eschatology. On the contrary, shortly before assuming the papal office Cardinal Lothario dei Segni devoted several chapters of his anything but dispassionate *De miseria humane conditionis* to eschatological predictions taken from the Bible.¹⁸ These chapters are entirely conventional, but quite unusual is

¹⁴ Grundmann, 'Kirchenfreiheit', 391.

¹⁵ Herbert Grundmann, 'Zur Biographie Joachims von Fiore und Rainers von Ponza', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 16 (1960) 437-546, reprinted in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (as above, n. 7), pp. 255-360. I cite the latter edition, here, p. 279. On Innocent III's high estimation of Joachim's close associate Rainer of Ponza see pp. 261-63.

¹⁶ Grundmann, *ibid.*, 279, goes further: 'Sicherlich hat nicht er die Verurteilung des gegen Petrus Lombardus polemisierenden Trinitäts-Traktats Joachims durch das Laterankonzil von 1215 veranlasst....' Grundmann does not state the grounds for his assertion here, but in 'Joachim von Fiore', *Die Wahrheit der Ketzer*, ed. Hans Jürgen Schultz (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 80-88, he implies (p. 81) that the Trinitarian condemnation was pushed through by Parisian-trained theologians loyal to Peter Lombard (without considering whether Innocent himself may have been one of those very theologians).

¹⁷ MGH SS 23 (Hanover, 1874), p. 879: 'Tamen cetera Ioachim opuscula et vitam eius religiosam et morum institutionem et eruditionem ... papa Innocentius III. non improbavit, sed approbando commendavit.' The passage is also cited in Grundmann, 'Dante und Joachim von Fiore', *Deutsches Dante-Jahrbuch* 14 (1932) 210-56 (250), reprinted in *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 166-210 (202).

¹⁸ The standard critical edition of the *De miseria* is by M. Maccarrone (Lugano, 1955); see book 3, chaps. 15-17. An English version is Lothario dei Segni, *On the Misery of the Human Condition*, ed. D. R. Howard and trans. M. M. Dietz (Indianapolis, 1969).

the eschatological reckoning found in Innocent's crusade appeal of 19 April 1213. In this letter Innocent designates Muhammad as the apocalyptic beast whose number is 666 (Apoc 13:18), concluding that the destruction of Islam is imminent because almost 600 years since Muhammad's time have passed.¹⁹ While the source for this prediction does not appear to be any known passage from Joachim, the passage clearly indicates that Innocent gave serious consideration to prophetic lucubrations.²⁰

Whether or not it can ever be proved that Innocent read Joachim's *Concordia* or heard about Joachim's treatment of Melchisedech from one of his subordinates, it is still useful to know that some of the pope's thinking was foreshadowed by the Calabrian prophet. Joachim's use of the Melchisedech image shows that late twelfth-century papalist thought was advancing beyond St. Bernard in more clearly hierocratic directions. Joachim's use also strengthens the argument against assuming that Innocent's imagery was shaped primarily by canonistic precedents. Kenneth Pennington has shown that Innocent III may not even have received the advanced legal training with which he used to be credited and that his language and ideas are more those of a theologian than a lawyer.²¹ Whether or not Innocent actually read Joachim of Fiore, the recognition that Joachim can be seen as a link between Bernard and Innocent on Melchisedech may serve to re-emphasize the need for studying Innocent's thought more in terms of its descent from saints and seers.

Northwestern University.

¹⁹ PL 216.817-22 (818B). I follow the standard scholarly assumption that Innocent himself was ultimately responsible for the content of his important letters: see, e.g., Helene Tillmann in James M. Powell, ed., *Innocent III: Vicar of Christ or Lord of the World?* (Boston, 1963), p. 71 (a passage from Tillmann's *Papst Innocenz III.*), and Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views', 64 n. 34.

²⁰ Joachim's Apocalypse commentary can definitely be ruled out as a source: see *Expositio in Apocalypsim* (Venice, 1527; rpt. Frankfurt, 1964), fol. 169r.

²¹ Pennington, 'Pope Innocent III's Views', passim, and the same author's 'Legal Education of Pope Innocent III', *Bulletin of the Institute of Medieval Canon Law* N.S. 4 (1974) 70-77. Helmut G. Walther, 'Haeretica pravitas und Ekklesiologie' in Albert Zimmermann, ed., *Die Mächte des Guten und Bösen* (Miscellanea Mediaevalia 11; Berlin, 1977), pp. 286-314 (307-308 n. 69), suggests that if Innocent did not study law at Bologna he may have done so somewhere else, as at Paris, but it seems highly improbable that an Italian would have studied law in France.

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